

**Re-exploring the Queens' Valley:
Archival, Archaeological, and Social Research**

**Volume I: Text
Volume II: Catalogue of the Tombs**

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Emanuele Casini

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University of Basel

Department of Ancient Civilizations

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Volume I: Text

Candidate

Emanuele Casini

Matr. Number 16-053-027

First PhD advisor:

Prof. Dr. S. Bickel (University of Basel)

Second PhD advisor:

Prof. M. Betrò (University of Pisa)

Third PhD advisor:

Dr. Ch. Greco (Museo Egizio, Torino)

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..A chi trova se stesso nel proprio coraggio
A chi nasce ogni giorno e comincia il suo viaggio..

(S. Mineo and Amara)

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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

AD = Anno Domini

BC = before Christ

BD = Book of the Dead

BM = British Museum

c. = circa

Cat. = *catalogo* (one of the inventory systems of the objects housed at the Museo Egizio of Turin)

CEDAE = Centre d'Étude et de Documentation sur l'Ancienne Égypte

cf. = *confer*/compare

CG = Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire

cm. = centimeter/centimeters

CNRS = Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique

DB = Deir el-Bahri

Dyn. = Dynasty

EA = Egyptian Antiquities

e.g. = *exempli gratiae*

et al. = *et alii*

i.e. = *id est*

GCI = Getty Conservation Institute

inv. n. = inventory number

KV = Kings' Valley

m. = meter/meters

MAI = *Missione Archeologica Italiana*

ME = Museo Egizio (Torino)

MMA = Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

n. = number

NK = New Kingdom

p. = page

pap. = papyrus

pl./pls. = plate/plates

PM = B. Porter and R. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts*,

reliefs and Paintings. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Griffith Institute.

pp. = pages

Prov. = provvisorio (one of the inventory systems of the objects housed at the Museo Egizio of Turin)

QV = Queens' Valley

rto. = recto

S. = supplemento (one of the inventory systems of the objects housed at the Museo Egizio of Turin)

SCA = Supreme Council of Antiquities from 1993 (Ministry of State for Antiquities from 2011).

Tav. = *Tavola* (plate)

TMP = Theban Mapping Project

TT = Theban tomb

vso. = verso

WB = E. Adolf and H. Grapow (eds.) 1926-1931, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache im Auftrage der Deutschen Akademien* (5 Bände). Leipzig: Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.

Introduction: *status quaestionis*, aim of the research, and structure of the dissertation

The aim of the present dissertation is to provide a reassessment of the Queens' Valley necropolis through multi-directional research approaches, with particular focus on the New Kingdom period (1550-1069 BC). The analysis of the social background of the 18th-dynasty tomb owners constituted the driving force of this research. Next to the social analysis, the study of unpublished archival documents of the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* (MAI) and of archaeological materials housed at the Museo Egizio of Turin allowed the author to retrace the discoveries carried out by the Italian mission and reevaluate their results achieved in the field. The thorough examination of the publications (both monographs and articles) concerning the Queens' Valley established the starting point of this doctoral research, in order to assess the current state of knowledge and research regarding the necropolis. Through the combination of published data, unpublished archival documents, and archaeological evidence, it will be possible to elaborate a revised and up-to-date image of the Queens' Valley necropolis.

Starting from the beginning of the 19th century, several explorations took place in the Queens' Valley. Giovanni Battista Belzoni (1778-1823) set foot on this necropolis in 1816 and visited the tomb of Queen Tyti (QV 52). Afterwards, Robert Hay of Linplum (1799-1863), John Gardner Wilkinson (1797-1875), Jean-François Champollion (1790-1832), Ippolito Rosellini (1800-1843), Karl Richard Lepsius (1810-1884), Heinrich Brugsch (1827-1894), and George Daressy (1864-1938) explored the Queens' Valley and discovered several tombs. The impression of the earliest explorers was that the necropolis was designed for the New Kingdom royal consorts. In 1903, Ernesto Schiaparelli (1856-1928) led the first of the three archaeological campaigns in the Queens' Valley, with the invaluable assistance of his right-hand man Francesco Ballerini (1877-1910). The purpose of the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* was to explore the whole necropolis, work on the publication of the tombs,¹ and find materials in order to increase the Egyptian collection of the Regio Museo di Antichità in Turin. The Italian mission discovered several tombs and Ballerini realised that the social fabric of the tomb owners was wider than previously assumed.² Afterwards, in 1970, the Franco-Egyptian team, initially led by Christiane

¹ Consonni and Quirino 2012, 105.

² Consonni and Quirino 2012, 125.

Desroches-Noblecourt (1913-2011) and later by Christian Leblanc, undertook in-depth archaeological investigations within this necropolis. Finally, in more recent times, the Getty Conservation Institute (GCI) collaborated with the Supreme Council of Antiquities (SCA) and founded the *Valley of the Queens Project*. The project's goals were to assess the geological structure of the whole burial ground, preserve the tombs as monuments of global cultural heritage, stabilise wall paintings and decoration, conduct photographic documentation, perform site management of the necropolis, and revalorise a selection of tombs in order to make them accessible to tourists. The final outcome of this project was the publication of two open-access volumes, edited by Martha Demas and Neville Agnew, in 2012 and 2016.

At a first glance, given the several explorations and archaeological investigations of the necropolis, as well as the abundant publications, the author had the impression that the study of the Queens' Valley was adequately exhausted. However, the more data were gathered, the more the author realised that there were aspects that could be addressed in-depth as well as hitherto unexplored topics. In the meanwhile, the analysis of the unpublished archival documents highlighted that Ballerini and Schiaparelli did not publish all the results achieved in the field by the *MAI*. Likewise, not all the results of the Franco-Egyptian mission were published. The series *Ta Set Neferou* should have included five volumes, but only two volumes were published.³ Furthermore, many papers were announced as forthcoming (“à paraître”),⁴ or in preparation (“en préparation”),⁵ but these have yet to be disseminated. Therefore, considering the current *status quaestionis*, it was evident that there was space for a new research.

First of all, by examining the unpublished excavation documents of the *Missione Archeologica Italiana*, it was possible to integrate these new data and information into what was already published. Concomitantly, the bibliographical research gave input to the elaboration of new research ideas and questions. By checking the publications, it was evident that predominant attention was directed to the tombs of the Ramesside Period (1295-1069 BC), thus overshadowing the early phase of use of the necropolis, *i.e.* the 18th Dynasty (1550-1295 BC). The analysis of the social background of the individuals for whom the Queens' Valley was chosen as a burial ground was a constant point of reference

³ Leblanc 1989/b; Macke *et al.* 2002. Volumes II, III, and IV are still missing; see Leblanc 1989/b, 2.

⁴ Desroches-Noblecourt and Antelme, *La tombe anonyme n° 40 de la Vallée des Reines*, CEDAE: mentioned in Leblanc 1989/a, 240, footnote 27; Loyrette and Fekri, *Les tombes VdR 14 à 19 de la Vallée des Reines*: mentioned in Wagner *et al.* 1990, 367, footnote n. 8.

⁵ Franco, *Les tombes VdR 76 à 79 de la Vallée des Reines*: mentioned in Wagner *et al.* 1990, 368, footnote n. 11.

and subject of research. The social analysis constituted the driving force of this dissertation and gave rise to other parallel questions: when was this new necropolis first used? Why was such a hidden environment chosen? Without tomb chapels, where was the funerary cult for the deceased performed? Can the examination of the archives and archaeological findings currently housed at the Museo Egizio of Turin provide new information regarding the tomb owners? Can these findings be re-contextualized with the support of the unpublished documents? By investigating these research questions, the author will attempt to provide a new, up-to-date image of the Queens' Valley. The combination of already published data, unexplored topics, and the hitherto unpublished documents will contribute to the innovative outcome of the present PhD.

The dissertation is composed of two volumes. The present introduction and the final conclusions frame the seven chapters of volume I. Chapter I introduces the reader to the Queens' Valley. It includes a necessary introduction to the geographical setting of the Queens' Valley and a geological structure of the necropolis, which is helpful in order to understand the current state of preservation of the tombs. The final section deals with a reassessment of the expressions used to indicate the Queens' Valley, in particular the toponym *t3 s.t nfr.w*, with the purpose of finding a solution concerning its likely meaning according to the ancient Egyptians.

After the geographical and geological description of the burial ground, attention will move to the analysis of the landscape of the Queens' Valley (Chapter II), which constitutes one of the most relevant research questions of the whole work. As Landscape Archaeology illustrates, the landscape and locality is not just a physical setting: instead, it is also an environment within which people live, act, and leave their cultural marks and by which they are influenced. The examination of the landscape of this necropolis aims at understanding why such a concealed rocky environment was chosen as a burial ground. The Queens' Valley landscape will be analysed in all its complexity and, at the same time, will be deconstructed into single features and investigated through theoretical models borrowed from the Landscape Archaeology. Furthermore, by means of a comparative analysis that takes into account similar burial grounds located on the Theban West Bank, it is suggested that the peculiar landscape of the Queens' Valley may mirror the social fabric of the deceased.

Chapter III is centred around archival research. After an overview of the unpublished documentation granted by the Museo Egizio of Turin,⁶ the author focused on the digging diaries of the 1903 and 1904 missions and related documents, such as tomb plans, drawings, and photographs produced during the fieldwork. Through the examination of these materials, the author found lost and overlooked information and managed to rewrite the history of the excavations that the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* carried out in the Queens' Valley. The archival analysis will highlight that the Italian team actually discovered and investigated many more tombs than those mentioned within the publications. In this regard, it is worth noting that the innovative outcome of the archival research is guaranteed by the fact that such documents were not thoroughly analysed before. Furthermore, Leblanc and his collaborators were not able to access such excavation documents,⁷ which were said to have been lost during the Second World War.⁸

Chapter IV deals with the archaeological research and material culture. The Museo Egizio hosts more than 900 objects found in the Queens' Valley, which are listed in the unpublished manuscript inventory (*Giornale d'Entrata*). These objects came to Turin through archaeological *partage*, which actually favoured the Italians. Considering the high volume of objects, and time constraints as well, the draft of a catalogue of museum objects will be unfeasible in the framework of the present PhD dissertation. Therefore, the author will focus on a selection of objects addressing a specific research question: is it possible to retrieve information concerning the original find-spot of de-contextualized objects? The answer is positive, since unpublished digging diaries and tomb plans include some information about the archaeological context (inside and outside the tombs). Several artifacts lack exact provenance within the necropolis (they are labelled as '*materiali dispersi*' within the *Giornale d'Entrata*) or are provided with a generic, unclear find-spot. However, by establishing a dialogue between the unpublished excavation documents, Ballerini and Schiaparelli's publications, and the museum collection, it is possible to virtually re-contextualize several objects within the Queens' Valley.

The analysis of the social background of the New Kingdom tomb owners is the subject of Chapter V, and constitutes the fulcrum around which the research was developed from its inception. The possibility to focus on this topic developed from the realisation that

⁶ The author is deeply grateful to both the Museo Egizio of Turin for the access to the archival documentation and to the *Archivio di Stato di Torino* for allowing the online publication of such materials.

⁷ Quotation from Leblanc 1986, 208, footnote n. 7.

⁸ Lecuyot 1989, 62.

little analysis and research addressed the 18th-dynasty tomb owners thus far. By reassessing the previously published data and intertwining them with the unpublished documents of the Italian mission, the author will attempt to re-investigate the social identity of the individuals buried within the Queens' Valley during the New Kingdom, with particular attention to the 18th Dynasty. The social background of the Ramesside Period deceased will be also analysed, focusing on the mechanism of selection for a burial within this necropolis and addressing the issue of the burial place of the 'lost' queens.

Another research question connected with the social analysis concerns the place where the funerary and memorial cults for the Queens' Valley tomb owners were performed (Chapter VI). The tombs of this necropolis currently consist of subterranean chambers only and traces of superstructures, deceased's statues, pyramidia, and stelae have not been found to date. Considering that the tomb chapel is the direct point of contact between the dead and the living, the lack of such architectural structures suggests that the memorial and funerary cults on behalf of the deceased were performed outside the necropolis. Therefore the question is: where were such rituals and cultic activities performed? To cope with such an issue is complicated, especially because of the scarceness of material and textual evidence in this regard. However, by means of comparative approaches, likely scenarios concerning the places of performance of the funerary and memorial cults for the Queens' Valley tomb owners will be suggested.

Finally, Chapter VII provides a diachronic reconstruction of the history of the Queens' Valley, starting from the establishment of this cemetery, at the start of the 18th Dynasty, down to the Coptic Period. Although there were many phases of temporary disuse, the site was never completely abandoned, and this represents the exceptional aspect of this burial ground. Tomb reuse affected the morphology of the tombs (with changes in their architecture), caused the destruction and dispersion of the grave goods, and transformed even the landscape, as will be shown by recounting all the events that occurred within this necropolis. In addition, for the first time, a specific section will address textual evidence concerning the tomb robberies that occurred in the Queens' Valley in the late New Kingdom.

Finally, in the conclusions, the reader will be guided towards a new level of perception of this topic, aiming at creating a sense of unity between the addressed research questions. In doing so, the issues raised in the course of this research will be addressed once again,

offering a holistic viewpoint and highlighting the impact of this work and its innovative results.

Volume II of this dissertation contains the catalogue of the Queens' Valley tombs. It constitutes the natural outcome of the collection of data about all these sepulchres. The purpose of this catalogue is to provide the reader with a supporting tool, in order to gain information about each tomb that is mentioned in this volume.

Chapter I. The Queens' Valley

The Queens' Valley is located in the southern sector of the Theban necropolis, behind the temple of Medinet Habu and west of the village of Deir el-Medina (fig. I.1). This area was in use during the Palaeolithic Period, as remarked by Schiaparelli thanks to the finding of a number of stone tools.⁹ Apart from this evidence, there are no other relevant traces that may attest to the occupation of the area until the beginning of the 18th Dynasty,¹⁰ when this concealed site was chosen as the seat for a burial ground.

The purpose of the present chapter is to provide an overall introduction on the Queens' Valley, starting from a geographical description in order to present the physical setting of the necropolis. Afterwards, the focus will be directed to the geological composition of this area, the analysis of which allows to understand the current state of preservation of the tombs and help in assessing the criteria of evaluation concerning their use. Finally, the expressions that refer to the Queens' Valley will be reassessed, with particular attention to the toponym *t3 s.t nfr.w*, which has been the subject of several interpretations thus far.

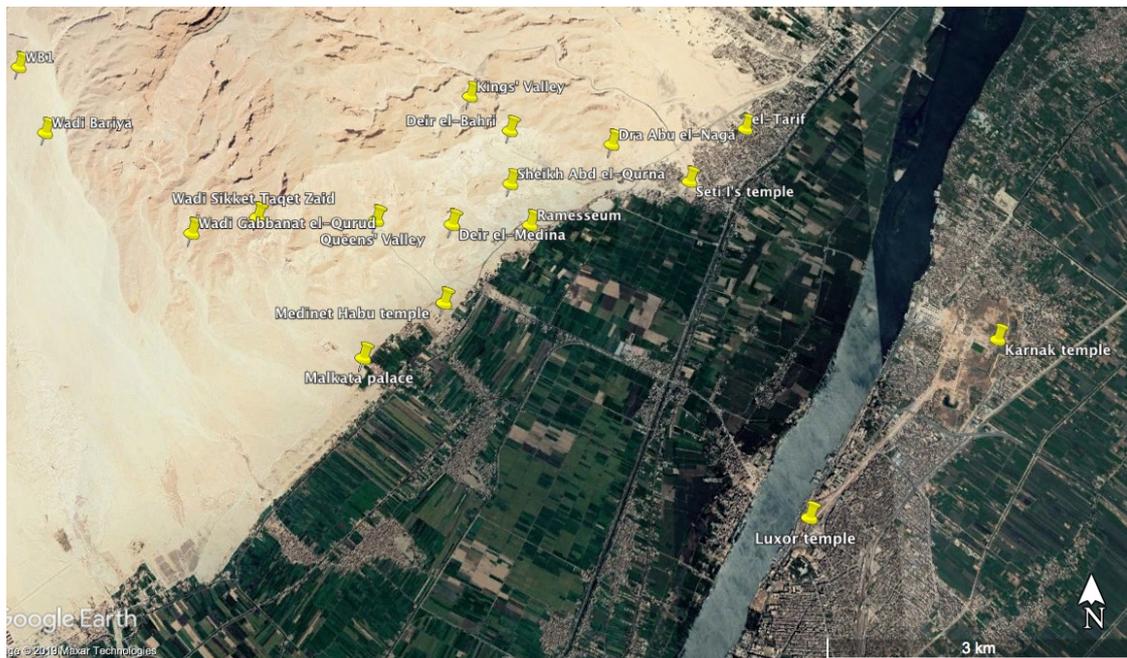


Fig. I.1. The Theban area (adapted from Google Earth, labels added; last accessed on 13.07.2019).

⁹ Schiaparelli 1924, 8.

¹⁰ The idea of the 17th Dynasty as date of conception of this necropolis mainly based on the fact that the owner of tomb QV 47 is a daughter of King Seqenenra Taa. Schiaparelli was the first one to assume that the earliest tombs dated to the late 17th Dynasty (as evident from the title of the first part of his publication: 'Le tombe delle dinastie decimasettima e decimottava'; see Schiaparelli 1924, "Indice"). Following this assumption, other scholars have carried on using this dating (e.g. Lecuyot 1987, 28), although there is no conclusive archaeological evidence that may confirm it.

I.1. Geographical Description

The geographical setting of the Queens' Valley consists of a main *wadi* (where the majority of the tombs are located) and a number of lateral valleys: these are the Valley of the Rope and the Valley of the Three Pits (both located north of the main *wadi*), the Valley of the Dolmen (east of the main *wadi*), and the Valley of Prince Ahmose (south of the main *wadi*). Within the report written for King Vittorio Emanuele III, Schiaparelli remarks that modern Egyptians perceived the Valley of Prince Ahmose as an integral part of the whole necropolis: *'Direttamente attigua alla valle di Bab el-Harim [i.e. the main wadi], e prima di essa, si stende altra piccola valle [the Valley of Prince Ahmose], che nelle carte non porta nome speciale, ma che gli indigeni - e così faremo anche noi - considerano come parte integrante di quella'*.¹¹ A clue to the perception of the geographical extension of this necropolis from the viewpoint of the ancient Egyptians is provided by an inscription preserved on the basis of a stela, which was found within the rocky sanctuary of Ptah and Meretseger,¹² along the path that connects Deir el-Medina with this necropolis. This sanctuary consisted of chapels and shrines dedicated to Ptah and Meretseger by the community workmen. The preserved inscription reads: *jrj.n=j wd m hw.t ntr.w (r?)¹³ m t3 s.t nfr.w sdm-š m s.t m3.t pn-njw.t m3c-hrw hr*, *'...I have set up a stela within the gods' chapels in the t3 s.t nfr.w, (I am) the servant in the Place of Truth Pen-niut, true of voice in front...'*¹⁴ These *hw.t ntr.w*/Gods' chapels are said to be placed within the *t3 s.t nfr.w*, thus suggesting that the toponym *t3 s.t nfr.w* possibly included the whole burial ground from the Grotto-cascade to the rocky sanctuary of Ptah and Meretseger (fig. I.2).

¹¹ Quotation from Schiaparelli 1903, *Relazione*.

¹² Porter and Moss 1964 (PM I²), 706-709; Leblanc 1989/b, 6-7.

¹³ The *r* occurs after the determinative of the plural strokes of the word *ntr.w*; therefore, it is unlikely that it may be part of the same word. However, its function within the sentence remains unclear, since there is no verb of movement that may explain its presence as preposition of direction. It may be possible that it deals with a mistake of the person who made the inscription.

¹⁴ Bruyère 1930, 48, pl. XII/4 (translated by the author).



Fig. I.2. Birds'-eye view of the Queens' Valley (adapted from Zureks' photograph, letters added); © Zureks (source: https://it.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Valley_of_the_Queens_by_Zureks.jpg, last accessed on 23.10.2019).
 A = main *wadi*, B = Valley of the Rope, C = Valley of the Three Pits, D = Valley of the Dolmen, E = Valley of Prince Ahmose, F = Grotto-cascade, G = Sanctuary of Ptah and Meretseger.

I.1-a. The Main *Wadi*

The main *wadi* is surrounded by two slopes and forks into two branches to the west. The tombs, one next to the other, occupy the lower part of both slopes. At the north-western end of the main *wadi* there is the Grotto-cascade, a natural break into the rock provided with two basins. Close to it, the ancient Egyptians built a protective system consisting of artificial barriers (known as 'ancient dam') in order to limit or divert the rare but violent rainfalls that flooded the tombs.¹⁵ East of this man-made barrier, between tombs QV 56, QV 58, and QV 80, there are a few remains of the Ramesside Period huts, which are referred to as *wh.t* on a number of hieratic *ostraca*.¹⁶ this *wh.t* was a small village made of huts built on an area of about 700 mq, which was inhabited by the Deir el-Medina workmen who were charged with the tomb construction.¹⁷

¹⁵ Leblanc 1989/b, 4-5; Leblanc and Siliotti 1997, 19.

¹⁶ Leblanc 1989/b, 65 (footnote 15).

¹⁷ Kalos 1990.

Checking the most recent and up-to-date maps of the Queens' Valley,¹⁸ considering also the commenced¹⁹ tombs (QV 2, QV 5, QV 6, QV 24, QV 28, QV 35, QV 45, QV 49, QV 50, QV 54, QV 56, QV 57, QV 83, QV 84, QV 85, QV 86), within the main *wadi* there are 91 tombs, plus one hermit shelter (QV 1). This high concentration of burials in a limited area identifies the main *wadi* as the core of the Queens' Valley necropolis. In the 18th Dynasty, tombs were also cut within the lateral valleys; conversely, during the Ramesside Period, tombs were prepared within the main *wadi* only.²⁰ The reason for this trend may have depended on the presence of the Grotto-cascade (1), which likely played a powerful symbolic role in relation to the queens (see *Chapter II.3*), as well as the need to concentrate the tombs within an easily-controllable space (2).

I.1-b. The Valley of the Rope

The Valley of the Rope lies behind the sanctuary of Deir er-Rumi, north-east of the main *wadi*. At about the middle of the eastern branch, the cliff leads to a small branch called the 'Bay of the Rope', at the bottom of which was found a rope, which gave the name to this lateral valley. This rope was still hanging at the beginning of the archaeological exploration led by the CNRS and CEDAE and its function was associated to the presence of the anchorites who used it to stock up on water and food. In the right (eastern) branch of this lateral valley, there are three 18th-dynasty tombs that were investigated by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* in 1903 (QV 92, QV 93, and QV 97). As previously mentioned, at the entrance of the Valley of the Rope are the ruins of a Coptic monastery, Deir er-Rumi,²¹ which was built during the 6th century AD near a rocky spur. This sanctuary incorporated the ruins of a pre-existing Roman sanctuary and the Ramesside Period commenced tomb QV 95.

I.1-c. The Valley of the Three Pits

The Valley of the Three Pits, situated between the Valley of the Rope and the Valley of the Dolmen, opens up close to the Coptic monastery of Deir er-Rumi. It forks into two

¹⁸ For instance, see that provided in Demas and Agnew 2016, 21.

¹⁹ This author uses such an adjective to describe uncompleted tombs that consist of the shaft or access ramp only.

²⁰ Only one Ramesside Period tomb (QV 95) is located outside the main *wadi*, but its construction was not completed.

²¹ Lecuyot 1989, 60-63; Lecuyot 1992/b, 383-390.

branches, the eastern one including three tombs, to which this lateral *wadi* owes its name (QV 89, QV 90, and QV 91). According to Leblanc, the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* investigated these tombs during the 1903 campaign:²² indeed, he identified these three tombs as those found by the Italian team in one of the lateral valleys.²³ However, as discussed below in *Chapter III.3*, the Italian mission likely did not investigate the tombs in question.

The earliest investigation of the Valley of the Three Pits was carried out by Daressy. He explored the lateral valley that runs from the north of the Libyan *plateau* and joins the main *wadi* (where there are the Coptic ruins of Deir er-Rumi) and discovered in the '*partie supérieure de cette dernière branche*' about ten pits dating to an unknown epoch (fig. I.3).²⁴ Daressy investigated only one of these pits, within which there were '*quelques fragments de canopes en terre cuite très fine, jaunâtre, lustrée extérieurement. Un seul morceau, de 0 m. 10 cm, de haut. sur 0 m. 07 cent. de largeur, porte des inscriptions qui nous fournissent une indication précieuse. Le texte ordinaire des canopes était gravé en colonnes verticales; à la seconde colonne, il subsiste le titre d'«épouse royale»... dans le même tombeau se trouvaient deux têtes de petits chiens, encore munies de leur peau et d'une partie des poils*'.²⁵ By using stylistic criteria, he dated the fragment of the inscribed canopic jar to the 25th-26th Dynasties.

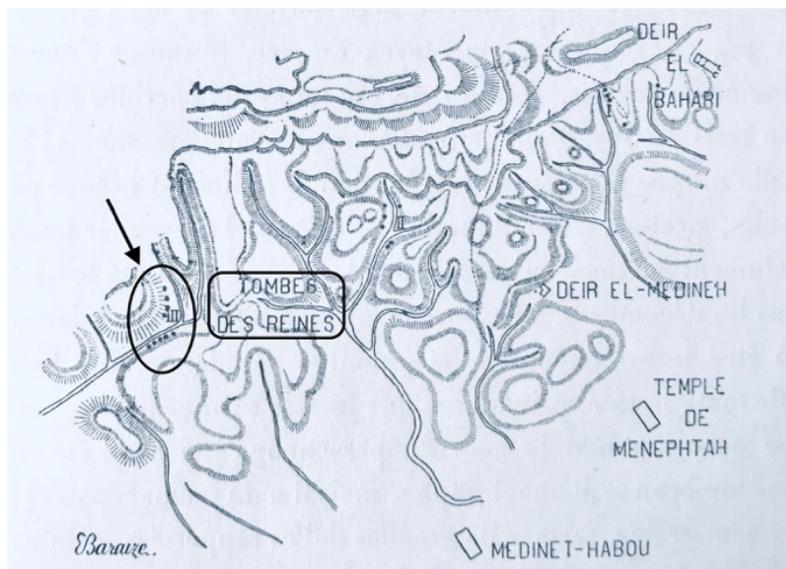


Fig. I.3. Map showing the tombs (circled in black and indicated by the arrow) that Daressy investigated in the Valley of the Three Pits (after Daressy 1901, 133 fig. 1).

²² Leblanc and Siliotti 1997, 26 and 193 (footnote n. 31).

²³ Ballerini 1903, 33-37; Schiaparelli 1924, 42-47.

²⁴ Daressy 1901, 135. The map in the picture shows nine black points corresponding to nine tombs.

²⁵ Quotation from Daressy 1901, 136.

It is unclear whether the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* investigated the Valley of the Three Pits. No evident mention of this lateral valley occurs within Ballerini and Schiaparelli's publications; moreover, neither Schiaparelli's unpublished reports for King Vittorio Emanuele III, nor the unpublished digging diaries offer any clue in this regard, except for a mention by Schiaparelli in the framework of the description of the tombs found in the Valley of the Rope: “*with utmost diligence, we checked every inch of both valleys, but we did not find any trace of any tomb.*”²⁶ Whether this means that they explored two different branches of the same valley (those of the Valley of the Rope) or two different valleys (the Valley of the Rope and the Valley of the Three Pits), this is difficult to determine.

Between 1945 and 1947, Bernard Bruyère investigated three shaft tombs within this lateral *wadi*. Two of them, which were “*situées sur le versant occidental de la seconde vallée en partant de Deir el Médineh, celles qui débouchent près du couvent copte de Biban el Harim*”, contained 18th-dynasty pottery sherds and fragments of amphoras without any trace of inscriptions.²⁷ These two tombs had a single, undecorated burial chamber and shafts 8 and 13 m. deep. It is challenging to identify which tombs he did explore since the description provided by Bruyère is rather generic. It might be possible that these do not belong to the shaft tombs QV A-to-QV L, but may be two of the three abovementioned tombs QV 89, QV 90, and QV 91, which gave the name to this lateral valley (fig. I.4). The third tomb, the shaft of which is 15 metres deep, is located “*à l’abri d’une grosse roche, sur le chaînon oriental de la même vallée, face à la cime*”. The tomb contained 16 uninscribed shabtis, made of terracotta and painted in blue, and fragments of large limestone canopic jars, one of which bearing trace of the inscription *m³c.t-hrw* (the ending *.t* suggesting a female deceased). In addition, there were some remains of a cartonnage mummy-case, with ‘*masque à visage brun rouge, oreilles cachées par la perruque rayée de bleu et de jaune, corps envelopé de remiges comme sur les cercueils Richi*’.²⁸ Bruyère dated this tomb to the 18th Dynasty, as the architectural features possibly indicate. However, Marc Gabolde points out that the tombs in the Valley of the Three Pits were reused during the Third Intermediate Period²⁹ and this seems to be confirmed by the presence of the cartonnage mummy-case found within the ‘third’ tomb.

²⁶ “Colla massima diligenza battemmo poi ogni altro angolo sì dell’uno che dell’altro vallone, ma non si rinvenne alcuna traccia di tomba”: quotation from Schiaparelli 1924, 47 (translated by the author).

²⁷ Quotation and reference from Bruyère 1952, 72.

²⁸ Quotation and reference from Bruyère 1952, 72-73.

²⁹ Gabolde 1992, 110.

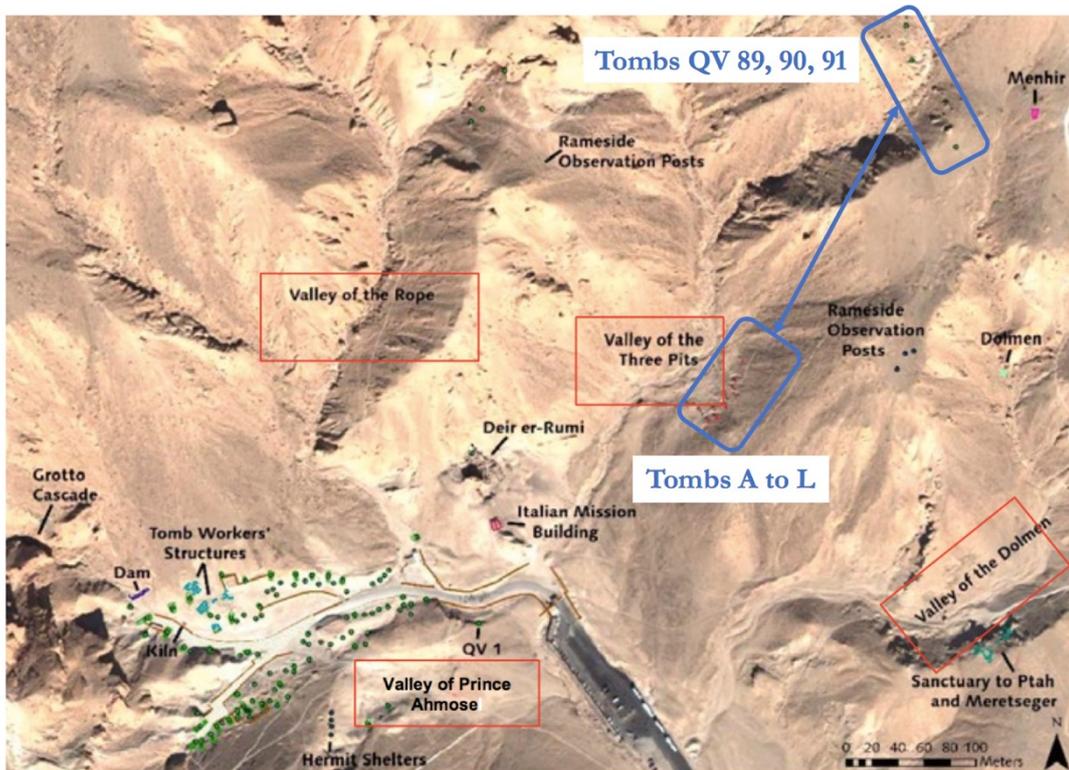


Fig. I.4. Map of the Queens' Valley, adapted from Demas and Agnew 2016, 128 (© Demas and Agnew), with additional indication of tombs QV 89, QV 90, and QV 91 and QV A-to-QV L within the Valley of the Three Pits.

The Franco-Egyptian team investigated the tombs labelled as QV A-to-QV L (fig. I.5/A) and a selection of the results of that exploration was published by Anne-Marie Loyrette.³⁰ Through the analysis of the quantitatively-scarce and fragmented findings, it is possible to get an overall idea of the history of this small and delimited cemetery, despite the fact that the tombs were heavily plundered, reused, and clandestinely surveyed in modern times. The high quality of the materials is in contrast with the simplicity of the tomb architecture (all the tombs have a shaft entrance, a single burial chamber, and are undecorated).³¹ Fragmented glazed balls were found within QV J: these objects are associated with the 'Striking the Ball' ritual, which is attested for the first time during the joint reign of Hatshepsut/Thutmosis III.³² Concerning the pottery, the apparent homogeneity of the manufacture and shapes (mainly jars, flasks, and bowls) suggests that the ceramic findings are coeval and likely produced within the same workshops.³³ Two double-handled jars made of red-marl terracotta with a grey core (from tomb QV E) are

³⁰ See Loyrette 1997.

³¹ Loyrette 1997, 179.

³² Loyrette 1997, 184. Concerning the ritual, see Boutghouts 1973 and Kousoulis 2007.

³³ Loyrette 1997, 185.

datable to the same epoch (fig. I.5/B): the geometric decoration on their handles, body and rim is typical of the reign of Thutmosis III,³⁴ and it recalls a fragmented jug found in the tomb of Nebiry (QV 30, ME S. 05124). Then, considering all the archaeological findings, Loyrette asserts that these burials are coeval and date to the reign of Thutmosis III.³⁵

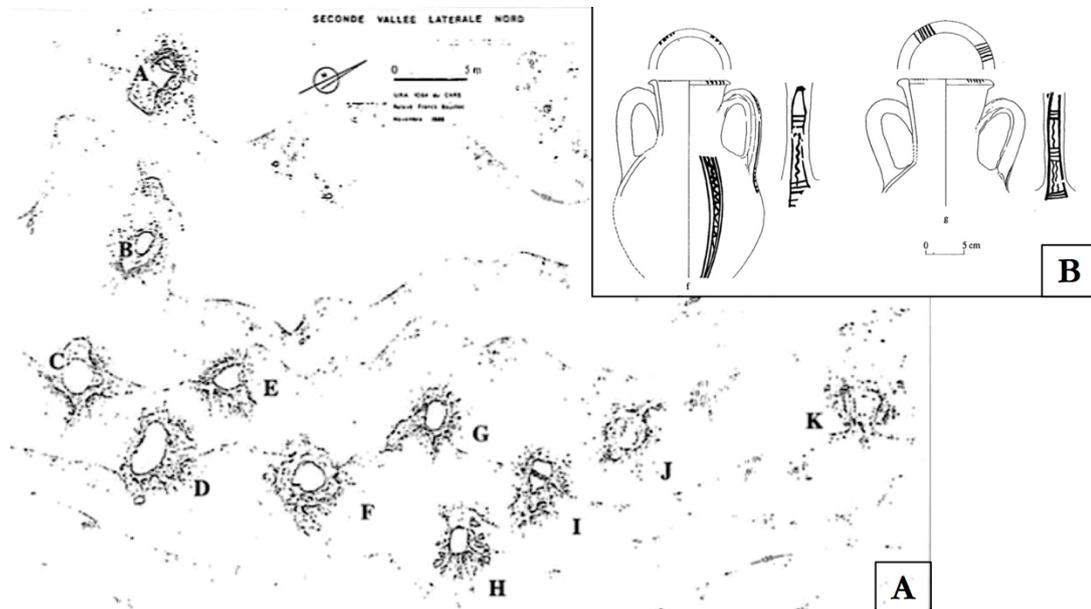


Fig. I.5. A= Map of the southern sector of the Valley of the Three Pits (after Loyrette 1997, 178; © Loyrette).
B = Jars from tomb QV E (after Loyrette 1997, 188; © Loyrette).

I.1-d. The Valley of the Dolmen

The Valley of the Dolmen, investigated by Bruyère between 1946 and 1947,³⁶ is situated at the eastern limit of the Queens' Valley, north of the sanctuary of Ptah and Meretseger. It is worth remarking that no tomb has been detected within this lateral valley so far. This valley takes its name from a rock-made structure that recall the shape of a 'dolmen'³⁷ (the term indicates a structure made of stones surmounted by a horizontal slab). Next to the dolmen there is a rock shelter, which resembles a natural grotto that preserves graffiti left there by the Deir el-Medina workmen. During the New Kingdom, this grotto might have been used as shelter or as a place for short rest by the same Deir el-Medina workmen.³⁸

³⁴ Loyrette 1997, 187, 189.

³⁵ Loyrette 1997, 189.

³⁶ Leblanc 1989/b, 5-6. The name was chosen by Bruyère (1952, 73).

³⁷ Bruyère 1952, 73; Leblanc and Siliotti 1997, 22.

³⁸ Demas and Agnew 2012, 352.

The investigation within the structure of the dolmen brought to light pottery dating to the Late Period, some flints, and a small bottle made of green glass dating to the Greco-Roman Period.³⁹ These few findings make the understanding of the reuse of this structure anything but simple. North of the dolmen, within the same valley, are a few remains of a dry-stone walled construction erected during the Ramesside Period, which Bruyère investigated in 1923. This structure leaned on a big standing stone that he called ‘menhir’, due to its shape.⁴⁰ According to him, ‘*sa destination primitive fut en grande partie d’ordre religieux*’.⁴¹ However, the menhir might have been used as a guard-post by the members of the necropolis police.⁴² This structure was reused during the Coptic Period.⁴³

I.1-e. The Valley of Prince Ahmose

The Valley of Prince Ahmose is located south of the main *wadi*. Its shape is that of an extended depression, developing in a north-south direction. This small *wadi*, investigated by Schiaparelli⁴⁴ and Ballerini⁴⁵ between 1903 and 1904, contains some tombs, one of which (QV 88) hosted the burial of a king’s son named Ahmose. The *Missione Archeologica Italiana* also discovered another tomb belonging to an anonymous prince (possibly QV 98), along with four hermit shelters used during the Coptic Period. The two aforementioned princes’ tombs cannot be dated exactly, even though archaeological materials suggest the early 18th Dynasty.

I.2. Geological Composition

The area of the Theban necropolis is morphologically very complex, made of different featuring elements like sloping hills, broad and narrow valleys, and high cliffs, thus creating a varied landscape that mirrors the geology of the whole region.⁴⁶ The Queens’ Valley underwent a continuous use over time, characterized by robberies, reuse of the tombs, and profanation: all these events changed both the interior of the tombs and the

³⁹ Bruyère 1952, 74.

⁴⁰ Černý *et al.* 1969-1970, 35 and pl. LXXXI.

⁴¹ Quotation from Bruyère 1952, 75.

⁴² Leblanc 1989/b, 6.

⁴³ Bruyère 1952, 75.

⁴⁴ Schiaparelli 1924, 22-24.

⁴⁵ Ballerini 1903, 32-33.

⁴⁶ Aubry *et al.* 2011, 83.

exterior interface of the landscape. In addition, the 19th-century explorations and the archaeological excavations occurred in the 20th century further contributed to change the interface of the necropolis. The badly preserved or unfinished state in which several tombs were discovered led Egyptologists to assume that they were never used. However, although tomb walls and ceilings have collapsed, this does not necessarily mean that such damages occurred in antiquity, during the construction of the tomb. Such wrong assessment of tomb use depended on the little and scarce knowledge of the geological composition of this necropolis. Only in recent times, the Getty Conservation Institute (GCI) carried out a reassessment of the whole necropolis, exploring the accessible tombs and focussing on the geology and petrography of the ground into which the tombs are cut.

A thorough geological investigation of the Queens' Valley was carried out in 2008 by Raphael A. Wüst, who elaborated geological maps of the tombs for the GCI.⁴⁷ Therefore, it is possible to re-examine the tomb architecture with another conscious eye and interpret rock damages in the light of this geological assessment. For instance, several tombs of the southern slope of the main *wadi* are cut into clay-rich marl and shale, this being the main cause of their bad state of preservation. Indeed, clay tends to swell after the contact with water and this expansion and following shrinkage during the drying-phase cause fractures in the rock, resulting in wall collapse and loss of painted plaster (in the case of the decorated tombs).⁴⁸ This explains why several tombs located on the southern flank of the main *wadi* are currently very damaged: the infiltration of the waters of the rare flash floods weakened the rock, causing its disintegration over time.

The geological environment of the Queens' Valley is peculiar and differs from that of other sites close-by that are on the Theban massif, which is composed of limestone layers upon a layer of shale (the Esna Shale) and a layer of chalk (the Dakhla Chalk) respectively.⁴⁹ Looking at figure I.6, it is possible to understand why the Queens' Valley constitutes a singular case. During the Pleistocene, the geological stratigraphy of the Queens' Valley underwent profound changes: rockslides of the Esna Formation (consisting of shale mainly) caused the slippage and rotation of the above layers of marls

⁴⁷ "Valley of the Queens: Geological Investigations 2008 (Feb. 11-18). Report for the Getty Conservation Institute" (2008) and "Valley of the Queens. Extended Mapping Project 2009 (June-Oct) for the Getty Conservation Institute. Geology Map and Transect Report" (2009). Both reports were not available to the author, but the two publications by M. Demas and N. Agnew (2012 and 2016) include references to them.

⁴⁸ Demas and Agnew 2012, 13.

⁴⁹ Aubry *et al.* 2008; Demas and Agnew 2012, 12.

and limestone.⁵⁰ In addition, torrential rainwaters caused the erosion of the surface layer of limestone, thus completing the transformation of this necropolis landscape. The majority of the tombs were cut into the so called ‘rotated block’, which resulted from the collapse of the margins of the Theban *plateau* due to the erosion of the substrate by the proto-Nile. Thus, the geological setting of the main *wadi* includes both ‘member I’ and ‘member II’ of the Thebes Formation (which are composed of marls and limestone) and the Esna Formation (which is composed of shales and marls).⁵¹

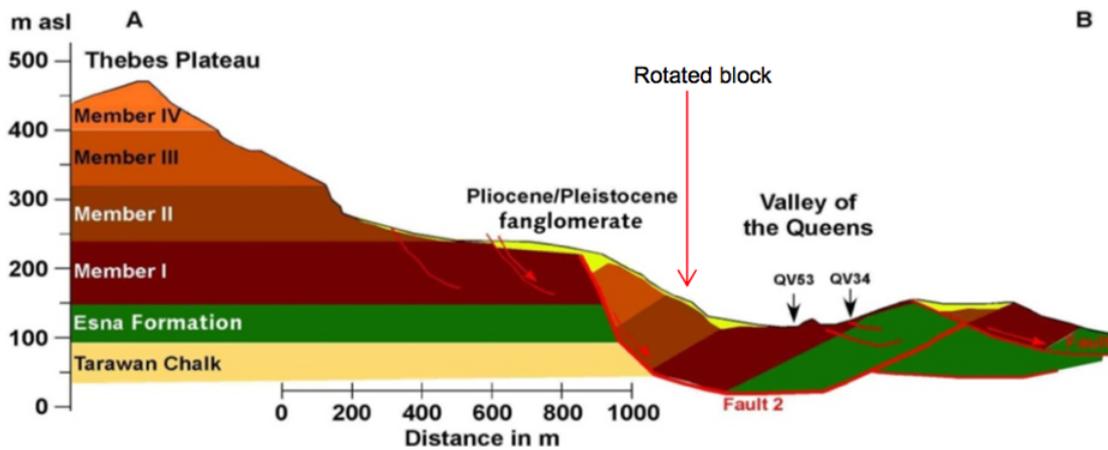


Fig. I.6. The cross-section of the geological setting of the Queens’ Valley and the ‘rotated block’ (from Demas and Agnew 2012, 17; © Demas and Agnew).

The observation of the sub-surface geology of the Queens’ Valley explains why the current state of preservation of the tombs of this necropolis is variegated. It is necessary to make a distinction between the two flanks of the main *wadi*, since, as is evident from the picture above (fig. I.6) and below (fig. I.7), the type of bedrock into which tombs are cut changes according to the spot. The Esna Formation (shales and marls) emerges almost to the surface on the southern slope of the main *wadi*, whereas the northern slope of the main *wadi* is mainly composed of Member I of the Thebes Formation (fig. I.7). This is confirmed by the current state of preservation of the tombs. Considering the 18th-dynasty shaft tombs, they show a different pattern of preservation according to their position. Those located on the southern slope of the main *wadi* have the shaft entrance cut into the thin layer of Member I and the chambers are carved into the Esna Formation: the result is that the shaft is usually quite well preserved due to the presence of marls and limestone, whereas the rooms are often in a bad state of preservation due to the clay-rich and friable

⁵⁰ Demas and Agnew 2012, 12.

⁵¹ Demas and Agnew 2012, 17.

shale of the Esna formation.

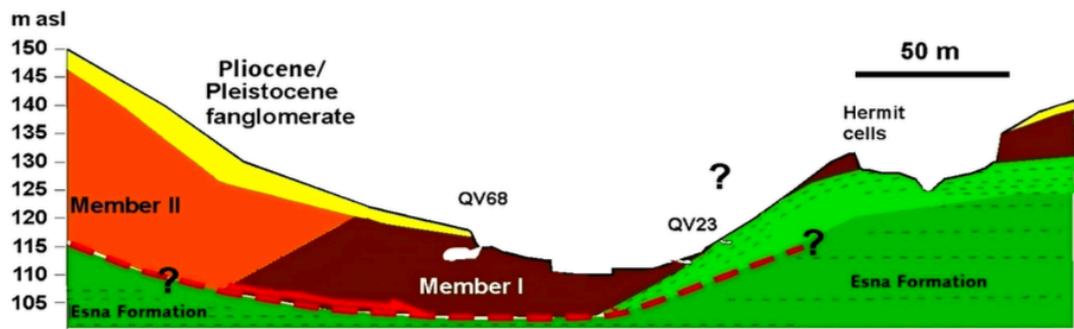


Fig. I.7. Detail of the cross-section of the Queens' Valley (from Demas and Agnew 2012, 18; © Demas and Agnew).

In this regard, tomb QV 3 lends itself as a good example: the shaft is stable because it has been cut into the solid layer of Member I and the ceiling of the burial chamber consists of a marl slab (which is cream-coloured), this being the reason why the latter is well preserved. However, the chamber has been cut into the friable shale (characterized by orange-brown colour) of the Esna Formation: thus, the walls have collapsed and it is currently difficult to identify the floor (fig. I.8).



Fig. I.8. The inside of QV 3 (picture taken from the connecting passage between QV 3 and QV 81, adapted from Demas and Agnew 2016, 33); © Demas and Agnew. Tomb number and indication of the shaft entrance and of the viewpoint were also added.

Not only were the shaft tombs located on the southern slope of the main *wadi* affected by the rock deterioration, but also the close-by tombs of the early 19th-dynasty suffered from the same fate. For instance, tomb QV 34 is badly preserved: the ceiling and part of

the walls of the pillared chamber collapsed (probably in antiquity⁵²) due to the friability of the limestone and the presence of *taflab*,⁵³ thus leaving a visible gap on the hill where the tomb is.⁵⁴ This collapse, which is unique within the Queens' Valley, is due to the fact that QV 34 is located in the sector of the rotated block, which is made of layers from Theban Member I above the Esna shale; in addition, as recorded by Wüst, there is a geologic fault in front of the same tomb along the sector into which tombs QV 31 and QV 33 were cut.⁵⁵ These geological features, along with the geological composition of the area of QV 34 (characterized by the lowermost part of Member I above and Esna shale below), explains why the ceiling of the main chamber of QV 34 has collapsed.

Conversely, the tombs located on the northern slope of the main *wadi* are cut into the marl rock of Member I, this explaining their better preservation and superior stability, depending on the higher quality of the rock. However, although the marl rock of Member I is more compact than the shale of the Esna Formation, the former contains salt minerals that, if in contact with water, can be mobilized, thus causing instability in the bedrock. In any case, the tombs cut into the northern slope of the main *wadi* are less affected by water floods, which is the main cause of the expansion and contraction of the clay when it is wet.⁵⁶ All these considerations are helpful in order to understand the current state of conservation of the tombs.

In addition, knowledge of the geological formation and rock typologies of this necropolis may help in understanding how the ancient architects may have selected the spot in which a new tomb could be prepared. The quality of the rock, the project, and the ability of the workmen were important factors in view of the successful construction of a tomb. Looking at the pictures of the interior of the tombs,⁵⁷ their state of preservation often looks rather poor. Sometimes, based on this kind of observation, it has been assumed that some tombs were not used or finished, because of the instability of the ceiling and walls. However, the presence of archaeological materials inside these tombs is an evident clue to their use. Damages have occurred over time, due to flash floods and climatic changes. The only case in which it is obvious that a tomb was never used is when it deals with a commenced structure. The reason why these commenced tombs were not

⁵² Demas and Agnew 2016, 196.

⁵³ Egyptian term that indicates clay-rich rock formation characterized by laminated and friable layers of brown shale; see: Lecuyot 1992, 89; Demas and Agnew 2016, 24.

⁵⁴ See picture in Demas and Agnew 2016, 197.

⁵⁵ Demas and Agnew 2016, 160.

⁵⁶ See Demas and Agnew 2016, 20 and 160.

⁵⁷ In this regard, the publications by Demas and Agnew (2012 and 2016) have been an invaluable tool.

completed can vary: 1) if the rock, into which a tomb was cut, was clay-rich and too friable, its walls and ceiling could not guarantee any stability, therefore, it was reasonable to interrupt the construction work; 2) in addition, the construction of a tomb could be interrupted if the workmen stumbled upon another tomb (see *Chapter VII.3*); 3) finally, the architect in charge of the project of the tomb construction may realise that a sector was a high-risk location (as in the case of QV 86, which was too close to the ancient dam and may have suffered from infiltration of water),⁵⁸ thus preferring to interrupt the cutting. Another option, although it is difficult to offer a solid argumentation, may be that 4) a construction project could be interrupted because of the short reigns of the last Ramesside rulers. With this regard, pap. Turin cat. 1923 records that six tombs were prepared during the reign of Kings Ramses VI (1143-1136 BC),⁵⁹ however, these tombs have not been detected thus far. It may be likely that the construction of such tombs began but was interrupted because of the short reign of this king. It can also be suggested that 5) some of the late Ramesside Period tombs may have remained in a commenced status due to the tomb workmen's strikes that affected the Theban necropolis in the 20th Dynasty (1186-1069 BC).⁶⁰

The table below includes a list of all the commenced tombs within the Queens' Valley, provided with information about their dating and possible cause for the interruption of their construction (table I.a). Concerning these tombs, the author prefers to use the adjective 'commenced', instead of 'unfinished', because it is clear that their construction was initiated and then interrupted in the early stages of the works. It deals with tombs that likely were never used, due to the incompleteness of their architectural layout. Among these commenced tombs, QV 57 was interpreted as an embalming pit by Elizabeth Thomas (1907-1986),⁶¹ although no mention of any archaeological finding that may be related to any embalming activity was noted. The construction of the commenced 20th-dynasty tombs QV 84, QV 85, QV 86, and QV 95 may have been stopped for other reasons than those related to the poor quality of the rock: as remarked above, the precarious political and economic situation of the late 20th Dynasty and the several strikes that resulted from it may have caused the interruption of the tomb construction in the

⁵⁸ Leblanc 1989/a, 239.

⁵⁹ Kitchen 2102, 288 (367:14).

⁶⁰ Strikes occurred during the reigns of Ramses III (regnal year 29), Ramses IV (regnal year 2), Ramses IX (regnal year 13 and 14), and Ramses XI (regnal year 17). On this regard, see: Valbelle 1985, 190-193; Testa 2009, 51-69; Davies 2018, 319-326.

⁶¹ Thomas 1966, 188.

Queens' Valley.

Commenced tomb	Epoch	Likely reason of the interruption of the tomb construction
QV 2	18 th Dyn.	Cut into friable rock
QV 5?	18 th Dyn.	?
QV 6?	18 th Dyn.	?
QV 24	20 th Dyn.	Collision with QV 25
QV 28	18 th Dyn.	?
QV 35	18 th Dyn.	?
QV 45	20 th Dyn.	?
QV 49	19 th Dyn.	?
QV 50	20 th Dyn.	Collision with QV 49
QV 54	20 th Dyn.	?
QV 56	19 th Dyn.	Friable fan conglomerate into which it was cut
QV 57	19 th Dyn.	Friable fan conglomerate into which it was cut
QV 83	18 th Dyn.	?
QV 84	20 th Dyn.	Poor quality of the rock? Workmen's strikes?
QV 85	20 th Dyn.	Poor quality of the rock? Workmen's strikes?
QV 86	20 th Dyn.	Poor quality of the rock? Workmen's strikes?
QV 95	20 th Dyn.	Poor quality of the rock? Workmen's strikes?

Table I.a. Commenced tombs in the Queens' Valley. © E. Casini.

It is important to stress the distinction between 'commenced' and 'unfinished' because there are tombs, within the Queens' Valley, that show a completed architectural structure and were probably used, although opinions in this regard vary. For instance, according to Ballerini, tomb QV 97 was never used because of the instability of the rock into which it is cut.⁶² However, a fragment of alabaster vase was found within it and Schiaparelli was of a different opinion, assuming that the tomb was used for the burial of a king or prince of the 17th or 18th Dynasty.⁶³ Conversely, not all the architecturally-completed tombs may have hosted the burial of the individuals for whom they had originally been designed. For instance, QV 43 should have hosted the burial of Prince Sethherkhepeshef, who ascended the throne as Ramses VIII; thus, the tomb may not have been used for his entombment during the 20th Dynasty. Nevertheless, Leblanc is of a different opinion: he assumes that Sethherkhepeshef (II)/Ramses VIII was a son of Prince Sethherkhepeshef (I), for whom tomb QV 43 was prepared:⁶⁴ if it was the case, tomb QV 43 should have hosted the burial of this Sethherkhepeshef (I)/ son of Ramses III. There are Ramesside Period tombs that show an unfinished decorative program (*e.g.* QV 38 and QV 41), and others that remains anonymous due to the fact that the cartouches have been left blank (*e.g.* tombs QV 31

⁶² Ballerini 1903, 36.

⁶³ Schiaparelli 1924, 47.

⁶⁴ Leblanc 2001-2002, 198-199.

and QV 40); despite this, such tombs were likely used in the Ramesside Period. In this regard, it is worth remarking that there are tombs that are currently in a bad state of preservation (with collapsed walls and ceiling), and one may assume that they did not host any burial; however, the finding of archaeological materials indicates that they were *de facto* used (e.g. QV 3).

I.3. Some Remarks on the *t3 s.t nfr.w* Toponym

Since modern times, the Queens' Valley has been named through different Arabic expressions: *Biban el-Hajj Ahmed*⁶⁵ ('the Doors of the Pilgrim Ahmed'), *Biban el-Banat* ('the Doors of the Daughters'), *Biban el-Harim* ('the Doors of Women'), *Biban el-Malikat* ('the Doors of the Queens'), *Biban el-Soltanat* ('the Doors of the Sultanas'), and finally *Wadi el-Malikat* ('the Queens' Valley').⁶⁶ The modern denomination "Queens' Valley" originates from the first half of the 19th century, when the early explorers discovered tombs that mainly belonged to royal consorts: therefore, this necropolis was interpreted as a burial ground designed for queens. Wilkinson was the first one to give the necropolis this designation, by mentioning it as the "Valley of the Queens' Tombs".⁶⁷ This modern name is still in use up to today; however, it suggests a misleading idea regarding the social background of the tomb owners and it does not suit the actual state of affairs. Already in 1903, after the first archaeological campaign in *Bab el-Harim*,⁶⁸ Ballerini guessed that the actual situation was more complex than previously thought, and in a letter written to his family stated "*La Valle delle Regine che minaccia di diventare come vi dissi la Valle dei Principi*".⁶⁹ Even Thomas suggested to avoid the modern name "Queens' Valley" since princes were also buried therein.⁷⁰ The results of the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* highlighted the complexity of the social interface of the people who were buried within the necropolis, a complexity that has not been investigated in-depth so far, in particular with regard to the 18th Dynasty.

During the Ramesside Period, ancient Egyptians called this necropolis *t3 s.t nfr.w*,

⁶⁵ Bonomi 1906, 82 (n. 44 and 45). Ahmed was a pilgrim from Bairat who lived at Deir el-Rumi. The Arabic term *biban* likely refers to the tomb entrances (Leblanc 1989/b, 23).

⁶⁶ See Leblanc 1989/b, 23.

⁶⁷ Wilkinson 1835, 79.

⁶⁸ This is how F. Ballerini refers to the Queens' Valley (instead of *Biban el-Harim*).

⁶⁹ Quotation from Consonni and Quirino 2012, 125 (letter of the 10th of March sent from Giza).

⁷⁰ Thomas 1966, 208.

translated as “the Seat/Place of Beauty”,⁷¹ which - according to Černý - worked as “a hint at the former attractiveness of its dead occupants”.⁷² The toponym *t3 s.t nfr.w* made its first appearance during the 19th Dynasty (1295-1186 BC), when this necropolis was chosen as burial ground for royal consorts (and some princesses). It is attested on different types of media like papyrus, ostraca, tomb walls, and stelae. It is not known what the necropolis was called during the 18th Dynasty, although it might be possible that the designation was the same.⁷³ If this was the case, then it would be challenging to understand whether the term *nfr.w* refers to the tomb owners of the first phase of occupation (18th Dynasty) or to those of the 19th Dynasty. In addition, considering the formation and meaning of ancient Egyptian toponyms, it may be possible that the term *nfr.w* refers to a quality of the place or landscape, which was imbued with symbolic/religious significance.⁷⁴

That of *t3 s.t nfr.w* was not the only ancient toponym used to indicate the Queens’ Valley but there are other expressions that clearly referred to it. One of these is *t3 jn.t 3.t*, “the Great Valley”.⁷⁵ The territorial extension of the Queens’ Valley clearly explains why this necropolis was named *t3 jn.t 3.t*: indeed, it extended from the rock-cut sanctuary of Ptah of the *Ta Set Neferu* (*pth n t3 s.t n nfr.w*), close to the Deir el-Medina village, to its western limit, the Grotto-cascade. In the framework of one of the tomb inspections occurring at the end of the 20th Dynasty (precisely during the regnal year 16 of Ramses IX), the coppersmith Paykheru, who was accused of theft in Queen Isis’ tomb, was brought to the ‘great valley’ and there examined, in order to indicate where the queen’s tomb was located.⁷⁶ There is no possibility of misunderstanding the expression *t3 jn.t 3.t* since the tomb of Queen Isis is located in the Queens’ Valley.

Another report refers to the inspection of the tomb of the *hm.t nsw* Habadjilat (pap. BM EA10052/rto., 1.13-19).⁷⁷ Although the identification of this queen is challenging (see *Chapter VII.4*), the tomb in question seems to be located within the Queens’ Valley. A passage of text indicates the burial ground through the locution *s.wt 3.wt šps.w*, the “Great Places of the Venerable Individuals”, otherwise translated by Kenneth A. Kitchen

⁷¹ For instance, see the translation of pap. Abbott/rto., 4.11-12 suggested by E. Otto: “Die großen Stätten der Königskinder, Königsmahlinnen und Königsmütter, die an der Stätte der Schönheit sind” (Otto 1952, 76).

⁷² Quotation from Černý 1973/a, 90.

⁷³ As hypothesized by Leblanc (1989/b, 14).

⁷⁴ In this regard, see Rummel 2016, 44.

⁷⁵ It occurs in pap. Abbott/rto., 5,5 (Kitchen 2012, 364). See: Montet 1961, 64; Leblanc 1989/b, 4, 62 (note n. 6).

⁷⁶ Valbelle 1985, 162-163; Kitchen 2012, 364.

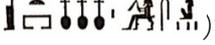
⁷⁷ Kitchen 2012, 540.

as the “Great and August Places” (he considered the -hieroglyph⁷⁸ as an adjective, *šps.wt*⁷⁹). Taking into consideration that all the so far known tombs of the Ramesside royal consorts are placed within the Queens’ Valley,⁸⁰ the expression *s.wt ʿ3.wt šps.w(t)* should refer to the same necropolis. The term *šps.w* (“noble individuals”) might refer to the tomb owners, although there is no attestation, among the so far known Queens’ Valley tomb owners, of individuals bearing the *šps/šps.t*-epithet. A confirmation of the correlation *s.wt ʿ3.wt šps.w(t)*/Queens’ Valley is provided by the fact that the *šps*-hieroglyph occurs in the toponym *t3 s.t nfr.w šps.w* (the *Place of the Noble Beauties*⁸¹), within the *Turin Journal of the Necropolis* (VIII.3):⁸² the passage in question deals with an inquiry which reports on the events of the regnal year 17 of Ramses IX and mentions the inspection of the tomb of Queen Isis (QV 51).

Finally, Leblanc mentions the locution *t3 jn.t rsj.t*, “the Southern Valley”, as another toponym indicating the Queens’ Valley.⁸³ Although this designation suits its topographical position, in the southern area of the Theban necropolis, the author did not find any attestation of it among the textual evidence.

Turning back to the toponym *t3 s.t nfr.w*, several translations have been suggested over time, which mainly depended on the determinatives that follow the noun *nfr.w*:⁸⁴

1) *the Place of Beauty* (): the word *nfr.w* is interpreted as an abstract noun, being followed by a papyrus roll and the three strokes determinatives;

2) *le Séjour des Bons*⁸⁵ () or *the Place of Venerable Individuals*⁸⁶ (): in both examples the noun *nfr.w* is provided with the determinative of the seated nobleman holding the *nh3h3*-scepter and in the latter with the additional determinative of the seated woman;

3) *la Place des Splendeurs ou des Perfections*;⁸⁷

⁷⁸ Gardiner’s sign-list A 51.

⁷⁹ For the hieroglyphic text, see Kitchen 1983, 768; for the translation, see Kitchen 2012, 540.

⁸⁰ With the exception of the burial of Queen Takhat^A (Reeves and Wilkinson 1996, 151).

⁸¹ Kitchen 2012, 427. For the hieroglyphic text, see Kitchen 1983, 579.

⁸² Kitchen 1983, 579; Kitchen 2012, 427.

⁸³ Leblanc mentions Montet as bibliographical reference (Leblanc 1989/b, 4 and 62, note n. 6). Montet states that the locution *t3 jn.t rsj.t* occurs in pap. Ambras 2.10 (1961, 64), a document dated to the 6th year of the *whm msw.t* of Ramses XI (Winand 2011, 40); however, by checking this reference, the author did not find such a toponym in the text (Kitchen 1983, 837; Testa 2009, 393).

⁸⁴ See Leblanc 1989/b, 14-23. The following hieroglyphic writings are adapted from Leblanc 1989/b, 15 and 16.

⁸⁵ For this interpretation, see Gauthier 1928, 77.

⁸⁶ Leblanc 1989/b, 17.

⁸⁷ Bruyère 1930, 52.

- 4) *le Lieu d'Élection des Âme Divines et Royales*,⁸⁸
- 5) *the Place of the Divine Manifestation*, or *la Place de Lotus*, a translation suggested by Desroches-Noblecourt, based on the interpretation of the Grotto-cascade as a rebirth machine for the deceased;⁸⁹
- 6) *the Place of the Royal Children/La Place (où reposent) les enfants royaux*,⁹⁰ an interpretation that partly fits with the Queens' Valley in the 18th Dynasty, when the most attested (honorific) title was that of *s3(.t) nsw*.⁹¹ Leblanc finds this interpretation very likely, in particular 'si l'on retient l'éventualité qu'un nom fut attribué à la nécropole à partir de la XVIIIe dynastie'.⁹² However, it has to be considered that only a few 18th-dynasty tomb owners are known by name, by title, or by both. In addition, it is worth remarking that such a translation may be more reliable if there was the term *msw-nsw* instead of *nfr.w*. Indeed, the term *nfr.w* has the meaning of 'Jünglinge' or 'Rekruten' when it is followed by the determinative of the sitting child with hand to the mouth (, Gardiner's sign-list A 17),⁹³ but this is not the case of the *nfr.w* occurring within the toponym *t3 s.t nfr.w*;
- 7) *the Place of the Royal Harem*,⁹⁴ an interpretation that suits the social fabric of tomb owners in the Ramesside Period. Indeed, passages of text of the pap. Abbott (rto. 4.11-4.12⁹⁵, 6.6⁹⁶) remark that royal children, royal wives, and royal mothers were buried there. Leblanc supports this interpretation as one of the most suitable.⁹⁷ However, this hypothesis does not take into account the fact that the term *nfr.w* does not indicate the royal harem, which usually corresponds to the expression *hnr n pr-nsw*.
- 8) *the Place of the Innermost Chambers* is another interpretation that may be suggested, based on the fact that during the New Kingdom, the term *nfr.w* followed by the *pr*-determinative indicated the innermost chambers of royal tombs.⁹⁸

After having highlighted all the abovementioned interpretations concerning the toponym *t3 s.t nfr.w*, it is evident how difficult it is to find a solution. Very likely ancient Egyptians attributed only one meaning to the toponym *t3 s.t nfr.w*, although the

⁸⁸ Bruyère 1930, 52 (footnote 2).

⁸⁹ Desroches-Noblecourt 1990-1991, 20-21.

⁹⁰ Leblanc 1989/b, 18-19; Leblanc and Fekri 1993, 259; Leblanc 1999, 833.

⁹¹ Leblanc 1989/b, 18.

⁹² Quotation from Leblanc 1989/b, 19.

⁹³ See WB II, 258; Hannig 2006, 432.

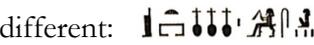
⁹⁴ Leblanc 1999, 833; Strudwick and Strudwick 1999, 129.

⁹⁵ Peet 1930 (text), 39.

⁹⁶ Peet 1930 (text), 41.

⁹⁷ Leblanc 1989/b, 20.

⁹⁸ WB II, 260 (19).

determinatives are multiple and vary. By checking the recurring determinatives, it is worth remarking that writings of the *t3 s.t nfr.w* toponym provided with different determinatives show up even within the same document. For instance, on pap. Abbott, the toponym *t3 s.t nfr.w* occurs four times and is provided with three different determinatives: twice with ,⁹⁹ once with ,¹⁰⁰ and once with  and  together.¹⁰¹ This observation highlights the inconsistency of the use of determinatives, which does not imply a heterogeneity of meaning. It is obvious that the toponym *t3 s.t nfr.w* semantically had a precise meaning for ancient Egyptians and the multiplicity of determinatives might have depended on the single scribes and their cognitive background. This inconsistency is evident from another example. Three documents report on tomb inspections that occurred within the *t3 s.t nfr.w* during the regnal year 17 of Ramses IX. The writings of the same toponym are different:  in the *Turin Journal of the Necropolis* (determinative: ) ,  in pap. BM EA10053 (determinative: ) , and  in pap. BM EA10068 (determinative: ). Taking into account that these documents were written in a limited time-span, it is apparent that a lack of homogeneity in the spelling of the toponym *t3 s.t nfr.w* likely depended on the scribes who composed such documents.

Apart from the official documents written on papyrus, attestations of the toponym *t3 s.t nfr.w* also occur on other media like ostraca, stelae, tomb walls, and statues.¹⁰² Checking the attestations on these media, the author observed that the word *nfr.w* is provided with determinatives like those already mentioned above; otherwise, it can be devoid of any determinative as well (e.g. *ostrakon* Cairo CG 25052,¹⁰³ *ostrakon* London BM 29556,¹⁰⁴ and a limestone *ex-voto* published by Bruyère in 1927¹⁰⁵). Within the tomb of Inherkhau (IT 359, 20th Dyn.), the toponym *t3 s.t nfr.w* occurs in connection with one of the tomb owner's sons, who is labelled as *s3=f mr=f w^cb pth n t3 s.t nfr.w kn-n3 m3^c-hrw*, *his son, the one who he loves, the wab-priest of Ptab of the t3 s.t nfr.w, Qenna, true of voice*,¹⁰⁶ therein, *nfr.w* is provided with the determinative of the plural form only (i.e. the three strokes). It is interesting to remark that a number of fragments of the statue of this Inherkhau were

⁹⁹ BM EA10221, rto. 5.8-9 (Kitchen 1983, 475) and 6.6 (Kitchen 1983, 477).

¹⁰⁰ BM EA10221, rto. 4.12 (Kitchen 1983, 474).

¹⁰¹ BM EA10221, rto. 7.10 (Kitchen 1983, 480).

¹⁰² Bruyère 1930, 48-52; Leblanc 1989/b, 15-16.

¹⁰³ Daressy 1901, 11, pl. XI.

¹⁰⁴ Check the online collection of the British Museum website.

¹⁰⁵ Bruyère 1930, 49 (n. 7).

¹⁰⁶ Cherpion and Corteggiani 2010 (II), 67, fig. 101.

found by Bruyère in tomb n. 1166 at Deir el-Medina¹⁰⁷ and belong to the base of a statue that Bruyère himself discovered in 1928 in tomb TT 356. Part of the text, which is preserved on these fragments, includes the toponym *t3 s.t nfr.w*, with the noun *nfr.w* occurring without any determinative. The evident inconsistency in the use of determinatives following the term *nfr.w* may suggest that they were perceived as superfluous: indeed, beyond the presence or lack of determinatives, ancient Egyptians knew the meaning of the toponym *t3 s.t nfr.w*.

Only a few attestations of the toponym *t3 s.t nfr.w* occur within religious texts. An interesting object is a limestone round-topped stela kept at the British Museum (EA278), dated to the 20th Dynasty.¹⁰⁸ The stela might have been set up in Ptah and Meretseger's sanctuary, since the text mentions rituals carried out in the *t3 s.t nfr.w* by Qenherkhepeshef, who addresses his prayer to the Goddess Hathor. It is worth remarking that here the writing *t3 s.t nfr.w* is provided with the determinative of the plural strokes only. Even on the stela of Qaha,¹⁰⁹ possibly coming from the same rocky sanctuary, the term *nfr.w* of the toponym *Ta Set Neferu* is provided with the determinative of the plural strokes only. These are only two examples, but they seem to confirm that determinatives after the term *nfr.w* may have been perceived as not strictly necessary.

Another solution concerning the meaning of *nfr.w* can be suggested by considering the association of the *t3 s.t nfr.w* with a peculiar form of Ptah, that of *pth m t3 s.t nfr.w*, who was worshipped within the abovementioned rocky sanctuary located on the path between Deir el-Medina and the Queens' Valley. Among the epithets that the god Ptah is provided with, there are those of *nfr hr*¹¹⁰ (*beautiful of face*) and *nfr hr m w3s.t*¹¹¹ (*beautiful of face in Thebes*). One may wonder whether the toponym *t3 s.t nfr.w* may derive from this particular form of Ptah *nfr hr*, which might have given the name to the nearby necropolis. If this is the case the term *nfr.w* could refer not to the tomb owners of the Queens' Valley but to a quality of Ptah, that of beauty or perfection. Therefore, two of the earliest suggested translations of the toponym, those of *Place of Beauty* or *Place of Perfection*, may in effect be close to the original meaning of the ancient toponym. When the toponym *t3 s.t nfr.w* appears within sacred/religious/funerary texts, on tomb walls, stelae, and statues,

¹⁰⁷ Bruyère 1937, 43, fig. 19.

¹⁰⁸ Bruyère 1930, 23-30; Frood 2007, 229-231.

¹⁰⁹ Spiegelberg 1904, 37-38 (n. 27), pl. XIX; Bruyère 1930, 49, fig. 29.

¹¹⁰ Kurth 2004, 199.

¹¹¹ Leitz 2002-2003 (vol. VIII), p. 205.

the term *nfr.w* does not possess any specific determinative, probably because the meaning of the toponym itself referred to an abstract notion. Determinatives like the *šps*-hieroglyph ()⁴⁴, the *pr*-hieroglyph ()⁴⁵, and the papyrus roll ()⁴⁶ might have been added by the scribes who recorded the tomb inspections, with the purpose of specifying the physical place, that is the tomb ()⁴⁷, or to specify the ‘content’, *i.e.* the tomb owners ()⁴⁸, of the necropolis.

Chapter II. Decoding the Queens' Valley Landscape

The analysis of the interconnection between the morphology of the Queens' Valley landscape, the sacred space of this necropolis and that of the whole Theban area, the ritual activity, and the social identity of the tomb owners constitute the connective tissue and framework of this second chapter. The first section includes a brief introduction to the Landscape Archaeology discipline, thus providing a theoretical basis for the understanding of the landscape-issue; it also aims at showing the potential of such a type of study in the light of its application to the reassessment of the Queens' Valley necropolis. Then, attention will be directed to the description of the current necropolis landscape and some reflections about how this funerary landscape may have looked like in the New Kingdom will be proposed. Afterwards, recourse to interpretative models borrowed from the Archaeology of Landscape discipline will aim to decode the landscape of the Queens' Valley, by deconstructing it into single features. Finally, the author will address the issue relating the relationship between landscape and social identity, making recourse to a comparative approach that takes into account other burial grounds located over the Theban West Bank (*i.e.* the Kings' Valley and the south-western *wadis*), which show some features in common with the Queens' Valley.

II.1. The Construction of Landscape through Perception, Experience, and Conceptualization

The in-depth knowledge of a territory is an imperative for archaeologists, either in order to elaborate answers to archaeological and historiographic questions, or to cope with issues related to protection of the environment and its valorisation. Landscape is a container of information that archaeologists can decipher in order to reconstruct the history of the events that took place within it.¹¹² Human beings have occupied places that they have used and exploited, onto which they have left their marks by means of transformation of the natural environment and construction of architectural structures: therefore, these places bear record of their anthropic action. The understanding of psychological aspects concerning the relationships of humans with landscapes requires

¹¹² Preucel and Mrozowski 2010, 54.

deep analysis and employment of anthropological skills and detailed knowledge of the mindset of a specific population, its cultural system, and religious beliefs.

Interest in landscapes has developed in the last decades, resulting in the emergence of a new discipline that was, at its early stage, not formalized and devoid of its own methodologies.¹¹³ The landscape was once considered a simple backdrop to historical events but it has been revalued, over time, as an active entity connected with human lives.¹¹⁴ Different approaches to the study of landscapes were proposed, this being the reason why this relatively new discipline found it hard to acquire an amalgamated nature.¹¹⁵ However, its branching character represents the strength of the discipline itself that is inherently multidisciplinary, aimed at intertwining the study of the material culture, the natural environment, and the anthropic impact on the environment. In the mid-to-late 1980s, the emergence of the autonomous discipline of Landscape Archaeology within the academic field¹¹⁶ contributed to focusing attention towards the interchange between human beings and the surrounding environment.

In recent times, the analysis of landscape has taken hold in the Egyptological field as well, thus providing a new key for interpreting not only environments but also phenomena. This does not mean that landscape was not taken into account before; however, the main interest was directed to the investigation of its natural features. The analysis of the relation between the natural landscape and the distribution of man-made structures is a quite recent achievement in this field.¹¹⁷ Attention to the mutual influence between landscape and human agency has given input to the analysis of the landscape of several necropoleis and sites. Concerning the Theban necropolis, only in the last decade or so have studies focused on the examination of the funerary/ritual/sacred landscape of the West Bank,¹¹⁸ the Kings' Valley,¹¹⁹ and Dra Abu el-Naga.¹²⁰ Concerning the Queens' Valley, such studies are missing. Desroches-Noblecourt directed her attention to the sector of the Grotto-cascade only.¹²¹ Moreover, M. Demas and N. Agnew dedicated

¹¹³ Mills 1997, 122.

¹¹⁴ Knapp and Ashmore 1999, 2.

¹¹⁵ Muir 1999, xiii.

¹¹⁶ David and Thomas 2008, 27 and 36.

¹¹⁷ In this direction, a pioneering work has certainly been the geo-archaeological survey carried out in the eastern Nile Delta by B. van Wesemael and P. Dirks (*The Relation between the Natural Landscape and the Spatial Distribution of Archaeological Remains. A Geo-Archaeological Survey in an Area North of Faqus, Eastern Nile Delta, Egypt, Amsterdam, University of Amsterdam, Department of Physical Geography and Soil Science, 1986*).

¹¹⁸ Ullmann 2007; Rummel 2016.

¹¹⁹ Bickel 2016/b.

¹²⁰ Oekinga 2007.

¹²¹ Desroches-Noblecourt 1990-1991.

merely a half-page paragraph (*'Landscape and setting'*) within the first volume of the Queens' Valley assessment.¹²² Therefore, it was evident that there was space for a new research question focused on the examination of the Queens' Valley landscape.

Before addressing this topic in-depth, it is necessary to provide an adequate theoretical basis, starting from the examination of the concept itself of "landscape". Indeed, the meaning of this term has changed over time and the search for a unique, universal definition of this complex notion has constituted a true challenge for scholars. This term was created in the framework of the Dutch visual art of the 16th century, in order '*to describe a pictorial representation of countryside... Later the word came to include within its meaning both this sense, of countryside represented in a picture, and another, more loose, of a piece of countryside considered as a visual phenomenon*'.¹²³

The term "landscape" derives from the German "Landschaft", which possesses two main meanings: 1) *portion of land* and 2) *appearance of a land as we perceive it*.¹²⁴ The latter implies a subjective interpretation depending on human perception,¹²⁵ an aspect that bothered the geographers during the 50s and 60s of the last century, who rejected this human perception-aspect attributed to landscape, since it was interpreted as not properly scientific as the subject of Geography was.¹²⁶ Only in the 80s, was the concept of landscape restored by the American humanist geographers, by accepting its subjective aspects and integrating them with the studies of the geographical science.¹²⁷ Starting from that moment on, landscape has always been considered as strictly connected to human agency, and no longer as an aseptic "piece of land". The distinction between land and landscape is fundamental. Indeed, "land" does not correspond with landscape automatically since it is something that can be quantified whilst landscape cannot be simply quantified.¹²⁸ On the other hand, landscape is not merely a physical space, rather it is a social product, resulting from the transforming anthropic action.¹²⁹ This trend towards a socially-oriented Archaeology of Landscape has given new input to the discipline itself: landscape is more and other than environment and social processes play a key role in the formation of a given landscape, which results from the connection

¹²² Demas and Agnew 2012, 12.

¹²³ Quotation from Barrell 1972, 1; see also David and Thomas 2008, 27.

¹²⁴ Quotation from Olwig 1996, 630.

¹²⁵ Knapp and Ashmore 1999, 1.

¹²⁶ Muir 1999, xvii.

¹²⁷ Cosgrove 1985.

¹²⁸ Preucel and Mrozowski 2010, 55.

¹²⁹ Cosgrove 1984, 14; Preucel and Mrozowski 2010, 55.

between space (physical setting) and agency (human activities).¹³⁰

Landscape is an intellectual product depending on “*changes and adaptations of the physical background made by man in his efforts to satisfy his needs*”,¹³¹ it can therefore be interpreted as a way of seeing the world.¹³² All this multiplicity of nuances have made it difficult to find a univocal definition of this concept,¹³³ which evidently floats between a natural and a cultural *continuum*.¹³⁴ Not only is landscape a social product, but it can be also qualified as a cultural product:¹³⁵ landscapes are indeed environments that humans inhabit and transform. Even the Queens’ Valley landscape is culturally determined¹³⁶ since it has been affected and changed by anthropic action: anthropic activity has shaped the natural features and transformed the landscape from a natural to a cultural product. The cultural-determined factor confirms that the perception and meaning of a landscape depend on the subjectivity of the actors: in turn, the way individuals accomplish these processes depends on their cultural background.¹³⁷

Terminology is relevant for the understanding of the concept of landscape and the analytical approach needs definitions and classifications. As remarked above, landscape is not merely ‘land’, nor ‘space’ (which is an abstract and analytical concept),¹³⁸ nor ‘place’ (which is a tangible concept, the place being a physical, cultural, and historical entity).¹³⁹ However, it must be clear that the physical entity is part of a landscape: indeed, “*places form landscapes and landscapes may be defined as sets of relational places each embodying (literally and metaphorically) emotions, memories and associations derived from personal and interpersonal shared experience*”.¹⁴⁰ A “place” (= physical entity) can contain a “space” (= abstract entity), and this way of thinking finds a concrete confirmation in this case study: the Queens’ Valley consists of a physical place (the high rocky cliffs, the concealed valleys, the cave, *etcetera*) that includes a sacred space (which is elaborated by the subjectivity of the agents and exists, therefore, inside the mind). In addition to “land”, “place”, and “space”, landscape has also been simply intended as an objective “scenery”, “setting”, or “region”.¹⁴¹ All these

¹³⁰ Tilley 1994, 10.

¹³¹ Quotation from Bryan 1958, 1.

¹³² Cosgrove 1984, 13.

¹³³ Knapp and Ashmore 1999, 6.

¹³⁴ Tilley 1994, 37.

¹³⁵ Sauer 1965; Barrett 1991, 8.

¹³⁶ Concerning “culturally determined” landscapes, see Knapp and Ashmore 1999, 2.

¹³⁷ Bickel 2016/b, 15.

¹³⁸ Tilley 1999, 178.

¹³⁹ Tilley 1999, 178 and 180.

¹⁴⁰ Quotation from Tilley 1999, 177.

¹⁴¹ Muir 1999, 11.

terms are in part correct, but they refer to the physical aspect of landscape only and make its comprehension incomplete. Actually, landscape is what is seen and what is perceived: as stated by Tilley, “*we enter a landscape and create a subjective but culturally bound perception of it. We also interact with the materiality of place and the place interacts with us and affects the manner in which we perceive.*”¹⁴² In this direction, the brief and incisive definition of landscape provided by Bernard Knapp and Wendy Ashmore represents an ideal meeting point between morphology and social/cultural aspect: “*landscape is an entity that exists by virtue of its being perceived, experienced, and conceptualized by people*”.¹⁴³ Perception, experience, and conceptualization are processes that put a landscape into existence. In addition, landscape can also be defined as a visual construct,¹⁴⁴ in the sense of a construction elaborated and conceptualized by means of an experienced visual perception.

Landscapes are not only visualized: they also can be smelled, heard, and felt through a multisensorial approach.¹⁴⁵ Analysing a landscape means investigating how ancient people visualized and perceived the world within which they lived. Christopher Tilley has paved the way for the application of a phenomenological approach within the archaeological disciplines and, at the same time, has the credit for having laid the basis for the elaboration of a new discipline, which by recourse to an interdisciplinary approach and disciplines like Geography, Geology, and Archaeology attempts to analyse and to interpret landscapes. The interpretation of the meaning of a place through the encultured and emplaced body is the aim of the *Phenomenology of Landscape*: it is through the human experience that a landscape can unveil its essence.¹⁴⁶ According to Tilley, the “embodiment”, that is the participant observation of the phenomenologist, is necessary in order to analyse the landscape from the inside: active participation within the landscape allows the agent to study it through the body, which works as a research tool and makes the personal experience possible, without any sort of mediation.¹⁴⁷ It results that no landscape can be defined as “objective” since its comprehension depends on the personal/subjective perception: indeed, as stated by Tilley, “*the body is the ground or anchor by means of which we locate ourselves in the world, perceive and apprehend it*”.¹⁴⁸ Sensory experience is invaluable in order to accomplish the phenomenological approach to landscapes: the personal

¹⁴² Quotation from Tilley 2004, 220.

¹⁴³ Quotation from Knapp and Ashmore 1999, 1.

¹⁴⁴ Tilley 1999, 180.

¹⁴⁵ Tilley 1999, 180.

¹⁴⁶ Tilley 1994; Tilley 2008.

¹⁴⁷ Tilley 2008, 271.

¹⁴⁸ Quotation from Tilley 1999, 34.

experience is synaesthetic, in the sense that the perceptions through different senses are mixed during the process of the acquisition of data and the elaboration of the result.¹⁴⁹ However, this phenomenological approach has been questioned by John Bintcliff,¹⁵⁰ who remarks that Tilley's interpretative model of the landscapes of past societies gives attention to social life and humans only, without considering other relevant variables like economy. For this reason, Bintcliff suggests that archaeological theorists should make recourse to the "*holistic vision of human society in its natural environment*".¹⁵¹

Two types of approaches, "descriptive" and "interpretative" can be used in order to decode a landscape.¹⁵² The descriptive approach consists of the physical description of the landscape, taking note of all the geographical features, elaborating maps, trying to reconstruct the different alternating sequences of the stratigraphic formation and analysing how the contemporary patterns have intertwined with the ancient setting. The interpretative approach aims to detect the human presence within the landscape and understanding the social use of the space, the way ancient people experienced it and interacted with it, and how they changed it. The interpretative approach aims at unveiling the landscape as the projection of social background, culture, and religious beliefs onto a spatial field. Both these methodological approaches, descriptive and interpretative, have been used in order to examine and assess the landscape of the Queens' Valley, which will be deconstructed into its essential parts: a natural environment that human agency has forged, the place of materialization of divine presence, and the space of the (invisible) social construction.

II.2. Past and Present: Some Thoughts on the Landscape of the Queens' Valley

The current landscape of the Queens' Valley is the result of centuries of use, reuse, robberies, natural decay, modern explorations, and excavations. All these actions have transformed the original, natural landscape. At present, the Queens' Valley shows itself as an organized and "clean" site: a paved path crosses the main *wadi*; protection walls are set up around the entrances of the shaft tombs, which are covered by metal grills in order to prevent visitors from falling; doors have been installed at the entrance of the decorated

¹⁴⁹ Tilley 2008, 273.

¹⁵⁰ Bintcliff 2009.

¹⁵¹ Reference and quotation from Bintcliff 2009, 30-31.

¹⁵² In this regard, see Darvill 2002, 221.

tombs in order to protect them from debris and inundation following flash floods; the *wadi* floor has been cleared from rubble (fig. II.1). All these improvements and new man-made structures have facilitated the identification of the tombs, increased their protection and site management, and encouraged tourism. However, they have also deprived the necropolis of its “natural” appearance.¹⁵³



Fig. II.1. The main *wadi* viewed from the entrance to the Queens' Valley (photo by E. Casini).

Thanks to some photographs taken by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana*, which are preserved at the Archivio di Stato di Torino and at the Museo Egizio (Torino), it is possible to have an idea about what the Queens' Valley landscape looked like at the beginning of the 20th century, when the Italian mission started to work in the field. This landscape likely had a less constructed aspect than the current one, however, it was different from that of the New Kingdom period as well: indeed, a more natural appearance of the landscape does not mean that it is closer to its original aspect. An old photograph (fig. II.2) depicts the Queens' Valley in 1903: after centuries of changes, the necropolis was a pile of stones, sand, rubble, and debris, the Grotto-cascade was partly filled, and the remains of the few preserved man-made structures were, at that time, not visible.

¹⁵³ “L’aspect de la “Place des Néferou” est radicalement transformé” (quotation from Desroches-Noblecourt 1990-1991, 8).



Fig. II.2. A panoramic view of the main *wadi* from the path that leads to Deir el-Medina (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche, marzo 6 - fascicolo 13*).¹⁵⁴ © Archivio di Stato, Torino.

One of the most interesting investigated aspects within this work concerns the appearance of the Queens' Valley landscape during the New Kingdom, when the necropolis was a construction site and the *wadi* floor was in constant transformation. During the preparation of a tomb, a large amount of debris was extracted, brought outside the tomb, and likely moved not too far from the tomb itself, thus causing the formation of high heaps of stones. In addition, the rare but violent rainwaters could bring down materials from the above cliffs and move the debris situated over the *wadi* floor, thus mixing everything and re-shaping the appearance of the surface area. Obviously, it is not possible to reconstruct in detail the original landscape, considering that it is not known how many man-made structures stood within the necropolis and where they were exactly located.

The natural landscape has changed over time, starting from the 18th Dynasty, during the cutting of the tombs, and continuing with the further changes, considering that tomb reuse and profanation, as well as erosion phenomena and aeolian dynamics, have transformed the environment. Moreover, modern explorations and archaeological investigations have caused further transformation of this landscape: through the excavation works, large amounts of debris have been removed and the stratified contexts

¹⁵⁴ *Marzo* means “bundle” (it indicates the “container” in which the dossiers, files, or loose documents are collected and stored); *fascicolo* means “dossier” (it constitutes the basic and indivisible unit of an archive).

have been intensely reduced. Despite all, by collecting data about the hitherto preserved structures, it is possible to reflect on the appearance of the necropolis landscape of the New Kingdom.

The Italian and Franco-Egyptian archaeological missions brought to light some structures dating to that epoch, which are still visible at present. In front of the Grotto-cascade, there are remains of the ancient dam made of dry-laid stones, which served to limit the damages in case of violent rainwaters and following flash floods (fig. II.3/A).¹⁵⁵ According to Demas and Agnew, this structure may have been built during the 19th Dynasty,¹⁵⁶ when the burial ground was re-occupied and arranged for the queens' burials. Conversely Leblanc suggests that the dam might have been erected during the reign of Ramses III, in order to protect the tombs that had been prepared in the western and south-western sectors of the main *wadi*.¹⁵⁷

Furthermore, there are remains of the Ramesside Period workmen's huts (fig. II.3/B),¹⁵⁸ which are located on the northern slope of the main *wadi*. These may have been erected during the reign of Ramses II¹⁵⁹ and were still in use during the late 20th Dynasty, as attested by the mention of the *ḥt* 'hut of the workman Amenemone within pap. Abbott (see *Chapter VII.4*). These huts were probably used to store tools, materials, and coffins. It is interesting to remark that women too could own huts within the Queens' Valley, as attested by the case of the lady Tasaket who inherited two of them within this necropolis.¹⁶⁰

Finally, the remains of two groups of Ramesside observation posts have been identified in the lateral valleys.¹⁶¹ One group, made of about 10/12 shelters, is located on the top of the ridge that separates the Valley of the Rope and the Valley of the Three Pits¹⁶² and was investigated by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* (fig. II.3/C).¹⁶³ The second group is located on top of the ridge that separates the Valley of the Three Pits and the Valley of the Dolmen,¹⁶⁴ and was investigated by Bernard Bruyère and Giulio Farina.¹⁶⁵

¹⁵⁵ Desroches-Noblecourt 1990-1991, 10; Leblanc 1995, 203; Demas and Agnew 2012, 299-302.

¹⁵⁶ Demas and Agnew 2012, 83.

¹⁵⁷ Leblanc 1995, 210-211, endnote n. 36.

¹⁵⁸ Demas and Agnew 2012, 303-310.

¹⁵⁹ Leblanc 1989/b, 5.

¹⁶⁰ Gabler and Soliman 2018, 15, endnote n. 122.

¹⁶¹ Demas and Agnew 2012, 374-376.

¹⁶² "Group 1" on the satellite map in Demas and Agnew 2012, 16.

¹⁶³ Schiaparelli 1924, 43.

¹⁶⁴ "Group 2" on the satellite map in Demas and Agnew 2012, 16.

¹⁶⁵ Leblanc and Fekri 1993, 261.

A number of clues (its position close to Deir el-Medina village, the difficult access to it, as well as the fact that no tomb has been detected in that sector of the necropolis) may suggest the use of this second group of structures as guard posts.¹⁶⁶

A - Ancient dam (photo by E. Casini).



C - Observation posts
(after Schiaparelli 1924, 43, fig. 40).



B - Workmen's huts
(after Leblanc and Siliotti 1997, 32; © Leblanc and Siliotti).

Fig. II.3. Preserved man-made structures datable to the New Kingdom.

Next to these, there were very likely other structures that are currently not preserved but are attested indirectly, or their existence can however be assumed. One should imagine that this necropolis was as an open-air building site, within which there should have been temporary structures for the use of workmen and personnel of the necropolis administration. The *Missione Archeologica Italiana* found groups of *ostraca* concentrated in specific sectors, which have not been topographically recorded, or if so in a very generic way (“*Gli ostraca rinvenuti dalla nostra missione alla Valle delle Regine lo furono pressoché tutti in una zona delle regioni orientale e meridionale della valle...*”): such finding may suggest the existence of shelters used by the workmen to spend their work breaks and exercise their drawing skills.¹⁶⁷

The Museo Egizio of Turin preserves an 18th-dynasty letter written on papyrus, which is said to have been found in the Queens’ Valley.¹⁶⁸ The sender of this letter orders the demolition of a *p3 wd3*/storehouse, which stood within this necropolis and contained a

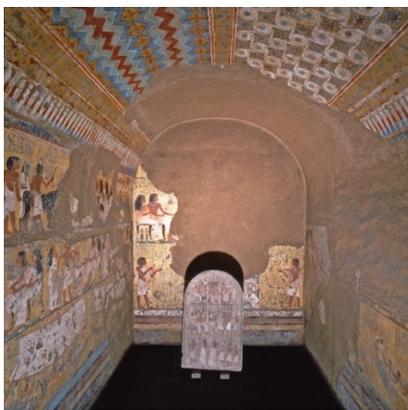
¹⁶⁶ Leblanc and Fekri 1993, 261.

¹⁶⁷ Quotation from Schiaparelli 1924, 166. Concerning the *ostraca* found by the *MAI*, see Schiaparelli 1924, 163-181.

¹⁶⁸ ME Prov. 3581. See Gabler and Soliman 2018.

coffin. This means not only that temporary structures were used as storehouses (although it is not possible to know how many of them were within the necropolis) but the letter also implies the existence of meeting posts (or scribes' posts), where this document was delivered to and then stored.

In addition, it is worth remarking on another aspect, concerning the identification of the tombs. Within the main *wadi*, there was a high concentration of tombs but only a few collisions between them: this aspect suggests that there may have been some kind of markers (such as stones) that served to indicate the position of the tombs, since without any marker, it would have been very difficult to know where the tombs were located. Indeed, there is no archaeological evidence that attests to the presence of mud-brick decorated funerary chapels (fig. II.4/A) nor small mud-brick shrines (fig. II.4/B). It results that the visual aspect of the funerary landscape of the Queens' Valley was different from that of the other elite necropoleis located over the Theban West Bank, which included tombs characterized by decorated chapels, the external part of which consisted of a courtyard, a façade, and other additional elements (*e.g.* statues, stelae, funerary cones, *etcetera*). The tomb superstructures and funerary chapels worked as a means to perpetuate the memory of the deceased and to assure them the funerary offerings that were carried out by people (such as relatives, friends, but also passers-by), who visited the tombs during the Theban festivals.¹⁶⁹ It is evident that visibility and exterior monumentality were a priority for the tombs of the members of the elite and a means in order to show their status; however, this mechanism was not at work within the Queens' Valley.



A. Funerary chapel of Maja, originally from Deir el-Medina (ME S. 07910). © Museo Egizio, Torino.



B. Mud-brick shrine, Deir el-Bahri (Carnarvon and Carter 1912, pl. XLII, n. 2)

Fig. II.4. Examples of structures connected with the performance of funerary cult.

¹⁶⁹ See Tectec 2011, 66-73.

This overview served to highlight how the current necropolis landscape is extremely different from the ancient and original one: next to still visible structures (*i.e.* the dam, the workmen's huts, and the observation posts), there were others that are attested by written sources (*e.g.* meeting posts) and archaeological discoveries (*e.g.* workmen's shelters).

II.3. The Multifaceted Aspects of the Queens' Valley Landscape

As remarked in the preceding section, the landscape of the Queens' Valley was different from that of the Theban elite necropoleis, within which tombs were visible, situated on the cliffs, and characterized by external architecture. These tombs were inserted within the Theban ritual landscape: thus, during the several festivals that took place in Thebes, these burial grounds were crowded places (fig. II.5).

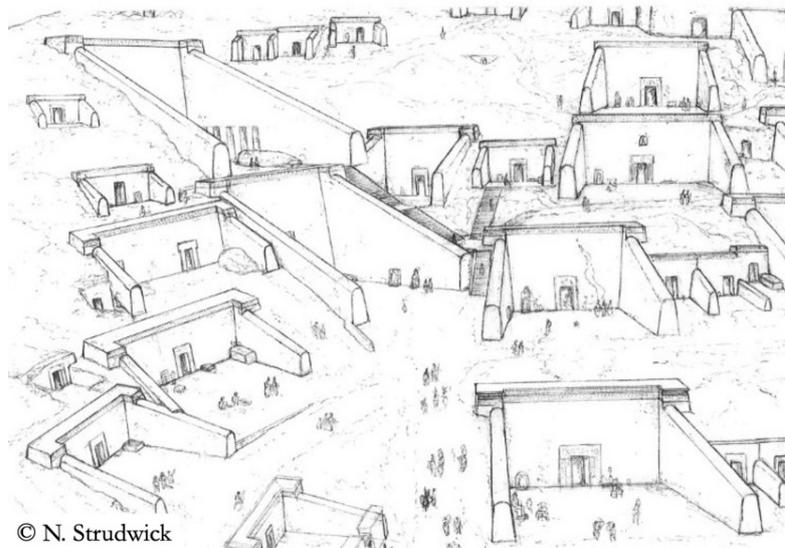


Fig. II.5. A reconstruction of the appearance of the area surrounding TT 99 (after Strudwick 2016, 40, fig. 20).

It is difficult to grasp the degree of accessibility to the Queens' Valley during the New Kingdom. Neither the *Missione Archeologica Italiana*, nor the Franco-Egyptian team have ever detected any kind of ancient paths among the tombs that may attest to the presence of ritual routes within this necropolis. Considering that the Queens' Valley was hidden, invisible to the human eye, and provided with one entrance only (for those who came from the river bank), it seems probable that access to this burial ground was limited. In addition, the almost certain absence of tomb chapels would suggest that the memorial and funerary cults on behalf of the Queens' Valley tomb owners may have been carried

out elsewhere, outside the necropolis (see *Chapter VI*). However, even assuming that the Queens' Valley tombs were not the subject of visit, it is known that this necropolis was the seat of performance of some ritual activity and pilgrimage, as suggested by the presence of two places of worship, the Grotto-cascade, which was devoted to Hathoric cults, and the sanctuary of Ptah and Meretseger. The rock-cut stelae of the sanctuary of Ptah and Meretseger date to the Ramesside Period,¹⁷⁰ even though it is likely that this place of devotion and cult activity was already functioning during the 18th Dynasty,¹⁷¹ concomitantly with the early use of the Queens' Valley necropolis and the genesis of the village of Deir el-Medina. Considering the position of this rocky sanctuary along the path that connects the Queens' Valley and the workmen's village, as well as its hidden position, it is reasonable to assume that it was at the almost exclusive use of the village community and the priestly personnel as well.

The Grotto-cascade significantly contributed to the development of the ritual character of the Queens' Valley landscape. This cave, which was located at the western end of the main *wadi*, constituted one of the main features of the sacred space, which is, by definition, connected with natural features of landscapes, such as caves, mountain peaks, rivers, *etcetera*.¹⁷² Caves penetrate deep into the interior of the earth and this characteristic let them to be associated, according to the cultural substratum, with the mother's womb. Consequently, caves are imbued with ideas of birth and regeneration.¹⁷³ In addition, caves are usually places devoted to magic-religious cults, linked to the worship of the ancestors: therefore, access to caves and grottos was believed to put individuals in contact with the divinity. These remarks perfectly explain why the Grotto-cascade played an important role in the framework of the conceptualization of this space as sacred and its choice as burial ground. One of the few graffiti (n. 3010) preserved in this grotto dates back to the Prehistoric Age and depicts a number of cows (fig. II.6): this suggests that the Grotto-cascade was visited long before the conception of this area as a necropolis and may also indirectly indicate the reason why this spot was at a later time devoted to the Goddess Hathor,¹⁷⁴ whose terrestrial manifestation was the cow. Furthermore, as a confirmation of the early use of this area, it is worth mentioning that a number of flint tools were found by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* within the Queens' Valley, findings

¹⁷⁰ Dodson 1995, 120-122; Peden 2001, 175.

¹⁷¹ Leblanc and Siliotti 1997, 25 (check the caption of the figure).

¹⁷² Quotation from Carmichael *et al.* 1994, 1.

¹⁷³ Grifoni Cremonesi 1996.

¹⁷⁴ Dorn 2014, 66 (footnote n. 20).

that led Schiaparelli to assume that this site was used as a workshop area during the Palaeolithic Era.¹⁷⁵ Although no votive object datable to that epoch has been discovered, it may be possible that the Proto-Egyptians lived and worked within the necropolis site, which may have been not only a workplace but also a cultic and sacred space due to the presence of that natural cave.

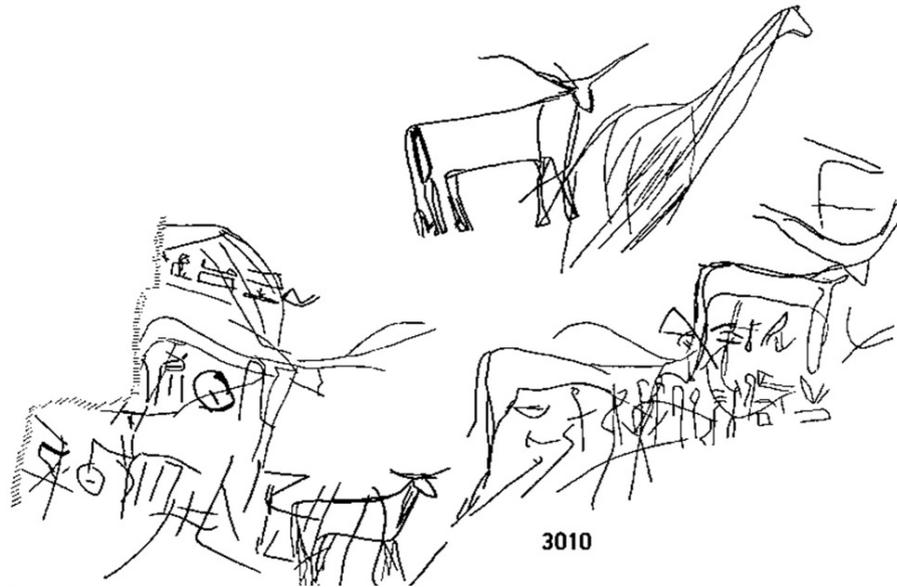


Fig. II.6. Graffito n. 3010 (after Sadek 1972, pl. CLXXXV). Drawings: © CNRS.

The 20th-dynasty stela of the Servant in the Place of Truth Qenherkhepeshef (BM EA278)¹⁷⁶ provides information about possible ritual routes through the Queens' Valley. The stela might have been found in the sanctuary of Ptah and Meretseger and its carved text sheds light on the performance of rituals within the *t3 s.t nfr.w*. The text remarks that Qenherkhepeshef drank “*water which flowed from the mountain (?) in the precinct of Menet*”.¹⁷⁷ The precinct of Menet, which is mentioned after the toponym *t3 s.t nfr.w*, may refer to the Grotto-cascade,¹⁷⁸ since it is the only spot within the Queens' Valley where water can flow into a natural basin (from which it can be drunk). Then, the text accounts that Qenherkhepeshef slept in the “precinct of Ptah” (which may be an allusion to an act of incubation in the sanctuary of Ptah and Meretseger, or simply indicate a sort of divine

¹⁷⁵ Schiaparelli 1924, 7-8.

¹⁷⁶ Bruyère 1930, 23-30; Vernus 2000; Vernus 2002; Frood 2007, 229-231. Leblanc dates the stela to the 19th Dynasty: Leblanc 1989/b, 15.

¹⁷⁷ For the hieroglyphic text, see Kitchen 1983, 275-276. The Egyptian term for precinct is *wb3*, which means “temenos”, “offener Vorplatz” (see Hannig 2006, 187).

¹⁷⁸ As suggested by Vernus (2000, 335).

intimacy);¹⁷⁹ afterwards, he “*made stelae in the temple beside the lords of djesret*”.¹⁸⁰ It seems apparent that this text retraces the steps of Qenherkhepeshef’s ritual itinerary, which seems to begin in the Queens’ Valley, at the Grotto-cascade, and finishes in Deir el-Bahri.¹⁸¹ In this regard, it is worth remarking that the archaeological investigation led by the Franco-Egyptian mission brought to light several materials of different types from the two basins of this cave: sherds of red pots (that might have been smashed during the ritual of the “breaking of the red pots”), faunal remains (hoof of a young donkey, bone of piglet, bones of calf, vertebrae of varan), amber, fragments of gold, *etcetera*. All these findings remind one of the elements mentioned in the magic texts of prophylaxis,¹⁸² thus providing a concrete clue for the interpretation of the Grotto-cascade as a place devoted to the performance of rituals.

Qenherkhepeshef’s stela is an invaluable document that attests to rituals performed within the Queens’ Valley and actually this is the only textual evidence of the New Kingdom (the stela dates to the 20th Dynasty) concerning a ritual itinerary that includes this necropolis. As already remarked, next to the Grotto-cascade, even the rock-cut sanctuary, which is set between the Queens’ Valley and Deir el-Medina, was the subject of visits by the workmen who went from the village to the necropolis and by the community of the village itself. The fact that Qenherkhepeshef is a *sdm* ‘š n s.t m3^c.t may be an additional clue to the exclusive use of the Queens’ Valley ritual landscape from the Deir el-Medina community.

Within the unpublished excavation diaries of the *Missione Archeologica Italiana*, Ballerini mentions the finding of offering tables in tombs QV 76 and QV 78. Unfortunately, he provided neither a description of these items nor sketches, but he only reported that the offering table found in QV 78 belonged to the Late Period.¹⁸³ Another offering table is visible in a photograph that depicts the entrance of tomb QV 43.¹⁸⁴ Checking the *Giornale d’Entrata* of the Museo Egizio of Turin, there is no mention of any offering tables among the materials brought from the Queens’ Valley to Turin; therefore, these objects were

¹⁷⁹ McDowell 1999, 100.

¹⁸⁰ Quotation from Frood 2007, 230. *Djesret* is Deir el-Bahri.

¹⁸¹ According to E. Frood, the direction of ritual itinerary is the opposite, from Deir el-Bahri to the Queens’ Valley (“*These columns present a hymn to Hathor that maps out Qenherkhepeshef’s own personal sacred geography by moving him through the Theban West Bank from sacred areas around Deir el-Bahri (Djesret) to the Valley of the Queens*”): quotation from Frood 2007, 229.

¹⁸² Desroches-Noblecourt 1990-1991, 16.

¹⁸³ Only the examination of the object in question can confirm or negate such a dating.

¹⁸⁴ Schiaparelli 1924, 118, fig. 90. The author deeply thanks Dr. P. Del Vesco (curator at the Museo Egizio) for showing such a detail.

possibly left in Egypt.¹⁸⁵ This category of objects is telling since offering tables were placed outside or inside the tomb chapels, in a place that the living could reach in order to place food offerings, pour liquids, and perform rituals over them on behalf of the deceased. Therefore, although it is not possible to determine their dating, the offering tables recorded by Ballerini attest to the performance of rituals, thus confirming the fact that the Queens' Valley was open to visitors. If they were datable to the 18th Dynasty, they might suggest the presence of some kind of temporary structures or shrines into which they could be placed.

The sacredness of the Queens' Valley landscape was not only represented by the presence of the Grotto-cascade and the rocky sanctuary of Ptah and Meretseger, but also depended on its geo-morphological features: indeed, the mountain peaks, the cliffs, and the valleys themselves were perceived as sacred.¹⁸⁶ Natural landscapes are forged by the anthropic action and can be conceptualized by means of the personal experience and cultural substratum of the local community. This remark suggests that in order to understand the meaning of a sacred landscape, especially if it is unbuilt, it is necessary to make recourse to the cultural background of ancient populations and filter its interpretation through a "spiritual" eye. A sacred space implies the existence of "*a whole range of rules and regulations regarding people's behaviour in relation to it, and implies a set of beliefs to do with the non-empirical world, often in relation to the spirits of the ancestors, as well as more remote or powerful gods or spirits*".¹⁸⁷ The absence of textual evidence in this regard cannot provide any confirmation of this statement, however, the well-developed imagery of the western mountains as well as the funerary literature confirm that rocky landscapes embodied and reflected the divine agency: thus, such a necropolis landscape not only evoked cultural associations but also stimulated emotions.¹⁸⁸ Therefore, it is necessary to consider both the cultural and religious substratum in order to understand the connection between the physical and ideational properties of the rocky landscape, a connection that is universal and experienced in several religions and cultures. The conceptual importance of the Theban western mountains depended on the meaning of the West in the Egyptian funerary belief system. The West was the ideal place where ancient Egyptians desired to be buried, the place where the sun set every day, the starting point of the nightly journey

¹⁸⁵ They may be at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo or elsewhere, if they were granted to other museums through the *partage*.

¹⁸⁶ Concerning the sacredness of natural features, see Carmichael *et al.* 1994, 7.

¹⁸⁷ Quotation from Carmichael *et al.* 1994, 2.

¹⁸⁸ Rummel 2016, 43.

of Ra into the underworld, the place where the deceased's journey in the afterlife began. The Theban western mountains were thought to represent the body of Hathor.¹⁸⁹ Thus, the West not only concealed the entrance to the underworld but also symbolically represented the place where the *regressus ad uterum* could take place: like the sun was absorbed into the mountains, concealed, and regenerated, in the same way the mountains worked as a rebirth machine for the deceased.¹⁹⁰ Thanks to the burial within the subterranean chamber, the deceased could access the underworld, which was imaginatively located behind the vast expanses of the Libyan *plateau*,¹⁹¹ and then was reborn: in this regard, it is worth mentioning that depictions of Hathor emerging from the Theban mountain as a cow showed up within the decorative program of the Theban nobles' tomb at the beginning of the 19th Dynasty, in order to represent the symbolic rebirth of the deceased as an Osiris.¹⁹² As remarked by Ute Rummel, this rocky landscape worked as a medium of the divine presence and place of divine agency: indeed, “*das Westgebirge verkörpert den Leib der Muttergotttheit, d.h. einen aufnehmenden, regenerierenden Raum, dessen göttliche Identität wechseln bzw. der in seiner spezifischen Wirkungsweise von verschiedenen Göttinnen besetzt sein kann*”.¹⁹³

The pyramid-shaped peak of el-Qurn (*t3 dhn.t*) might have played a meaningful role in the framework of the choice of the Kings' Valley as a royal necropolis,¹⁹⁴ although there is no consensus among the scholars in this regard.¹⁹⁵ Conversely, this peak is not visible from the the Queens' Valley and likely it did not play any role in the choice of this burial ground.¹⁹⁶ According to Benedict Davies, the choice of the Queens' Valley spot depended on a strategy of occupation connected with the necessity of free space: the main *wadi* was not too far from the core of the Theban necropolis (which was represented, between the late 17th Dynasty and the early 18th Dynasty, by the areas of Dra Abu el-Naga and Deir el-Bahri) and offered a large space to host the burials of the members of the royal family.¹⁹⁷ Davies also stresses that the Queens' Valley necropolis was located “*in the shadow of the*

¹⁸⁹ Rummel 2016, 50.

¹⁹⁰ Assmann 1983, 340-341; Rummel 2016, 47, 54.

¹⁹¹ In this regard, see Schneider 2010.

¹⁹² Desroches-Noblecourt 1990-1991, 14.

¹⁹³ Reference and quotation from Rummel 2016, 54.

¹⁹⁴ Weeks 2016, 25.

¹⁹⁵ According to Adrom, the term *t3 dhn.t* does not refer to a specific geographic spot but it generically indicates cliffs or peaks associated with cultic places (2004, 15-16).

¹⁹⁶ Conversely, Leblanc mentions the proximity to the el-Qurn peak as one of the reasons for the choice of this site (1989/b, 12).

¹⁹⁷ Davies 2018, 353.

mighty Qurn”, thus “*in a place that was considered both sacrosanct and inviolable*”.¹⁹⁸ However, the relevance given to the el-Qurn peak in connection with the Queens’ Valley seems to be a modern interpretation rather than an idea conceived by the ancient Egyptians themselves. In addition, differently from Leblanc, who considers the Queens’ Valley a vulnerable place, Davies defines it as ‘*inviolable*’. Safety was an important variable in the search of a new burial ground for selected people, even though it may not have been the only reason in the conception of the Queens’ Valley necropolis. The perception of the rocky landscape as materialisation of the divine presence, a mental process at work at least from the Middle Kingdom in Theban area,¹⁹⁹ may have played a relevant role in the search of a spot for a new necropolis. In this case, the place would be chosen not only because it was felt as safe but also, and mostly, because the hidden rocky valleys may have represented, in the Egyptian mind, the gateway to the underworld.

Considering the relevance given by natural features such as caves, the Grotto-cascade may have played a decisive factor in the choice of the new burial ground. The earliest attestations of the Hathoric cult by the Grotto-cascade date with certainty to the reign of King Ramses II, when the cave was likely used as a ritual spot.²⁰⁰ Some graffiti depicting Hathor in the form of celestial cow, which have been found in the vicinity of the cave, have been attributed to the Ramesside Period (n. 3002 and 3004),²⁰¹ whilst, another graffiti depicting the Goddess Hathor in her human-like aspect may date to the 18th Dynasty (n. 3007, fig. II.7).²⁰² That the cave had a relevance already during the 18th Dynasty has been suggested by Desroches-Noblecourt, who assumed that Amenhotep, son of Hapu, planned the axis of the funerary complex of King Amenhotep III (1390-1352 BC) based on the direction of the Grotto-cascade, which has the same east-west orientation as the king’s funerary temple.²⁰³ Since that grotto represented the materialisation of the divine presence and the means in order to accomplish the *regressus ad uterum*, the Queens’ Valley was, at the beginning of the 19th Dynasty, the perfect place in order to host the burials of the royal consorts, who were assumed to be the earthly manifestations of Hathor.²⁰⁴

¹⁹⁸ Reference and quotation from Davies 2018, 355.

¹⁹⁹ Rummel 2016, 58.

²⁰⁰ Desroches-Noblecourt 1990-1991, 16.

²⁰¹ Desroches-Noblecourt 1990-1991, 12-15; see also Leblanc 1989/b, 12.

²⁰² Desroches-Noblecourt 1990-1991, 13.

²⁰³ Desroches-Noblecourt 1990-1991, 10.

²⁰⁴ Wilkinson 2003, 141 and 143.

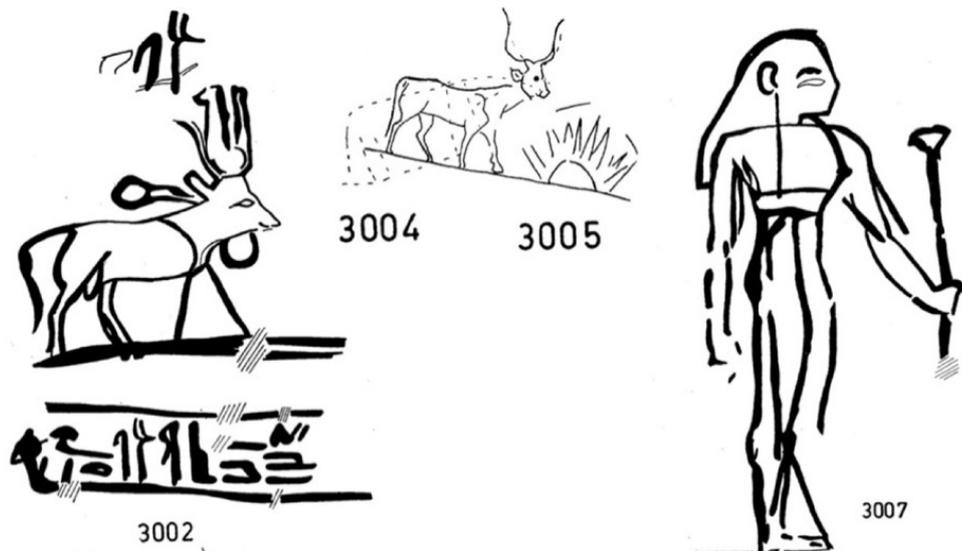


Fig. II.7. Graffiti depicting Hathor, which have been detected in the area of the Grotto-cascade (after Sadek 1972, pl. CLXXXIV and CLXXXVI); © CNRS.

Sacred sites are connected with factors like gender, status, and role²⁰⁵ and the Queens' Valley provides a concrete example of this interconnection. When this hidden area was selected as necropolis for the kings' consorts at the beginning of the 19th Dynasty, a conscious choice was put at work and the gender, status, and role of the deceased became well defined like they had never been before: the deceased were female individuals, belonged to the royal family by birth or marriage, and were almost all royal consorts and king's mothers. This female genderisation of the Queens' Valley mirrors the increasing relevance that concerned the queen's role as the female counterpart to the male royal power: for the first time in the Egyptian history, a whole necropolis and sacred space were dedicated to the royal women. As wife of the king, the queen had to assure harmony and justice over Egypt. In addition, the queen was the mother of the future king: therefore, she was the guarantor of the dynastic continuity, playing the role of the terrestrial representative of the principle of motherhood and reproduction. As the queens had performed their generative power in life, in the same way the Grotto-cascade may have worked as a rebirth machine for the deceased:²⁰⁶ the two rocky vertical sections delimiting the entrance to the cave might have represented the materialisation of the vulva of the goddess and the interior part of her uterus.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁵ Carmichael *et al.* 1994, 4.

²⁰⁶ With regard to this concept, see: Assmann 1983, 340-341; Rummel 2016, 47, 54.

²⁰⁷ Leblanc 1989/b, 12.

Considering all these remarks, the New Kingdom Queen's Valley landscape shows itself as funerary, ritual, and sacred. In addition, an interpretative model for past landscapes formulated by Knapp and Ashmore allows to interpret the multifaceted aspects of this necropolis landscape according to the three descriptive categories of *constructed*, *conceptualized* and, *idealized*.²⁰⁸

A past landscape can be defined as *constructed* if it contains monuments, tombs, buildings, streets, *etcetera*, all elements that have been erected by humans, thus causing an alteration of the natural environment.²⁰⁹ Constructed landscapes are based on built features and belong to an objective dimension. The construction of monuments and structures modifies, at different levels, the visual aspect of a natural environment and generates a set of new meanings that were not part of the original landscape.²¹⁰ In addition, it is worth remarking that a constructed landscape is a human product, it "*objectifies an intention, meaning, and rationality*":²¹¹ therefore, a landscape is the consequence of an intentional process of adaptability performed by human beings. It is shaped according to a conscious plan even when, like in the case of the Queens' Valley, exterior monumentality is not an apparent characteristic. At first sight, looking at the current landscape of the Queens' Valley, one might assume that there was no ancient invasive intervention, since there are no standing monumental structures, nor tomb chapels or shrines, nor processional ramps. However, the cutting of about 90 tombs within the sole main *wadi* massively affected the *wadi* floor of this necropolis (fig. II.8). Furthermore, as shown in the preceding section (*Chapter II.2*), the Queens' Valley landscape was characterized by the presence of several structures, some of them still partly preserved (the dam, the workmen's huts, and the guard posts), other not preserved but very likely existed (workmen's shelters, temporary storehouses, scribes' posts, tomb markers). In addition, the debris and excavated materials resulting from the cutting of the tombs were brought outside and piled up somewhere in the vicinity, thus causing the visible alteration of the ground surface, which now appears to be "clean" and free.

²⁰⁸ In this regard, see Knapp and Ashmore 1999, 10-13.

²⁰⁹ Bradley 1993, 23-24.

²¹⁰ Changes may be subtle, in the case of mobile human groups, or more conspicuous, as in the case of sedentary people.

²¹¹ Quotation from Parcero Oubiña *et al.* 1998, 159.



Fig. II.8. Bird's eye view of the main *wadi* (from Leblanc and Siliotti 1997, 15). © CNRS/Leblanc and Siliotti.

Past landscapes can also work as a place of mediation of religious and symbolic images and meanings, in relation with the different active social groups: in this sense, they can be defined as *conceptualized*. Conceptualized landscapes are disconnected from monumentality and they concern only natural features: they reflect how human beings have performed an adaptation of their religious beliefs onto the natural environment. As seen above, according to the universal cultural substratum, caves were associated with the mother's womb and embodied ideas of birth and regeneration. In connection to this belief, which may be rooted in Prehistoric times, Desroches-Noblecourt suggested, as seen above, that ancient Egyptians perceived the Grotto-cascade as the materialisation of the uterus of the celestial cow, thus working as a means in order to achieve the *regressus ad uterum* and be reborn after death.

Finally, past landscapes can function as the materialisation of ideas and thoughts, therefore they can be defined as *ideational*. Considering that landscape is contingent on human experience, and not a mere environment, it results that each landscape (both built and unbuilt) is ideational in the sense of imaginative, since it is a mental projection of thoughts and ideas (which are inside the agent) onto the environment: therefore, the ideational landscape is a mental creation that cannot be immediately perceived from a material viewpoint but for its comprehension it is necessary to know the cultural

background of the human agents who conceived it. Just to provide an example, “heaven” and “hell” are ideational landscapes: indeed, they are not concrete and tangible, they exist in the collective mind of people as the results of the abstract materialisation of ideas and concepts. The Theban western mountains represented the “Unknown”,²¹² they were the place where the sun set every day, therefore they were thought to conceal the starting point of the nightly journey of Ra into the underworld.²¹³ The same Theban mountains may have represented, imaginatively, the place where the deceased’s journey in the afterlife began. During the 18th Dynasty, the “cow and mountain” motif showed up in the Theban area: Hathor, as a Mistress of the West, was depicted as celestial cow, walking out of the cliff, in order to welcome the deceased.²¹⁴ The graffiti depicting Hathor in the form of celestial cow (fig. II.7), which have been detected on the rocky walls in the proximity of the Grotto-cascade, confirm this association between the goddess and the Theban mountain. Within chapter 186 of the Book of the Dead, Hathor is defined as “ferryboat for eternity” (*mhn.t r nhh*),²¹⁵ the one who promises the deceased a safe journey to the place of judgement.²¹⁶ Therefore, it seems likely that the rocky landscape of the Theban West Bank as a whole, including the hidden Queens’ Valley, was perceived as the place of transition from life-to death-to rebirth,²¹⁷ and a virtual gateway to the afterlife.

To conclude, current studies on Landscape Archaeology offer a new key for decoding past landscapes as well as interpretative models that can be applied to the case of the Theban necropolis, and in particular the Queens’ Valley. However, the perception at present is influenced by modern mental categories and the mind-set of the man of today is culturally determined, as was that of ancient Egyptians: people are variables who act within a space in a specific historical context and the way they perceived landscapes in their epoch was different from ours. Therefore, such interpretative models can be used with the awareness that it is necessary to have an in-depth knowledge of the cultural background of past civilizations.

²¹² Hornung 1999, 35.

²¹³ Schneider 2010.

²¹⁴ Rossini and Schumann Antelme 1998, 53, fig. 34. This connection Hathor/mountains developed, during the New Kingdom, mainly but not only in the Theban area. The cow-and-mountain motif appears on stelae and textiles from Deir el-Bahri in the mid/late 18th Dynasty (Pinch 2003, 179); in addition, this motif is represented on the vignette of chapter 186 of the Book of the Dead, where Hathor in the form of celestial cow is depicted along with the Goddess Taueret. The iconographic motif of the celestial cow emerging from a mountain is attested even outside the Theban area (for instance, in the Bubasteion tomb I.16, at Saqqara: see Zivie 2003, 67-82; on the stela BM EA165, from the tomb of Paser at Saqqara: see Martin 1985, pl. 9).

²¹⁵ Quirke 2013, 484.

²¹⁶ Pinch 2003, 182.

²¹⁷ Pischikova 2008, 194-195.

II.4. The Necropolis Landscape as a Mirror of Social Identity: a Comparative Approach

The analysis of the Queens' Valley landscape goes hand in hand with the assessment of the social construction of the space. As shown in the course of this chapter, the Queens' Valley necropolis was a place imbued with symbolic and sacred meanings. Its rocky essence symbolized the materialisation of divine presence, coming to represent the objectification of the ideational landscape elaborated in the mind: ancient Egyptians may have believed that the valleys, which are concealed behind the cliffs, granted access to the "Unknown", thus working as a gateway to the underworld.²¹⁸

The analysis of the Theban funerary landscape provides a new way of thinking about the social fabric of the individuals, for whom the tombs were prepared. On the one hand, there are officials, members of the administration and of the priestly personnel who were buried in the elite necropoleis, within which they displayed their status and financial well-being by means of visible and monumental tombs built on the rocky cliffs. On the other hand, there are the tombs of kings, queens, royal progeny, and courtiers, which do not obey this mechanism: indeed, such tombs were set within the same rocky landscape, but in hidden spots; moreover, the outer part of their tombs did not display their social status. In the course of the examination of the Queens' Valley necropolis, the author wondered whether the hidden spot combined with the lack of any tomb superstructure could actually work as a mirror of the social identity of the deceased. By means of a comparative approach, the answer to this research question may be positive.

In the course of the New Kingdom, the position of the tombs inside invisible valleys marked a clear distinction between the burials of the royalty and court individuals and those of the elite members. Starting from the 18th Dynasty, there may have been a kind of rule, sounding like "the closer to the pharaoh the deceased were during lifetime, the less visible and externally monumental their tomb are". The lack of any tomb superstructure is a feature that should not be interpreted as a restriction dictated by *decorum*. Indeed, the same phenomenon can be observed within the Kings' Valley, where both royal and non-royal tombs are devoid of any tomb superstructure. One may expect the tomb of the pharaoh to display external features that may make it discernible and recognizable, but this actually does not happen. Only the spot may differentiate a king's

²¹⁸ Like the *ʿrr.t*/portal of the Amduat: see Schneider 2010, 3.

tomb, like in the case of Thutmosis III's tomb (KV 34), the entrance of which is set in an elevated position, inside a visible crack in the rock (however, this is not a rule). What matters is the underground structure, that in the case of the kings and queens was architecturally elaborated and only in the case of the kings was decorated. Therefore, with regard to the individuals tied to the king (*i.e.* his family members and courtiers) and the king himself, it seems evident that the social identity found an objectification through a process of invisible construction of the funerary landscape.

Little is known about the social background of the individuals buried in the Queens' Valley during the 18th Dynasty. Not only is the archaeological evidence regarding the earliest use of this necropolis scant, but also information and data have not been published adequately. With regard to the 18th Dynasty, about 15 tombs out of a total of 81 tombs²¹⁹ have preserved evidence of the name and/or title of the tomb owners, which is a very small number. The analysis of the necropolis landscape offers the opportunity to supplement the scarce information at disposal concerning the 18th-dynasty social background, by means of comparisons between this necropolis and two very similar burial grounds located on the Theban West Bank: the Kings' Valley²²⁰ and the tombs spread over the south-western *wadis* (fig. II.9).²²¹ By comparing these three burial grounds, it becomes rather evident that there are several features in common, in particular with regard to the Queens' Valley and the Kings' Valley.



Fig. II.9. Satellite picture of the south-western *wadis* (after Litherland 2014, 12).

²¹⁹ About 6 tombs have been commenced but not finished (QV 2, QV 5, QV 6, QV 28^s, QV 35, and QV 83).

²²⁰ Litherland has dealt with the Kings' Valley landscape within his unpublished master thesis (Litherland 2013, 19-25).

²²¹ Litherland 2014.

The limited access is one of the most apparent features that the three abovementioned burial places have in common. Two points of access led into the Kings' Valley,²²² whereas only one access (coming from the river bank) led to the main *wadi* of the Queens' Valley. Actually, another access to the main *wadi* was possible coming from the village of Deir el-Medina, along the path that passes through the Valley of the Dolmen: this access was “more private”, since it was probably used only by the village's workmen. However, the workmen's path joins the main access at its final stretch: therefore, the main access remains one and only one (fig. II.10). Even though the south-western *wadis* have a more open space and access to them is not easily controllable, their position, far from the core of the necropolis, may have guaranteed them an indirect protection.



Fig. II.10. Access to the Queens' Valley (adapted from the photograph of Zureks; arrows and label added). © Zureks (https://it.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Valley_of_the_Queens_by_Zureks.jpg, last accessed on 23 October 2019).

As bird-eye photographs highlight, the boundaries of the burial grounds of the Kings' Valley and Queens' Valley are delimited by the high cliffs: it results that secrecy was another characteristic that the two necropoleis, which are set inside hidden rocky landscapes, had in common. However, a number of scholars do not interpret the Queens' Valley as a hidden burial place.²²³ Actually, even though the cliffs south of the main *wadi* are low, they hide the burial ground: indeed, people coming from the river bank could not see the necropolis (fig. II.11/A). When approaching close to the entrance to

²²² Bickel 2016/b, 14-15.

²²³ Leblanc 1989/b, 3; Kampp-Seyfried 2015, 244.

the main *wadi*, it is possible to see the Grotto-cascade only (fig. II.11/B), but not the burial ground. The burial surface of the south-western *wadis* was not well-defined, but it was in any case invisible to the human eye due to its position far away from the strip of fertile land of the Theban West Bank.



Fig. II.11. The modern road leading to the Queens' Valley (photo by E. Casini).

Secrecy was synonymous with safety. By asserting that access to the Queens' Valley is without constraints and vulnerable, Leblanc expresses an opinion that is in line with the modern concept of security. Considering the layout and position of other coeval necropoleis set over the Theban West Bank (and those spread all over Egypt), it is evident that the Queens' Valley and the Kings' Valley were quite safe and easily controllable burial places. According to Thomas, “*its [referring to the Queens' Valley] vulnerability suggests that it was chosen for convenience. Presumably safety depended chiefly upon obliteration of the inconspicuous tomb entrances...*”.²²⁴ Her view excludes that funerary and religious beliefs played any role in the choice of this area as a necropolis and reduces the choice of such a place to “convenience”. In addition, she assumed that the mouths of the shafts were obliterated. However, some “markers” may have indicated the position of the tombs (a proof of this is given by the fact that there was very probably no tomb collision during the 18th Dynasty, although the main *wadi* was rather crowded). Therefore, it seems reasonable to exclude that the Queens' Valley was vulnerable: instead, by the standards of that epoch, this burial place was one of the safest. With regard to the south-western *wadis*, Piers Litherland states that the rock crack into which the tomb of Neferura is cut (*wadi C*) “*would have been obvious*

²²⁴ Quotation from Thomas 1966, 208.

to anyone approaching along the wadi floor” and that “from above, on the cliff-top, the entrance to the tomb is all the more obvious”,²²⁵ thus suggesting that the location of Neferura’s tomb was anything but safe. However, the author wonders whether a tomb located in the faraway wadi C (fig. II.9) and without any tomb superstructure was as in danger as a visible tomb located on the cliff of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, Deir el-Bahri, or Dra Abu el-Naga. In addition, even with regard to the Wadi Bairiya, Litherland remarks that the tombs located there, albeit without superstructures, were visible from every side due to the plain level of the wadi floor.²²⁶ Therefore, it seems evident that he is of the opinion that safety was not at all a feature of the south-western wadis. In this regard, one should reflect on the concept of “safety” according to the ancient Egyptians, which was different from the modern one: indeed, a tomb cut into the rock, in a hidden spot behind high cliffs, and devoid of any superstructure was possibly perceived as potentially safe. The never-used cliff-tomb prepared for Hatshepsut in the Wadi Sikket Taqa el-Zaid²²⁷ meets all the criteria of a safe tomb. Even the tomb of the three foreign wives of Thutmose III, set within the wadi D, which is included in the Wadi Gabbanat el-Qurud,²²⁸ was hidden within the rocky cliffs, showing accuracy in the search of a concealed and safe spot. Thus, the tombs located within the south-western wadis were likely perceived, at least by ancient Egyptians, as safe.

Another common feature that characterizes the Kings’ Valley and the Queens’ Valley concerns the sacredness of the landscape. According to widespread opinion, the Kings’ Valley was chosen as burial ground due to the presence of the pyramid-shaped peak of el-Qurn, although this might be only a modern interpretation.²²⁹ More likely, the Kings’ Valley was set within a landscape perceived as sacred, based on the conceptual similarity between the cosmography of the physical space of the afterlife and the necropolis landscape. As remarked by Susanne Bickel, textual evidence²³⁰ describes the underworld as *jmn* (concealed), *št3* (mysterious), *dsr* (isolated), and *nj m33 nj ptr* (invisible).²³¹ All these characteristics correspond with both the features of the Kings’ Valley and the Queens’ Valley landscapes. Therefore, funerary texts confirm that

²²⁵ Quotation and references from Litherland 2014, 34.

²²⁶ Litherland 2014, 18.

²²⁷ Carter 1917; Thomas 1966, 195-196; Strudwick and Strudwick 1999, 124-125; Reeves 2000, 69; Litherland 2014, 10.

²²⁸ Winlock 1948; Lilyquist 1998, 678.

²²⁹ Romer 1981, 24.

²³⁰ That is the Book of the Amduat, the earliest version of which is attested in the tomb of Thutmose I (KV 38). However, the earliest complete version is that in the tombs of king Thutmose III (KV 34) and that of the Vizier Useramun (TT61), thus suggesting that commoners as well could enjoy the same netherworldly experience and fate as the kings did. In this regard, see Hornung 1999, 27-28.

²³¹ Bickel 2016/b, 16.

rocky and invisible landscapes worked as objectification of the afterlife. In addition, as remarked above, the rocky essence of the environment represented the materialisation of divine principles, specifically the body of Hathor.

Thus, in summary, the landscape and layout of these three burial grounds display several common features: 1) the limited access, 2) the rocky environment into which the tombs are excavated, 3) the secrecy and 4) safety of the burial ground, and finally 5) the sacredness of the necropolis space. In addition, the tombs cut within these three necropoleis have another common feature, that is 6) the absence of tomb chapels. These aspects can be cross-referenced with the social background of the tomb owners and at first sight it is interesting to observe that:

1) during the 18th Dynasty, these three burial grounds included the tombs of selected individuals which were connected with the king: they were queens, princes, princesses, and court individuals. Kings were buried within the Kings' Valley, with a question mark about the Queens' Valley (see *Chapter VII.1*). In the time-span included between the reign of Thutmose II (1492-1479 BC) and that of Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten (1352-1336 BC), the south-western *wadis* hosted the burials of queens, princes, princesses, women provided with the *hkr.t nsw*-title, and other unknown individuals (very likely connected with the royal court);

2) afterwards, during the Ramesside Period, the south-western *wadis* were no longer used, whereas the Queens' Valley and the Kings' Valley became more restricted burial grounds. Indeed, the Queens' Valley hosted the burials of queens and princesses in the 19th Dynasty, and those of queens and princes in the 20th Dynasty, whereas the Kings' Valley hosted the tombs of kings (mainly) and princes during the Ramesside Period (see table II.a).²³²

These remarks highlight that, during the New Kingdom, there was a strict connection between the social background of the deceased and the physical and symbolic features of the landscape of the necropolis. The rocky landscape and the absence of tomb superstructures and of any visible exterior monumentality appear to be the lowest

²³² Bickel 2016, 232. The following tombs are exceptions: KV 56 (Reeves and Wilkinson 1996, 153: a shaft tomb cut in the 18th Dynasty and likely used a cache for materials gathered from tomb KV 14, when Tauseret's burial was usurped), KV 14 (Reeves and Wilkinson 1996, 157-159: the tomb construction was started by Tauseret and afterwards it was usurped by Sethnakht), KV 13 (Reeves and Wilkinson 1996, 154: it is the only Ramesside Period private tomb, which was commenced for the royal scribe and chancellor of Sety II, Bay, but used for the burial of two 20th-dynasty princes), KV 5 (Reeves and Wilkinson 1996, 144-146: this is the tomb of Ramses II's sons), KV 3 (Reeves and Wilkinson 1996, 161: it deals with a tomb build for a son of Ramses III), and KV 19 (Reeves and Wilkinson 1996, 170-171: the tomb designed for a son of Ramses IX).

common denominator that unites these three burial grounds. The landscape can therefore be seen as the space of the (invisible) social construction: during the New Kingdom, this type of funerary and sacred landscape, in combination with the invisible monumentality, reflected a specific social identity, which revolved around the figure of the king.

Burial ground	Epoch	Limited access	Delimited area	Secrecy, invisibility	Safety	Sacred space	Tomb chapels	Burials of:				
								Kings	Queens	Princes	Princesses	Courtiers
Kings' Valley	18 th Dyn.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Ramesside Period	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	✗	✓	✗	✓
Queens' Valley	18 th Dyn.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	?	?	✓	✓	✓
	Ramesside Period	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✗	✓	✓	✓	✗
Western Wadis	18 th Dyn.	?	✗	✓	✓	✓	✗	✗	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Ramesside Period											

Table II.a. Features that the three necropoleis have in common (✓ = yes; ✗ = no). © E. Casini.

Chapter III. “Digging” in the Archives: the Unpublished Documents of the *Missione Archeologica Italiana*

Chapter III constitutes a key point of this PhD thesis due to the nature of the analysed documents: indeed, the Museo Egizio of Turin granted the author access to the unpublished archival materials relating to the excavation works carried out by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* in the Queens’ Valley. Thanks to the examination of this invaluable documentation, it was possible to reassess the results achieved by the Italian mission and to supplement the data published by Ballerini and Schiaparelli, thus providing, here for the first time, a complete overview of the discoveries performed within this necropolis.

Since the very beginning of this work, this kind of research has proved to be necessary. Indeed, as was evident by checking the publications of Thomas²³³ and Leblanc,²³⁴ it was not clear how many tombs the Italian team actually investigated, although a partial and implicit response could be suggested by looking at the current numbering system of the Queens’ Valley tombs (in this regard, see *Chapter III.6*). The archival documents were the only source that could shed further light on the old excavations. One of the research questions of the author was the following: which tombs did the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* discover? The final outcome of this research has been extraordinarily interesting: indeed, the analysis of the unpublished reports, digging diaries, and tomb plans shows that the Italian team investigated at least 71 tombs (of which 14 already known and 57 new ones). These numbers clearly highlight the relevance of the Italian discoveries.

III.1. The Queens’ Valley before 1903: Ancient Tourism and Modern Explorations

Among the favourite touristic destinations of the Roman Period, was the Kings’ Valley but not the Queens’ Valley.²³⁵ Actually, up to the Roman Period, the Queens’ Valley was a functioning cemetery (differently from the Kings’ Valley) and this may be the reason why it was not one of the attractions for ancient tourists. This also explains why Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, and Herodotus did not mention the Queens’ Valley within their works: they visited Egypt, but likely not this still-in-use necropolis. The Queens’ Valley was

²³³ Thomas 1966.

²³⁴ Leblanc 1989/b.

²³⁵ Hohlwein 1940, 264, 272, 276-277.

intensively used by the Copts until the 8th century AD (see *Chapter VII.5-e*) and afterwards was progressively abandoned, although some tombs were used (and further plundered) by the local people, who continued to “visit” them.

Differently from what one may expect, it was not the Napoleonic expedition who rediscovered the Queens’ Valley. Belzoni explored this necropolis in 1816, as attested by the currently not preserved graffito of his name incised within the tomb of Queen Tyti (QV 52).²³⁶ However, he did not find what he expected, therefore, he directed his attention to the Kings’ Valley, within which he discovered Sety I’s tomb (KV 17) one year later.

Slightly after Belzoni, between 1817 and 1823, Jean-Jacques Rifaud (1786-1852) visited again the tomb of Queen Tyti,²³⁷ while he was carrying out hasty “excavations” at Thebes on behalf of Bernardino Drovetti (1776-1852).²³⁸ This information should be taken into account since it may be possible that some of the de-contextualized objects of the Drovetti collection,²³⁹ which constitutes the first core of objects of the Egyptian collection of the Regio Museo di Antichità of Turin,²⁴⁰ might have been found within the Queens’ Valley.

Afterwards, the Scottish explorer and collector Hay of Linplum surveyed the Queens’ Valley in 1826 and investigated 16 tombs, preparing sketches and drawings and providing brief descriptions.²⁴¹ The owners of all these tombs (QV 40, QV 41, QV 42, QV 45, QV 51, QV 52, QV 53, QV 54, QV 58, QV 60, QV 68, QV 71, QV 73, QV 74, QV 75, and QV 80) remained unidentified.²⁴² In addition, Hay of Linplum explored the Sanctuary of Ptah and Meretseger and took notes about two of its rock-cut chapels.²⁴³

Wilkinson followed Hay of Linplum’s traces and explored the Queens’ Valley in 1828. He investigated 24 tombs (QV 27, QV 28, QV 29, QV 31, QV 33, QV 38, QV 40, QV 41, QV 42, QV 45, QV 49, QV 51, QV 52, QV 53, QV 54, QV 58, QV 60, QV 65, QV 68, QV 71, QV 73, QV 74, QV 75, and QV 80) and provided them, for the first time, with a progressive numbering system.²⁴⁴ Moreover, he elaborated the first map of this

²³⁶ Ballerini 1903, 3-4; Mohamed Sayed and Sesana 1995, 215.

²³⁷ Porter and Moss 1964 (PM I), 758.

²³⁸ Bierbrier 2012, 467.

²³⁹ Which he formed between 1804 and 1818 (Marro 1952, 124).

²⁴⁰ Objects that were bought by King Carlo Felice in 1824.

²⁴¹ All these documents are collected at the British Library and are still unpublished. In this regard, see: Leblanc 1989/b, 25; Leblanc and Siliotti 1997, 62.

²⁴² Leblanc and Siliotti 1997, 62.

²⁴³ Porter and Moss 1964 (PM I), 707.

²⁴⁴ Wilkinson 1835, 79-81; Leblanc 1989/b, 25; Leblanc and Siliotti 1997, 62.

necropolis, to which he referred as the “Valley of the Queens’ tombs”:²⁴⁵ therefore, the modern toponym used to indicate this burial ground is owed to him. Wilkinson identified also about 12 shaft tombs that he did not number.²⁴⁶ Within his guide *Modern Egypt and Thebes*, he mentions only five tombs of the Queens’ Valley: 1) the tomb of Amun-meit or Amun-tmei, who is said to be the daughter of Amenhotep I; 2) the tomb of Queen Taia, whom Wilkinson interpreted as the wife of King Amenhotep III (he possibly referred to QV 52); 3) the tomb of the favourite daughter of Ramses II; 4) the tomb of the consort of Ramses V (he may have referred to the tomb of Duatentipet, who was mother, and not wife, of Ramses V); 5) another tomb, the owner of which is unknown (and within which there is the cartouche with the name of King Ramses III). These brief remarks highlight that very little was known about the tomb owners, and that little was partly wrong. This also depended on the bad state of preservation of the tombs that, as remarked by Wilkinson, “*suffered from the effects of fire, and little can be satisfactorily traced of their sculptures, except in that of queen Taia*”.²⁴⁷

Rosellini and Champollion systematically surveyed the Queens’ Valley between May and July 1829. They prepared drawings of the wall decorations, copied texts, managed to attribute some tombs to their original owners, and sketched a map of the necropolis (fig. III.1). As possibly suggested by the sequence of the enumeration of the tombs on Champollion’s map, they may have started their investigation from the western sector of the main *wadi* and moved towards the eastern sector, firstly exploring the southern slope and then the northern one.²⁴⁸ Champollion recorded 16 tombs (QV 31, QV 38, QV 40, QV 42, QV 45, QV 51, QV 52, QV 53, QV 54, QV 58, QV 60, QV 68, QV 71, QV 73, QV 74, and QV 75),²⁴⁹ whilst Rosellini recorded only 11 (QV 31, QV 38, QV 40, QV 51, QV 52, QV 60, QV 68, QV 71, QV 73, QV 74, and QV 75).²⁵⁰

²⁴⁵ Wilkinson 1943 (vol. II), 188.

²⁴⁶ Thomas 1966, 208. His unpublished reports are currently preserved at the Bodleian Library of Oxford.

²⁴⁷ Quotation from Wilkinson 1843 (vol. II), 188. The same description was proposed again by Murray (1867, 322).

²⁴⁸ Leblanc 1989/b, 25 and 29; Leblanc and Siliotti 1997, 63.

²⁴⁹ Champollion 1844, 381-404.

²⁵⁰ See Leblanc 1989/b, 32.

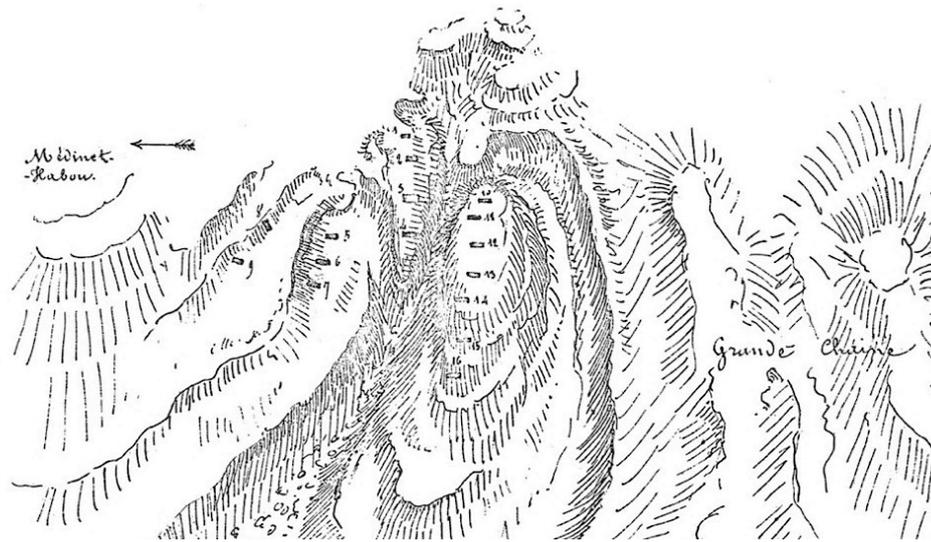


Fig. III.1. Map of the Queens' Valley (after Champollion 1844, 382).

Afterwards, in 1844, Lepsius explored the Queens' Valley, prepared a new inventory system of the tombs (18 in total, three of which without numbering) and a new map of the necropolis (fig. III.2). He attributed QV 33 to Queen Tanedjemy and QV 42 to Prince Paraheruenemef. Moreover, he identified cartouches with the name of Ramses III within tomb QV 53. He explored tomb QV 80, which had already been visited by Hay of Linplum and Wilkinson (but not by Champollion and Rosellini), finding a cartouche with part of the name of Queen Mut-Tuy, who was the wife of Sety I (1294-1279 BC) and mother of Ramses II. He also discovered and investigated the 18th-dynasty shaft tomb QV 72, which he attributed to Princess Hatnefer (but he did not find any clue to the existence of the other tomb owner, Baki, later detected by the Franco-Egyptian team).²⁵¹

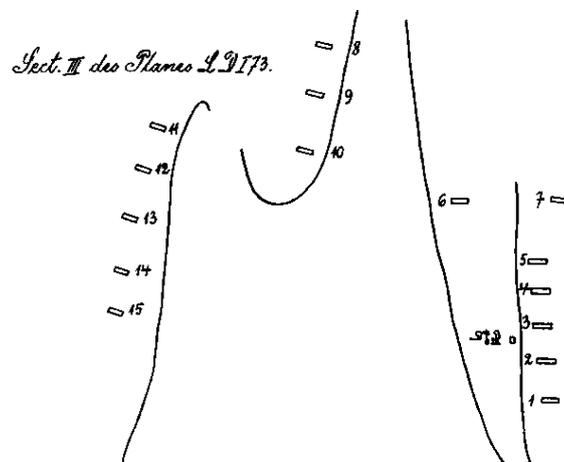


Fig. III.2. Map of the Queens' Valley (after Lepsius 1900, 225).

²⁵¹ Leblanc 1989/b, 36; Leblanc and Siliotti 1997, 65-66.

In the meanwhile, Émile Prisse D’Avennes (1807-1879) visited and recorded tomb QV 60, as can be assumed from the fact that he published a drawing of the upper part of a depiction of this queen within his *Monuments Égyptiens* (1847).²⁵² Brugsch explored the necropolis in 1854 and listed a total of 20 tombs (QV 31, QV 32, QV 33, QV 38, QV 40, QV 41, QV 42, QV 49, QV 51, QV 52, QV 53, QV 56, QV 57, QV 58, QV 60, QV 68, QV 71, QV 73, QV 74, and QV 75).²⁵³ After him, Georges Bénédite (1857-1926) surveyed the tomb of Queen Tyti, likely when he joined Bouriant’s archaeological mission working at Thebes between 1887 and 1888, and published the first study of this queen’s tomb.²⁵⁴

In 1891, Karl Baedeker published a travel guide of Upper Egypt and Nubia, within which there are 20 tombs located in the Queens’ Valley (“*einige 20 gefunden, viele von ihnen unvollendet, ja gänzlich unausgeschmückt; sie gleichen, rauh und geschwärzt wie sie sind, einfachen Felsenkellern*”). Among these, the most interesting tomb was said to be that of Queen Tyti. The tomb of Queen Isis, which was close to that of Queen Tyti, was mentioned as not easily accessible and not worthy of a visit.²⁵⁵

Finally, slightly before the beginning of the excavations of the *Missione Archeologica Italiana*, Daressy explored the lateral Valley of the Three Pits and discovered about ten shaft tombs, which should correspond with the current tombs QV A-to-L.²⁵⁶ He investigated only one of these pits, within which he found some fragments of terracotta canopic jars (one of which preserving part of the carved inscription mentioning an anonymous *hm.t nsw*)²⁵⁷ and two heads of small dogs, still with skin and patches of hair.²⁵⁸ He interpreted this necropolis as “*une annexe de la Vallée des Reines*”.²⁵⁹

By this brief overview, the author attempted to show a picture of the situation concerning the tombs that should have been known by the Italian Egyptologists before the beginning of the exploration of the Queens’ Valley.²⁶⁰ 28 tombs had been explored in the main *wadi* (along with 12 shaft tombs discovered by Wilkinson) and 10 shaft tombs in the Valley of the Three Pits (table III.a).²⁶¹

²⁵² Porter and Moss 1964 (PM I), 761.

²⁵³ Brugsch 1855; Leblanc 1989/b, 36-37; Leblanc and Siliotti 1997, 66.

²⁵⁴ Bénédite 1893.

²⁵⁵ Reference and quotation from Baedeker 1891, 209-211.

²⁵⁶ Daressy 1901, 135.

²⁵⁷ He suggested dating it to the 25th/26th Dynasty, thus implying a so far not attested reuse of this necropolis as a burial ground for royal consorts after the New Kingdom.

²⁵⁸ Daressy 1901, 135-136, fig.1.

²⁵⁹ Quotation from Daressy 1901, 136.

²⁶⁰ Ballerini and Schiaparelli mention Wilkinson, Rosellini, Champollion, and Lepsius within their works: Ballerini 1903, 3-5; Schiaparelli 1924, 44.

²⁶¹ See also Leblanc’s “*table de concordance*” (1989/b, 38).

Current numbering	Hay of Linplum	Wilkinson	Champollion	Rosellini	Lepsius	Brugsch	Daressy
QV 27		n. 24					
QV 28		n. 23					
QV 29		n. 22					
QV 31		n. 21?	Tomb n. 9 Anonymous queen	?	Tomb n. 15 Unknown <i>s3.t nsw, hm.t nsw, nb.t t3.wj</i>	Tomb n. 10 'Grab, die Namen nicht ausgefüllt, sonst Alles meistens zerstört'	
QV 32						Tomb n. 8 (?) 'Grab ohne Hieroglyphen'	
QV 33		20			Tomb n. 14 Queen Tanedjemy	Tomb n. 9 'Grab, von oben her eingestürzt und Weniges lesbar'	
QV 38		19	Tomb n. 7 Queen Satra	?	Tomb n. 13 Queen Satra	Tomb n. 7 'Unvollendetes Grab'	
QV 40	4 th western tomb	18	Tomb n. 6 Anonymous princess	?	Tomb n. 12 Unknown <i>s3.t nsw n h.t=f mr.t=f, hm.t nsw wr.t, nb.t t3.wy</i>	Tomb n. 6 Anonymous queen	
QV 41	Another western tomb	17			Grab mit rohen Wänden	Tomb n. 5 'Zerstörtes Grab mit fast gänzlich verschüttetem Eingang'	
QV 42	1	16	Tomb n. 8 Unidentified prince and princess		Tomb n. 11 Prince Paraheruenemef	Tomb n. 4 Prince Paraheruenemef	
QV 45	2 nd western tomb (?)	15?	Tomb n. 5 Commenced tomb, never used				
QV 49		14				Tomb n. 3 (?) 'Grab-Inschriften zerstört'	
QV 51	3 rd western tomb	13	Tomb n. 4 Queen Isis	?	Tomb n. 10 Queen Isis	Tomb n. 2 Queen Isis	
QV 52	2	12	Tomb n. 3 Queen Tyti	?	Tomb n. 9 Queen Tyti	Tomb n. 1 Queen Tyti	
QV 53	3	11	Tomb n. 2 Anonymous owner, not identified		Tomb n. 8 (cartouche of King Ramses III, but the owner remained unidentified)	Tomb n. 20 'Grab mit Namen Ramses III. Sehr zerstört, da die Wände absplintern'	
QV 54	1 st western tomb	10?	Tomb n. 1 Commenced tomb, never used		Commenced tomb		
QV 56						Tomb n. 18/19 'Unvollendet'	
QV 57						Tomb n. 18/19 'Unvollendet'	
QV 58	1 st eastern tomb	9?	Tomb n. 10 Anonymous owner			Tomb n. 17 'Geschwärztes Inschriftenbaares Grab'	
QV 60	2 nd eastern tomb	7?	Tomb n. 11 Queen Nebettauy	?	Tomb n. 6 Queen Nebettauy	Tomb n. 16 Queen Nebettauy	
QV 65		6?					
QV 68	4 th eastern tomb	5	Tomb n. 12 Queen Merytamon	?	Tomb n. 5 Queen Merytamon	Tomb n. 15 Queen Merytamon	
QV 71	5 th eastern tomb	4	Tomb n. 13	?	Tomb n. 4 Queen Bentanta	Tomb n. 14 Queen Bentanta	

			Queen Bentanta				
QV 72					Shaft tomb within n. 2 and n. 3 Princess Hatnefer		
QV 73	6 th eastern tomb	3	Tomb n. 14 Anonymous princess	?	Tomb n. 3 Unknown <i>s3.t nsw n h.t-f</i>	Tomb n. 13 <i>Prinzessin von Gebliuf</i>	
QV 74	7 th eastern tomb	2	Tomb n. 15 Queen Duatentipet	?	Tomb n. 2 Queen Duatentipet	Tomb n. 12 Queen Duatentipet	
QV 75	8 th eastern tomb	1	Tomb n. 16 Anonymous queen	?	Tomb n. 1 Lep. = anonymous queen (<i>s3.t nsw n h.t=f, hm.t nsw wr.t, nb.t B.wj, hnw.t sm'w mhw</i>)	Tomb n. 11 Queen's tomb anonymous queen, the name has not been written inside the cartouche	
QV 80	3 rd eastern tomb	8			Tomb n. 7 cartouche of Queen Mut(-Tuy)		
Other tombs		Twelve unnumbered shaft tombs					Ten shaft tombs in the Valley of the Three Pits
Tot.	16	24 + 12	16	11	18	20	10

Table III.a. Tombs of the Queens' Valley explored before the 1903 [adapted from Leblanc's table (see Leblanc 1989/b, 38) with the addition of Daressy's discoveries]. © E. Casini.

III.2. The *Missione Archeologica Italiana* in the Queens' Valley: History Rewritten

After his appointment as director of the Regio Museo di Antichità of Turin in 1894,²⁶² Schiaparelli became aware that the only way to acquire new objects and enrich the Egyptian collection was to lead archaeological research in the field. Therefore, he founded the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* (MAI) and after having obtained the excavation permission (from his former professor and friend Gaston Maspero) and funding (from King Vittorio Emanuele III), he managed to inaugurate the first archaeological mission in the Queens' Valley, in January 1903.²⁶³ The *Missione Archeologica Italiana* investigated this necropolis between 1903 and 1905 and Schiaparelli could count on the invaluable support of his collaborator Ballerini. The aim of the Italian mission was to carry out a systematic and scientific investigation of the Queens' Valley, in order to explore the already known tombs and discover new ones (“... *col proposito di esplorarla sistematicamente, sì da non lasciare*

²⁶² D'Amicone 2008, 147.

²⁶³ Moiso and Lovera 2017, 149-152.

alla fine alcuna parte non esaminata, per metterne in luce tutte le tombe, sia le poche già note, sia le altre, che si supponeva e sperava di poter scoprire.)²⁶⁴

Ballerini recorded the events that occurred in the framework of the excavation works not only within the digging diaries, which constituted the official documentation, but also indirectly within the letters that he sent to his family in 1903. Although the letters do not possess the status of scientific document, they provide further information about the works in the field and are helpful in the framework of the chronological reconstruction of the sequence of the discoveries that occurred in 1903. Ballerini did not send any letter from the Queens' Valley to his relatives during the following season,²⁶⁵ nor in 1905, when he missed the first part of the archaeological campaign due to his weakened state of health.

In 1903, Ballerini wrote letters almost on a daily basis, telling his wife what had happened during the day, what he had eaten, which tombs were discovered, *etcetera*. In some cases, Ballerini provides additional information that is not typical for a digging diary: for instance, he talks about the lunch break within Queen Tyti's tomb (*“Intanto anche noi (io e Bolos) ci ritiriamo nel corridoio di ingresso alla tomba della regina Tyti per il dejeuner che P. Riccardo mi fa preparare e che noi portiamo con noi al mattino”*).²⁶⁶ In some letters, he requests things that he needs and cannot find in Egypt, like tracing paper,²⁶⁷ thus offering information on the provision of common materials that were necessary during the excavation works.

Concerning the organisation of the works in the field, Ballerini provides within the letters interesting details about the number of workmen employed and the sectors within which they worked. He also describes other aspects regarding the fieldwork, like photography. For instance, on the 3rd of February 1903, the Italian team first visited Medinet Habu, and afterwards went to the Queens' Valley; during the short route between the temple of Ramses III and the necropolis, Ballerini took some photographs (*“ho meco la macchina fotografica e comincio difatti a fotografare vari punti”*),²⁶⁸ information that finds a concrete confirmation in some photographs that are preserved within the *Archivio di Stato di Torino*. Taking pictures was anything but simple and the cameras did not always work properly, as Ballerini himself complained (*“Dove abbiamo un vero sfacelo è nella fotografia: le*

²⁶⁴ Quotation from Ballerini 1903, 4.

²⁶⁵ He sent two letters only to Schiaparelli in 1904: see Moiso 2012/b, 181-182.

²⁶⁶ Quotation from Consonni and Quirino 2012, 101.

²⁶⁷ Consonni and Quirino 2012, 101.

²⁶⁸ Reference and quotation from Consonni and Quirino 2012, 104.

macchine (avevo ben ragione io!) sono una peggio dell'altra, l'acqua scarseggia, lo sviluppo (Amidol) non mi va, il caldo rovina la gelatina e poi la luce di questi luoghi è qualche cosa di incomprensibile e non si sa come regolarsi?".²⁶⁹

The letters also unveil Ballerini's introspective side: during the evening, once all the workmen had come back home, the Queens' Valley became an empty, deserted place and Ballerini could enjoy the silence and the colours of the necropolis landscape, as indicated by his poetic and romantic descriptions: "*la valle rientra nella calma della sua austera bellezza. Non ha un filo di verzura, non una goccia di acqua: il suo fondo è sabbia e pietra ed intorno la cingono le alture ripide e stranamente frastagliate di roccia calcarea: eppure anche così è bella, bella soprattutto nella pace della notte, quando con questo bel chiarore lunare assume parvenze strane e nuove*".²⁷⁰

The everyday life of Ballerini in the field was very hard, as highlighted by his letters. A typical working day in the Queens' Valley ran as following:²⁷¹ alarm clock went off at 6:00 o'clock; from 7:00 to 12:00 work in the field; from 12:00 to 14:00 lunch break; afterwards, from 14:00 to 17:00 again at work; between 17:00 and 18:00 the tools were cleaned up and afterwards Ballerini could work on the photos that he had taken during the day. Finally, he usually went to bed at about 22:30/23:00. The letters also contain thoughts and concerns about the burden of responsibility. For instance, in the letter dating to the 3rd of February 1903, he complained about the fact that he had to work on the elaboration of a mapping survey provided with the position of the tombs: "*Devo fare il rilievo di tutta una valletta e segnarvi man mano le tombe. Cerco di ingegnarmi*".²⁷² "La Valletta" in question is the Valley of Prince Ahmose (fig. III.3).

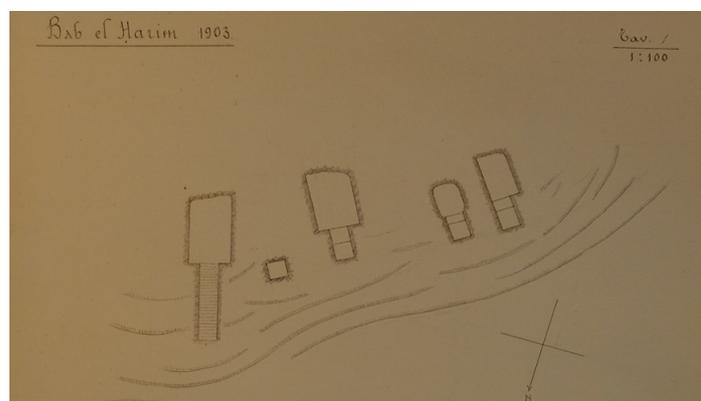


Fig. III.3. This map depicts the four/five tombs found in the Valley of Prince Ahmose (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche, marzo 6 - fascicolo 11, Tav. 1*). © Archivio di Stato, Torino.

²⁶⁹ Quotation from Consonni and Quirino 2012, 116.

²⁷⁰ Reference and quotation from Consonni and Quirino 2012, 109.

²⁷¹ Consonni and Quirino 2012, 123.

²⁷² Reference and quotation from Consonni and Quirino 2012, 104.

Ballerini was an archaeologist *tout court*: he recorded the excavation works within the digging diaries, analysed materials, studied the wall decoration of the Ramesside tombs, took photographs, and elaborated maps. He was more than a collaborator: due to Schiaparelli's long periods of absence, he actually acted as co-director. His multi-tasking role in the field explains why the documentation is not always detailed and his notes sometimes seem to be hasty and incomplete. In addition, the lack of a complete map of the whole necropolis likely depended on his busy schedule and the multiple tasks he had to accomplish. There are only a few maps of delimited sectors of this burial ground; one of these concerns the south-western sector of the main *wadi* (fig. III.4). It is a detailed map (the only one of this type), provided with the indication of the tombs and distances from selected points of reference. It was prepared in 1904, as apparent from the indication of tombs that were discovered during the second archaeological campaign (*e.g.* tombs QV 42 and QV 46). Some tombs are identified by the name of their owners, but none are indicated by means of letters or numbers. The meticulous precision through which this map was elaborated makes one regret even more the fact that Ballerini failed to complete a map of this necropolis: this would certainly have helped to define in a clear way which tombs had been discovered by the Italian mission.

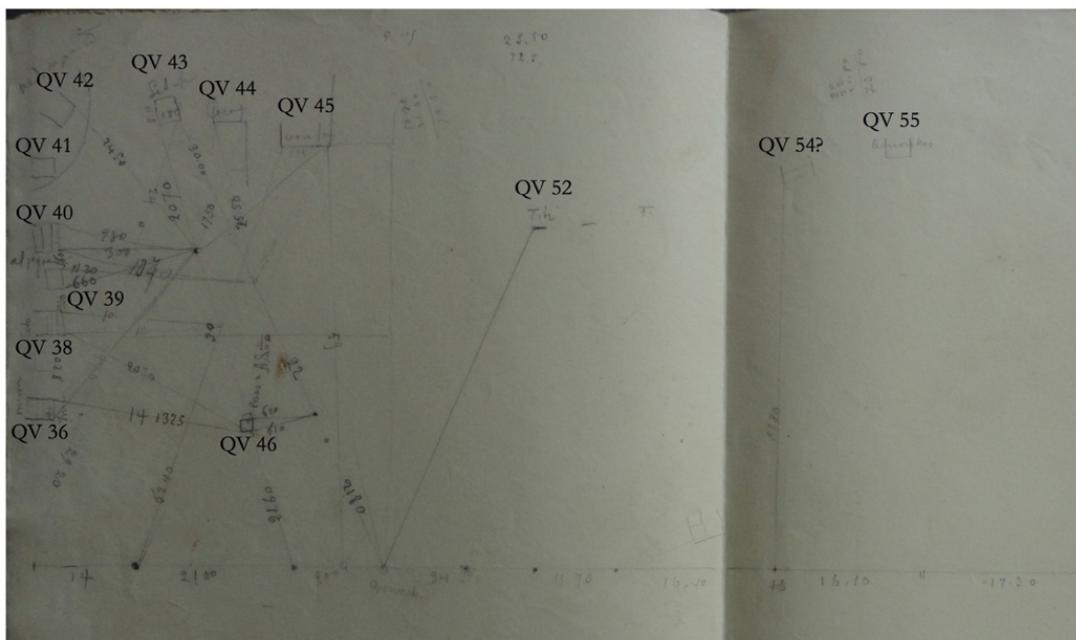


Fig. III.4. Map of the south-western sector of the main *wadi* (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche, numero 6 - fascicolo 30, unnumbered document*); tomb numbers have been added by the author. © Archivio di Stato, Torino.

The archival dossiers include a few other maps that concern the southern and northern sectors of the main *wadi*, which provide invaluable information about the tombs investigated by the Italian team. However, such maps have been executed in a very hasty manner: the position of the tombs is indicated in an imprecise way, there is no indication of the north, nor any metric scale that may help to understand the exact distance between the tombs themselves. Thus, their identification is anything but simple (fig. III.5).

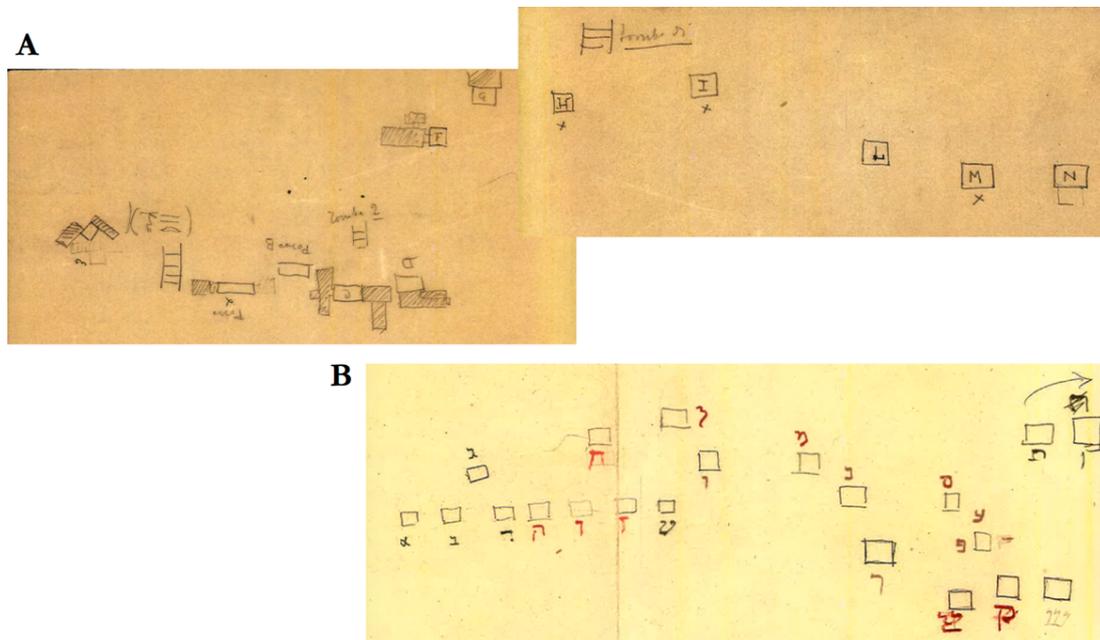


Fig. III.5. Map of the northern slope (A) and south-eastern sector (B) of the main *wadi* (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche, marzo 3 - fascicolo 13*, pp. 3 and 41). © Archivio di Stato, Torino.

The potential of the archival research consists in providing an invaluable means in order to cast new light on the old excavations. By reading the digging diaries, it is possible to observe the methodological approach employed by the Italian team to record the excavation works at the beginning of the 20th century: reports are short, sometimes resembling simple lists; there are no descriptions of layers, thus suggesting that the stratigraphic method was not applied; there are a number of drawings/sketches of the findings. However, the digging diaries include many data that can be used in order to supplement the information provided by Ballerini and Schiaparelli in their publications, thus allowing an overall reassessment of the Italian excavations in the Queens' Valley. The relevance of the examination of the archival documents is evident by looking at Leblanc's list of the tombs investigated by the Italian mission (fig. III.6). Leblanc attributed to the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* the discovery of 13 new tombs (in the

framework of three archaeological missions), which constitute a minimal part of the tombs actually discovered by the Italian team. Leblanc's reconstruction of the Italian discoveries relied on the publications of Ballerini and Schiaparelli only: apparently, Leblanc and his colleagues did not have access to the unpublished digging diaries of the Italian team.²⁷³ In addition, not all the tombs assigned to the Italian mission were actually discovered by Ballerini and Schiaparelli. For instance, tomb QV 87 was likely not discovered by the Italian team, otherwise Ballerini should have stumbled upon tomb QV 34 (or vice versa) for obvious reasons: the two tombs are connected. Furthermore, tombs QV 89, QV 90, and QV 91 were not discovered by the Italian mission.

numéros actuels des tombes	propriétaires des tombes	références à la publication de E. Schiaparelli <i>Relazione</i> , I.	références à la publication de F. Ballerini NS
VdR n° 30	Neb - iry	p. 35 - 39 fig. 29 - 37 pl. X	—
VdR n° 36	anonyme	p. 109 - 110 fig. 86 - 87	p. 9-11 plan, p. 11
VdR n° 43	Seth-her-khepshef	p. 115 - 120 p. 124 - 142 fig. 90 , 93	p. 19 - 31
VdR n° 44	Khaemouaset	p. 115 - 120 p. 124 - 142 fig. 92, 94 - 100 pl. XXXII	p. 12 - 19 plan, p. 13
VdR n° 46	Imhotep	p. 25 - 34 fig. 21 - 28	—
VdR n° 47	Ahmès, princesse	p. 13 - 21 fig. 9 - 16 pl. VI-VIII	—
VdR n° 55	Amon -(her)- khepshef	p. 115 - 120 p. 143 - 154 fig. 88 - 89, 101 - 115	—
VdR n° 66	Nefertari	p. 51 - 104 fig. 46 - 82 et 2 fig. s.n. p. 51 et 104 pl. XVI-XXXI	—
VdR n° 87	anonyme	p. 40 - 41 fig. 38	—
VdR n° 88	Ahmès, prince	p. 22 - 24 fig. 17 - 19 pl. IX	p. 32 - 33
VdR n° 89	anonyme	p. 42	p. 33 - 37
VdR n° 90	anonyme	p. 42 fig. 39	p. 33 - 37
VdR n° 91	anonyme	p. 45 - 47 fig. 42 - 43, 45	p. 33 - 37

Fig. III.6. The tombs discovered by the Italian mission according to Christian Leblanc (from Leblanc 1989/b, 43; © Christian Leblanc); crossed out in red are the tombs likely not investigated by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana*.

The above table explains why this chapter is of outmost importance. Thanks to the examination of the unpublished documents, it is possible to work on the reconstruction

²⁷³ Leblanc 1986, 208, footnote n. 7; Lecuyot 1989, 62.

of the discoveries carried out by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana*, even though such a research has a number of limits:

- 1) it is not always possible to retrace the events of the discoveries by chronological sequence. Some help comes from the 1903 letters and sometimes dates are provided on the pages of the digging diaries; however, these data are scarce and incomplete;
- 2) it is not possible to estimate the exact number of tombs discovered for the first time by the Italian team: even though there are tomb plans, in some cases it is not possible to identify exactly the investigated tombs;
- 3) it is not clear what the Italian team found inside (and outside) the tombs: for instance, in the case of the tomb of the vizier Imhotep, only a part of the findings is mentioned; concerning Nefertari's tomb, the findings are not listed within the digging diaries. The *Giornale d'Entrata* includes a list of all the objects that were brought to Turin. This list was likely prepared after the excavation works. It is certain that the Italian team did not clear the tombs in-depth. Indeed, when the Franco-Egyptian team re-explored the tombs that the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* had already investigated, several archaeological materials were brought to light, objects that the Italian team did not find or Ballerini did not list within the digging diaries.²⁷⁴ Therefore, it is impossible to have a precise picture of the situation concerning the objects found in the field.

Limits are not made to block the research, but rather to stimulate new solutions. In order to carry out a complete reassessment of the Italian archaeological mission, the author combined the data extracted from the published works with the information contained in the unpublished dossier preserved in the *Archivio di Stato di Torino*. In 1903, Ballerini published the *Notizia Sommaria*, which was a summary report of the discoveries made in the course of the first archaeological campaign. In 1924, almost twenty years after the beginning of the investigations in the Queens' Valley, Schiaparelli published the *Esplorazione della Valle delle Regine*. This work is fundamental, since it includes an overview of all the campaigns carried out in the Queens' Valley, although Schiaparelli did not list all the discoveries. Schiaparelli organized his work into four sections, as following: 1) the 18th-dynasty tombs (including QV 47, QV 88, QV 46, QV 30, the three tombs discovered in one of the lateral valleys, and a few words on "other tombs"); 2) the decorated tombs of the 19th Dynasty (with focus on Nefertari's tomb); 3) the princes' tombs (QV 42, QV 43,

²⁷⁴ Only in a few cases, the Franco-Egyptian team hypothesized the Italian presence within the tombs thanks to some clues, such as a piece of an Italian newspaper that has been found within QV 13: Lecuyot 1992/a, 121, footnote n. 22.

QV 44, and QV 55); and finally, 4) coffins and ostraca. Without Ballerini († 1910), who actually supervised all the works, took notes and pictures, and made drawings, it was not an easy task for Schiaparelli to deal with all the information, sometimes even incomprehensible, gathered in the field several years before: this clarifies why he had to select what to publish.

Finally, among the published works, there are also Ballerini's letters, sent to his family and his wife Lucia Noseda mainly in 1903. Although they do not have the status of a scientific source, these letters play a key role in the framework of the reconstruction of the chronological sequence of the events occurring in the framework of the 1903 archaeological campaign.

Among the unpublished documentation, there are the digging diaries, notes, tomb plans, sketches of the findings, copies of the hieratic inscriptions, and photographs, which are preserved within separated dossiers (*fascicoli*): these materials constitute the most relevant means to reassess the excavation works undertaken by the Italian mission. There are also the photographic albums: two albums were prepared for the king and included the final report/*Relazione* (one written in 1903 and the other one in 1904),²⁷⁵ and one album was prepared for the Regio Museo di Antichità of Turin. The two reports/*Relazioni* written by Schiaparelli for the “sponsor” of the *Missione Archeologica Italiana*, King Vittorio Emauele III, summarized in a synthetic way the most salient discoveries that occurred during the first two archaeological missions in the Queens' Valley. Finally, there is another work that Ballerini likely prepared in view of a future publication, probably in order to provide an integration to the *Notizia Sommaria*: this is the *Missione Archeologica in Egitto - Anno 1903*, an incomplete manuscript concerning ten tombs discovered in 1903. The original project envisaged a description of the decorated tombs (as indicated by the subheading of the manuscript: *Vol. I - Iscrizioni delle tombe*), provided with plans, information about the findings, and copies of the inscriptions. However, only the analysis of the first six tombs has been completed and includes even an undecorated tomb (n. 6 = QV 37). It may be possible that the tombs listed as n. 7-to-10 were the other four undecorated tombs discovered in 1903 (possibly QV 45, QV 92, QV 93, and QV 97), although these all were undecorated (table III.b).

²⁷⁵ The author deeply thanks Dr. Del Vesco for information about the fact that the two reports were attached to the photographic albums prepared for the king.

Tombs listed in the index of Ballerini's <i>Missione Archeologica in Egitto - Anno 1903</i>	
Tomba n. 1 della regina Tyti	QV 52
Tomba n. 2 del principe Khaemuaset	QV 44
Tomba n. 3 del principe Sethherkhepeshef	QV 43
Tomba n. 4 della regina Satra	QV 38
Tomba n. 5 della regina	QV 36
Tomba n. 6	QV 37
Tomba n. 7	QV 45, QV 92, QV 93, QV 97?
Tomba n. 8	
Tomba n. 9	
Tomba n. 10	

Table III.b. The index of the unpublished volume *Missione Archeologica in Egitto - Anno 1903* provided with the additional indication of the corresponding current tombs. © E. Casini.

The combination of all these abovementioned sources provides a solid base in order to retrace, step by step, the excavation works of the Italian mission in the Queens' Valley, which will be presented by considering each archaeological campaign separately.

III.3. 1903: the First Archaeological Mission

The available sources that allow to reassess the 1903 archaeological campaign are:

- 1) Ballerini's *Notizia Sommaria* (1903);
- 2) Schiaparelli's *Esplorazione della Valle delle Regine* (1924);
- 3) Schiaparelli's unpublished report to the king (1903);
- 4) Ballerini's letters;
- 5) Ballerini's unpublished *Missione Archeologica in Egitto - Anno 1903*;
- 6) the unpublished documents, with particular attention to those included in *mazzo 6 - fascicolo 11* and *mazzo 6 - fascicolo 17*.

Within the report prepared for the king, Schiaparelli remarks that, according to common opinion, there was no hope of making new discoveries within the Queens' Valley: "*La storia di queste successive devastazioni si legge nel disordine immenso del suolo anche di Bab el-Harim: disordine tale da far credere che quella regione sia stata piu volte rimescolata da capo a fondo e non resti quindi speranza alcuna di nuovi ritrovamenti*".²⁷⁶ However, the director of the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* was of the idea that a scientific investigation of this necropolis may have been worthwhile ("*Da parte nostra, pur non facendoci illusioni sulle probabilità di trovarvi tombe inviolate, avemmo però la persuasione che la necropoli di Bab el-Harim*

²⁷⁶ Quotation from Schiaparelli 1903, *Relazione*.

*potesse ancora offrire a una missione scientifica elementi di utile lavoro...”).*²⁷⁷ According to his preliminary schedule, a complete and in-depth exploration of the Queens’ Valley would require at least five months and the employment of hundreds of workmen. Actually, the first campaign lasted about forty days and attention was directed to four specific sectors, as remarked by Schiaparelli in his *Relazione* (fig. III.7):

- 1) part of the small valley that is before the main *wadi*²⁷⁸ (this is the Valley of Prince Ahmose);
- 2) a limited area located on the right slope of the main *wadi*²⁷⁹ (this refers to the southern slope of the main *wadi*);
- 3) the upper sector of the main *wadi*²⁸⁰ (this is the western sector of the main *wadi*);
- 4) one of the lateral valleys that are behind the left slope of the main *wadi*²⁸¹ (this is the Valley of the Rope, as will be highlighted below).

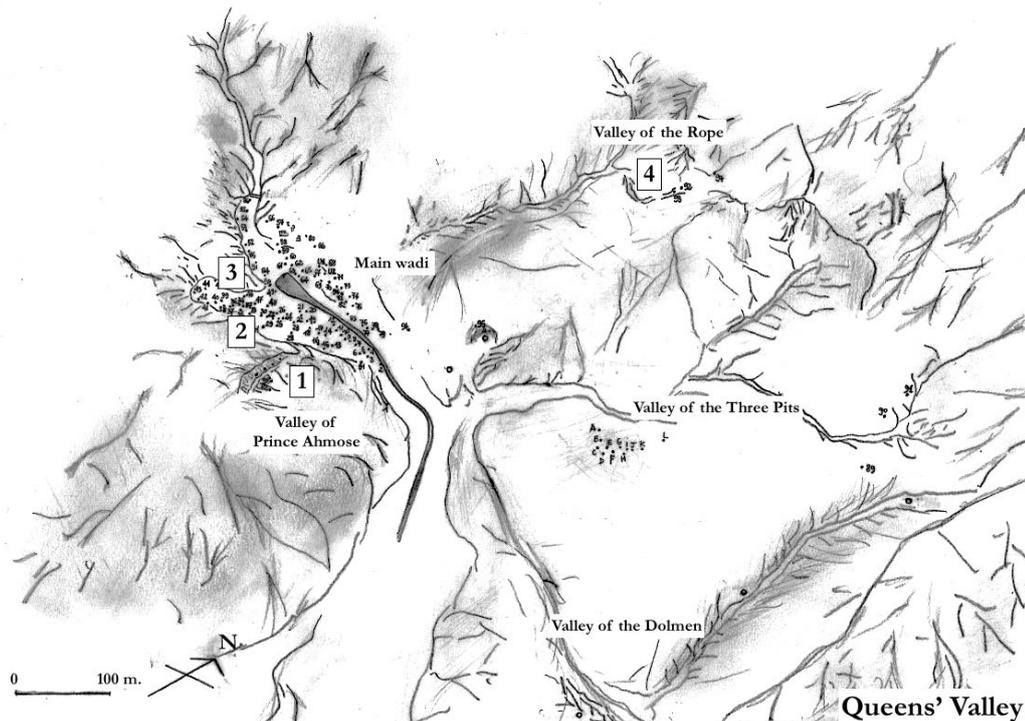


Fig. III.7. The sectors investigated in 1903 by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana*, as listed in the unpublished *Relazione*, drawing of the map published by Leblanc and Siliotti (1997, 16-17); numbers, letters, and labels added. © E. Casini.

²⁷⁷ Quotation from Schiaparelli 1903, *Relazione*.

²⁷⁸ “Buona parte della piccola valle che precede quella propriamente detta di Bab el-Harim” (Schiaparelli 1903, *Relazione*).

²⁷⁹ “Un punto sul fianco destro della valle maggiore” (Schiaparelli 1903, *Relazione*). The right and the left sides are intended considering the Grotto-cascade behind the back of the observer and looking towards the necropolis entrance. Therefore, the right side is the southern slope and the left flank is the northern one of the main *wadi*.

²⁸⁰ “La parte superiore della medesima” (Schiaparelli 1903, *Relazione*). “Upper” because the *wadi* floor tends to rise moving from the entrance towards the bottom of the valley, and in particular in the sector where the tombs of the sons of Ramses III are located.

²⁸¹ “Una delle convalli che scendono dagli alti terrazzi del fianco sinistro” (Schiaparelli 1903, *Relazione*).

On the 28th of January 1903, Ballerini and the dragoman Bolos²⁸² went early in the morning to Bab el-Harim to visit, for the first time, the working area.²⁸³ They managed to enter some tombs that had already been explored in the 19th century and were still accessible, among which the tomb of Queen Tyti.²⁸⁴ Two days later, on the 30th of January, the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* began the excavations (“*e così ho cominciato a fare gli scavi preliminari tra la polvere e il sole*”), although Ballerini indicates the 29th of January as the beginning of the investigation within his *Notizia Sommaria*.²⁸⁵ However, in the letter dating to the 29th of January, Ballerini clearly states “*avrei voluto cominciarlo oggi [i.e. the excavation work] ma mi fu impossibile*”.²⁸⁶ Since the expectations were, at the very beginning, quite uncertain (“*Troveremo qualche cosa? Chi lo sa?*”), Ballerini employed only 30 workmen, who were supervised by the dragoman Bolos and one *rais*. While the workers moved debris in search of new tombs, Ballerini climbed down into a number tombs and copied the inscriptions.²⁸⁷ The first tomb mentioned within his letters and the *Notizia Sommaria* is that of Queen Tyti (QV 52),²⁸⁸ within which he and Bolos also spent lunch breaks.²⁸⁹ Ballerini wrongly remarked that Tyti’s tomb had already been explored but not published (“*questa tomba era già conosciuta e l’unica che fosse di facile accesso ai vari visitatori della Valle delle Regine. Non fu pubblicata?*”).²⁹⁰ Actually, in 1893, Bénédite had published a description of this tomb and Ballerini was clearly not aware of this.²⁹¹ As a confirmation of this, Bénédite is never mentioned by him, differently from other explorers such as Wilkinson and Lepsius.

On the 31st of January, with twice the number of workmen at his disposal (up to 60 individuals), the Italian team rediscovered the tomb of Queen Satra (QV 38), which had already been investigated but was again buried under sand and debris²⁹² (fig. III.8/A). Ballerini remarked that the tomb had been not only plundered but also reused as a dwelling by the Copts, who had painted crosses on the tomb walls.²⁹³ The dossier *مازخو 6 - fascicolo 28* includes three watercolour paintings, very likely prepared by Ballerini, which do not bear any information about the tomb in question (fig. III.8/B). By comparing

²⁸² He was a trusted guide and interpreter who worked with Schiaparelli and Ballerini in several archaeological missions.

²⁸³ Schiaparelli arrived in Luxor some days later.

²⁸⁴ Consonni and Quirino 2012, 98-99. The other accessible tombs are not specified.

²⁸⁵ Ballerini 1903, 4-5.

²⁸⁶ Quotation from Consonni and Quirino 2012, 100.

²⁸⁷ Consonni and Quirino 2012, 100-101.

²⁸⁸ Ballerini 1903, 5.

²⁸⁹ The tents had not been prepared yet, so the inside of the tombs offered a shelter against the warm temperature.

²⁹⁰ Quotation from Ballerini, *Miss. Arch.*.

²⁹¹ Bénédite 1893.

²⁹² Consonni and Quirino 2012, 101-102.

²⁹³ Ballerini, *Miss. Arch.*.

these drawings with the wall decorations of QV 38, it is clear that they reproduce some depictions of the decorative program of Queen Satra's tomb, decoration that had been left unfinished (fig. III.8/C). The two-tone drawing of the queen mirrors different stages of preparation: the first sketch was prepared using red pigment, afterwards the draughtsman corrected and perfected it by means of black pigment. According to Schiaparelli, the unfinished state of the wall decoration indicated that the tomb was abandoned and not used, perhaps because it was not considered appropriate for the status of a royal consort.²⁹⁴ Schiaparelli did not consider that the tomb construction and wall decoration required much time and it could happen that the tomb owner died before the completion of her sepulchre: the incomplete status of the wall decoration does not necessarily mean that this tomb was left unused.

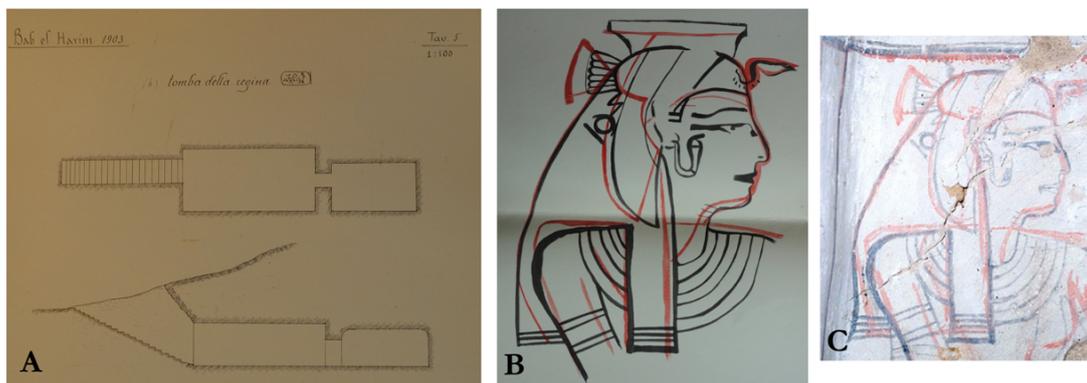


Fig. III.8. A: Plan of tomb QV 38 prepared by Ballerini (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche, magazzino 6 - fascicolo 11, Tav. 5*), © Archivio di Stato, Torino. B: Ballerini's drawing (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche, magazzino 6 - fascicolo 28*, unnumbered drawing), © Archivio di Stato, Torino. C: Queen Satra depicted on the wall of her tomb (http://www.getty.edu/conservation/our_projects/field_projects/valley_queens/, last accessed on 15.08.2017).

Towards the end of the same day (31st January), not very far from QV 38, the workmen found a shaft tomb filled with debris: this was the anonymous shaft tomb QV 37.²⁹⁵ Within the unpublished *Missione Archeologica in Egitto*, Ballerini remarked that no object was found inside the tomb. Nothing is known from the side of the Franco-Egyptian team, since the results of the investigation of QV 37 have not been published yet. However, when the CNRS and the SCA re-investigated this tomb in 2008, an unspecified number of potsherds was found therein:²⁹⁶ this suggests that when Ballerini says that “nothing was found”, such “nothing” may mean “nothing valuable” or “nothing interesting”.

²⁹⁴ Schiaparelli 1924, 105 and 107.

²⁹⁵ Ballerini, *Miss. Arb.*; Ballerini 1903, 10-11; Consonni and Quirino 2012, 101-102

²⁹⁶ Demas and Agnew 2016, 80-81.

The day after (1st February), the Italian team continued the investigation of QV 37 and found an opening in the corner of the northern wall, which had been filled by means of a brick-made masonry. Ballerini hypothesized that such a break had been made by tomb robbers,²⁹⁷ however, it may be possible that it was the result of a collision between QV 37 and QV 36 that occurred during the cut of the latter. Ballerini and Bolos broke that masonry and ended up in the multi-chambered decorated tomb QV 36,²⁹⁸ which had hosted the burial of an anonymous princess (*s3.t nsw n h.t=f mr.t=f*). Despite this title, within the unpublished *Missione Archeologica in Egitto*, Ballerini identified the tomb owner as an anonymous queen (fig. III.9).

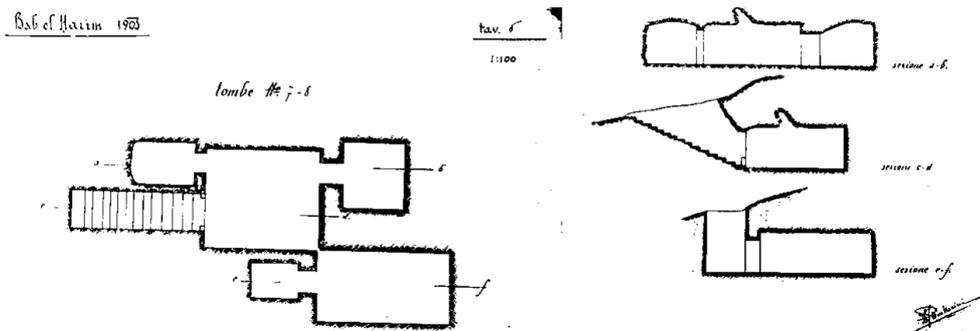


Fig. III.9. Ballerini's sketches of the plans (on the left) and longitudinal sections (on the right) of tombs QV 36 and QV 37, here labelled as n. 7 and n. 8 (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche, marzo 6 - fascicolo 11, Tav. 6*).
© Archivio di Stato, Torino.

From the 6th of February onwards, the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* spent day and night within the Queens' Valley.²⁹⁹ Close to the ruins of the Coptic monastery of Deir er-Rumi, the workmen prepared the camp, which is depicted by some photographs and a sketch made by Ballerini:³⁰⁰ one tent was designated to Schiaparelli, one to Ballerini, one to the entourage (dragoman, guards, chef, and servants), and finally one to the guests. At that date, the number of workmen employed in the excavation works had massively increased (220 people, including adults, adolescents, and children starting from six years old). The need of such a large quantity of workmen depended on the fact that the Italian team was working concomitantly in different areas of the necropolis.

On the 8th of February, Schiaparelli moved to Cairo with Evaristo Breccia in order to start an archaeological mission in Giza, whilst Ballerini remained in the Queens' Valley and became the only one in charge of the excavation works therein. The exploration went

²⁹⁷ Ballerini 1903, 10-11.

²⁹⁸ Ballerini 1903, 9-10.

²⁹⁹ The place mentioned in the *incipit* of the letters is no longer "Luqsor" (where the Italian team spent the first nights) but "Bab el-Harim" (= Queens' Valley).

³⁰⁰ Consonni and Quirino 2012, 121.

on in the following two weeks satisfactorily: every day, objects (mostly fragmented) were brought to light, inside and outside the tombs. Ballerini hoped to discover an intact tomb (*“Riusciremo noi a mettere le mani su una tomba di Regina intatta?”*),³⁰¹ but this never occurred. However, a relevant discovery took place on the 15th of February: the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* discovered the tomb of prince Khaemuaset (QV 44),³⁰² which had been reused as a mass grave during the Third Intermediate Period but had not been explored in the previous century (fig. III.10). Prince Khaemuaset had been buried within his tomb, as suggested by the presence of the sarcophagus made of pink granite and commissioned for him by King Ramses IV, under whom he likely died. According to Schiaparelli, among the mummies found within QV 44, there was one that may have been that of the prince, since it showed accurate embalming techniques and its facial lineaments resembled those of the Ramesside Period kings.³⁰³ On the 18th of February, only three days after the discovery, QV 44 was completely emptied for safety reasons.³⁰⁴ Such a short time-span suggests that the record of the findings was performed in a very hasty manner, as confirmed by the fact that Ballerini did not indicate the position of the sarcophagi/coffins, nor that of the other objects. He remarked that the mummies would have been collected together and reburied within an unspecified pit, as a form of respect³⁰⁵.

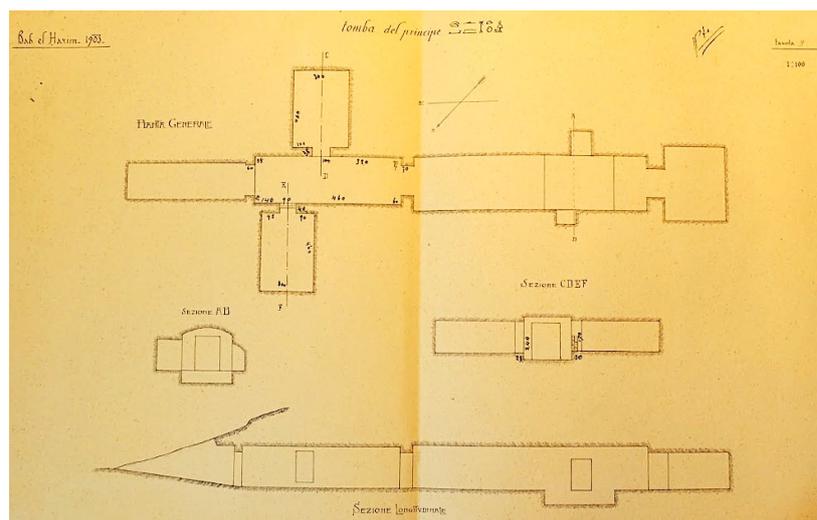


Fig. III.10. Plan and longitudinal section of tomb QV 44 (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche, marzo 6 - fascicolo 11, Tav. 9*). © Archivio di Stato, Torino.

³⁰¹ Letter of the 11th of February 1903. Reference and quotation from Consonni and Quirino 2012, 109.

³⁰² Consonni and Quirino 2012, 112-113 (letter dating to the 17th of February). See also Ballerini 1903, 12-13, 17-18, 21, 25.

³⁰³ *“Imbalsamata con specialissima cura, quasi interamente spogliata delle [...] fasce che presenta nel viso i tratti caratteristici dei Ramessid?”* (Schiaparelli 1903, *Relazione*).

³⁰⁴ Consonni and Quirino 2012, 113-114.

³⁰⁵ Concerning this information, see Consonni and Quirino 2012, 115. See also page 108 of this volume I.

On the 19th of February, the Italian team apparently started the exploration of the Valley of Prince Ahmose, within which a wooden box was found inside a cavity in the rock. This box contained a mummified foetus, which is currently on display within tomb QV 55.³⁰⁶ It is worth remarking that within the unpublished *Giornale d'Entrata*, ME S. 05042 is described as “*box with human foetus*”:³⁰⁷ this means that when the wooden box was brought to Turin, it contained the original foetus. Therefore, the foetus on display inside tomb QV 55 may be not pertinent to the finding made by the Italian team.

The number of workmen continued to increase as the days progressed (275 on the 20th of February).³⁰⁸ In the letter dating to the 27th of February, Ballerini informs about the finding (which actually occurred the day before, on the 26th of February) of an apparently-intact tomb located in the upper part of the valley (“*nella parte alta della valle*”),³⁰⁹ the investigation of which required several days.³¹⁰ Both Ballerini and Schiaparelli accurately described the event of the discovery of the tomb in question: an old Egyptian man called Califa, who was an expert *connaissanceur* of the Theban necropolis, led them to one of the lateral valleys north of the main *wadi*, indicating a place that he described as “*luogo per Faraon?*”.³¹¹ Califa’s expression implied that a royal tomb might be there, hidden under the debris. During the exploration of the cliffs of that concealed *wadi*, the two Italians detected some graffiti, a few of which mentioned the royal scribe Butehamon, who was employed in the necropolis administration during the late 20th/beginning of the 21st Dynasty.³¹² Such graffiti suggested the presence, in the vicinity, of an important burial. And indeed, after having made some trial trenches along the bottom of the cliffs of this lateral valley (fig. III.11/A), the workmen found the entrance of a tomb that at first sight seemed to be a shaft, but then turned out to be a steep staircase entryway. The steps led to a door that was sealed by means of large stones.³¹³ Behind the door there was a long corridor that ended in a burial chamber, which was endowed with a pillar, according to Schiaparelli.³¹⁴ Ballerini was of the opinion that this tomb was unfinished and never used, due to the

³⁰⁶ Consonni and Quirino 2012, 114-115. The picture of the foetus on display within QV 55 is available in Demas and Agnew 2016, 367.

³⁰⁷ The author deeply thanks B. Moiso and T. Montonati (both curators at the Museo Egizio of Turin) for sending a copy of the dossier containing the list of the objects brought to the Museo Egizio by the *MAI*.

³⁰⁸ Consonni and Quirino 2012, 116.

³⁰⁹ Consonni and Quirino 2012, 121.

³¹⁰ In the letter of the 3rd of March, it is said that the tomb was not cleared (Consonni and Quirino 2012, 122).

³¹¹ Quotation from Ballerini 1903, 34. See also Schiaparelli 1924, 44-45 (“*Questo - mi disse - è luogo da faraoni?*”).

³¹² Reeves 1990, 244-245. Butehamon was an inspector in charge of the control and clearance of tombs. His presence is attested to by some graffiti even in the western *wadi* A of the south-western *nadis* (see Litherland 2014, 26).

³¹³ Ballerini 1903, 35.

³¹⁴ Schiaparelli 1924, 47.

instability of the ceiling; moreover, contrary to Schiaparelli, he did not interpret the heap of stones, which was located in the middle of the room, as the clue to a pre-existing pillar.³¹⁵ Schiaparelli assumed that the tomb had been used for the burial of a king or prince of the 17th or 18th Dynasty and when the place became unsafe, the tomb was emptied, the burial assemblage moved, and the central pillar destroyed in order make the tomb not reusable. He thought that the fragment of vase, which was found in the corridor, may have been part of a large vase broken during the emptying of the tomb.³¹⁶ The location of this tomb was lost until 1995, when the Franco-Egyptian team found, within the Valley of the Rope, a tomb that matched the description of the one discovered by the Italian team (fig. III.11/B).³¹⁷ The tomb in question was labelled as QV 97.³¹⁸ No trace of any pillar was detected within the burial chamber, as Ballerini had already assumed. No sketch of the tomb plan made by Ballerini was found by the author; however, by comparing the picture of the tomb entrance taken by the Franco-Egyptian team and the one taken by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* (fig. III.11/C-D), it is evident that it deals with the same tomb.

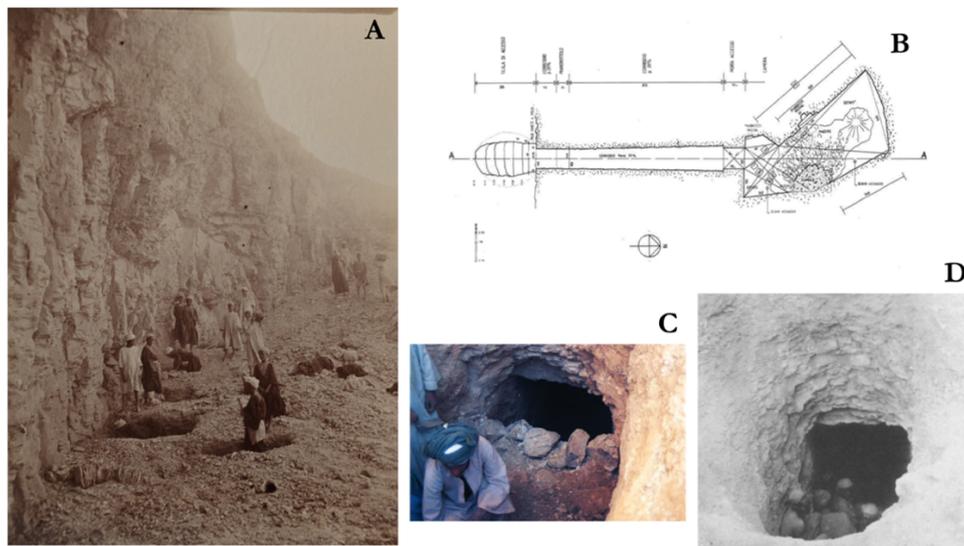


Fig. III.11 A: Trial trenches in the Valley of the Rope, picture taken by the Italian team (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche, marzo 6 - fascicolo 13, unnumbered picture*), © Archivio di Stato, Torino. B: Plan of tomb QV 97 (from Côte *et al.* 1996, 149; drawing of the tomb plan: © Eraldo Livio). C: Entrance of QV 97, picture taken by the Franco-Egyptian team (from Côte *et al.* 1996, pl. XLII/A; © Angelo Sesana). D: Entrance of QV 97, picture taken by the Italian team (from Schiaparelli 1924, 46).

³¹⁵ Ballerini 1903, 36.

³¹⁶ Schiaparelli 1924, 47.

³¹⁷ Côte *et al.* 1996.

³¹⁸ On Leblanc's map, QV 97 is a tomb located on the northern slope of the main *wadi* (see Leblanc 1989/b; Demas and Agnew 2016, 18, map 2). It is likely that, at the very early stage of the Franco-Egyptian excavations, the CNRS labelled as QV 97 one of the two tombs QV U1 or QV U2 that are located between current QV 67, QV 68, and QV 69 (see Demas and Agnew 2016, 19, map 4). Afterwards, the tomb discovered in the Valley of the Rope was labelled as QV 97, thus suggesting that the temporary number assigned by the CNRS to QV 97 was forgotten.

Slightly before the discovery of tomb QV 97, the Italian team discovered two other shaft tombs,³¹⁹ which are not mentioned by Ballerini within his letters, possibly because they did not contain findings worthy of a mention. Within the unpublished digging diaries, there are two drawings of the plans of the two shaft tombs, which are labelled in two different ways: as “pozzo I” and “pozzo II” (fig. III.12/A) and as “pozzo a” and “pozzo b” (fig. III.12/B).³²⁰ It is very likely that fig. III.12/A deals with the sketch prepared in the field, slightly after the discovery of the tombs, whilst fig. III.12/B is the plate prepared afterwards (still in Egypt, or in Italy?) to be used for the publication. It is also worth noting that there is also a sketched topographic map indicating the sector within which the tombs are located, although there is no indication of the north (fig. III.12/A, above).

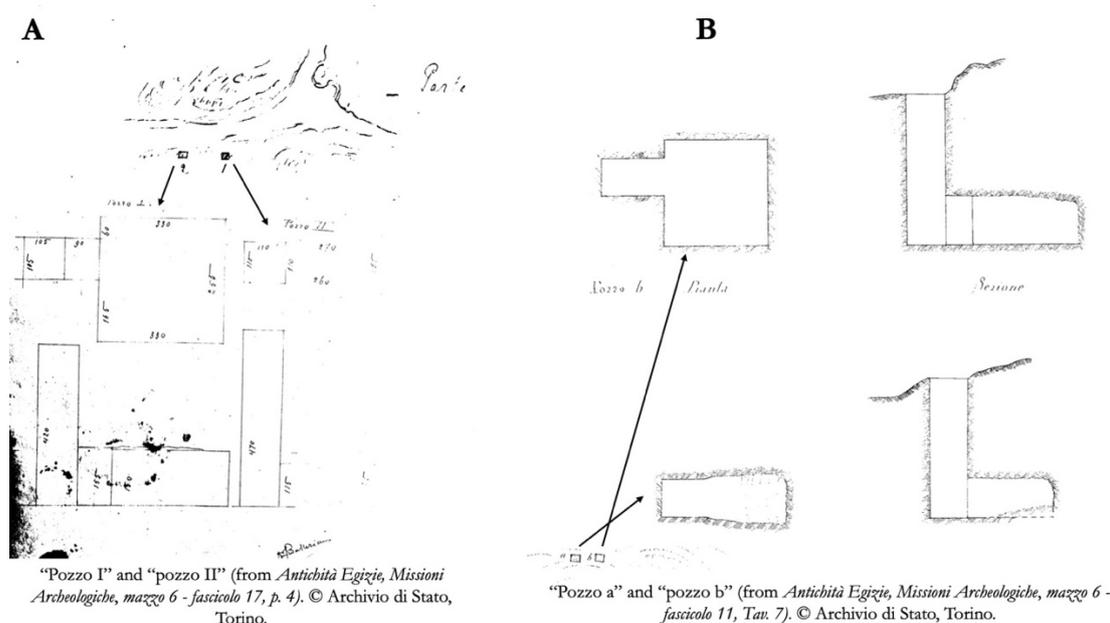


Fig. III.12. The shaft tombs discovered by the Italian team in the Valley of the Rope.

By comparing Ballerini’s drawings with the plans of the two shaft tombs investigated within the Valley of the Rope by the Franco-Egyptian team (QV 92 and QV 93), it is clear that it deals with the same tombs: the final identification is pozzo I = pozzo b = QV 93 and pozzo II = pozzo a = QV 92 (fig. III.13). The comparison of the tomb plans confirms, for the first time with certainty, that the lateral valley investigated by the Italian team was actually the Valley of the Rope, to which the Italian team referred by using

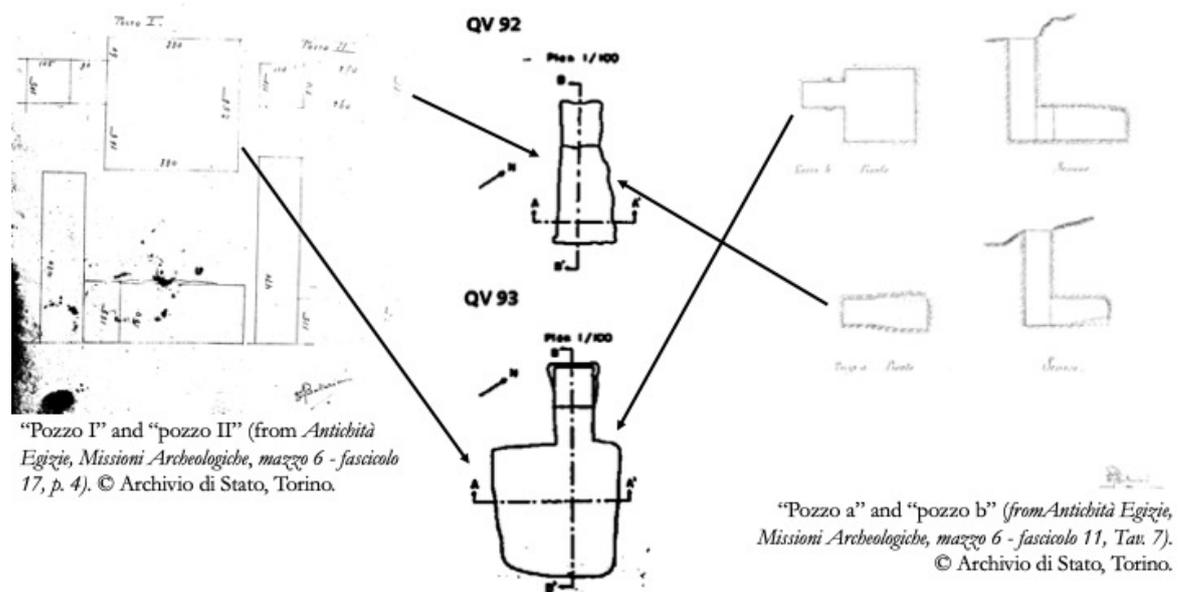
³¹⁹ Ballerini 1903, 35; Schiaparelli 1924, 42.

³²⁰ *Pozzo* stands for “shaft tomb”.

different expressions:

- 1) “upper part of the valley” (“*parte superiore della valle*”);³²¹
- 2) “one of the lateral valleys” (“*uno dei valloni laterali*”);³²²
- 3) “the desert valley” (“*la valle deserta*”).³²³

This kind of remark is relevant since there is currently still uncertainty about such an identification: indeed, Demas and Agnew locate the three abovementioned tombs discovered by Ballerini and Schiaparelli within the Valley of the Three Pits,³²⁴ thus suggesting that the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* investigated that lateral valley. The wrong assignment proposed by Demas and Agnew depends on the identification of those tombs by Leblanc. Indeed, Leblanc identified the three tombs discovered by the Italian team as QV 89, QV 90, and QV 91 (fig. III.6), which are positioned within the Valley of the Three Pits.³²⁵ Such an identification was suggested before the re-discovery of current QV 97 and this makes the author assume that the Franco-Egyptian team actually did not investigate the three tombs QV 89, QV 90, and QV 91, otherwise it would have been evident that all these three tombs are provided with a shaft entryway.³²⁶



Tombs QV 92 and QV 93, drawings made by Kurz in 1973
(from Demas and Agnew 2016, 130; © CNRS, Kurz).

Fig. III.13. Tombs QV 92 and QV 93.

³²¹ As it has been called by Ballerini (*marzo 6 - fascicolo 17*).

³²² Schiaparelli 1924, 42.

³²³ See the *Giornale d'Entrata*.

³²⁴ Demas and Agnew 2016, 138.

³²⁵ Leblanc 1989/b, 6 and 76 (endnote n. 171).

³²⁶ Demas and Agnew 2016, 135.

While a team was working in the Valley of the Rope, another team made an important discovery in the main *wadi*: not far from the tomb of Prince Khaemuset, on the 1st of March, the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* discovered the tomb of Prince Sethherkhepeshef (QV 43, fig. III.14).³²⁷ The condition in which the tomb was discovered, with coffins and mummies scattered over the ground, was not much different from that of QV 44. However, whilst tomb QV 44 had wall decorations which were well preserved, with the colours still bright and vivid, the walls of the Sethherkhepeshef's tomb were blackened because of the fire that had broken out therein.³²⁸ In addition, Ballerini remarked that, differently from QV 44, the prince's sarcophagus was not in the tomb and he provided an explanation for this absence: since Prince Sethherkhepeshef became king (Ramses VIII), he was buried within the Kings' Valley.³²⁹ This means that QV 43 was prepared but likely not used during the Ramesside Period. In this regard, it is worth mentioning Leblanc's theory about the fact that Sethherkhepeshef (II)/Ramses VIII may have been a son of Sethherkhepeshef (I), for whom tomb QV 43 was prepared:³³⁰ thus, Prince Sethherkhepeshef (I) should have been buried within that tomb.

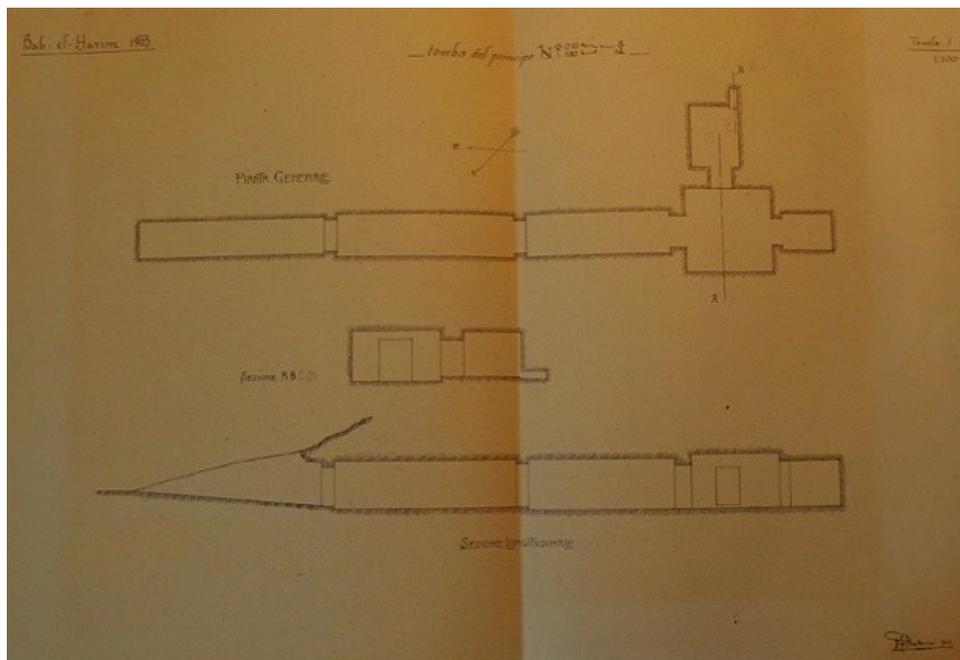


Fig. III.14. Tomb QV 43: plan and longitudinal section, Ballerini's drawing (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche*, marzo 6 - fascicolo 11, Tav. 8). © Archivio di Stato, Torino.

³²⁷ Information about this discovery is included in the letter dating to the 3rd March 1903 (Consonni and Quirino 2012, 122). See also Ballerini 1903, 12, 14-17, 19-24, 29-31.

³²⁸ Ballerini 1903, 29.

³²⁹ Ballerini 1903, 19.

³³⁰ Leblanc 2001-2002, 196-199.

As remarked by Schiaparelli and Ballerini, the purpose of the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* was not only to discover new tombs but also to record the findings and study them in view of a scientific publication. Ballerini prepared detailed tables for the catalogue of the sarcophagi/coffins found within QV 43 and QV 44 (each piece was given a sequential number). He worked on the reconstruction of the genealogy and family relationship of the owners of each sarcophagus/coffin (fig. III.15/A), prepared a description for each piece (fig. III.15/B), and also elaborated a schematic table including the following elements: drawing of the coffin, titles of the deceased, a list of gods and funerary geniuses depicted on the coffin, and a list of the most important decorative elements (fig. III.15/C). According to Ballerini, these coffins dated to the end of the 22nd/23rd Dynasties. However, recent and on-going studies have pointed out that the time-span during which these individuals were buried is more extended and also includes the Late Period.³³¹ Beyond the coffins, several other objects (mostly in a fragmentary state of preservation) were found within the two princes' tombs, although no distinction of find-spot has been provided. It is worth remarking that Schiaparelli mentioned the finding of more than 50 amulets shaped as winged scarabaeus, thus indicating that at least 50 individuals (but likely even more) had been entombed within QV 43 and QV 44.³³²

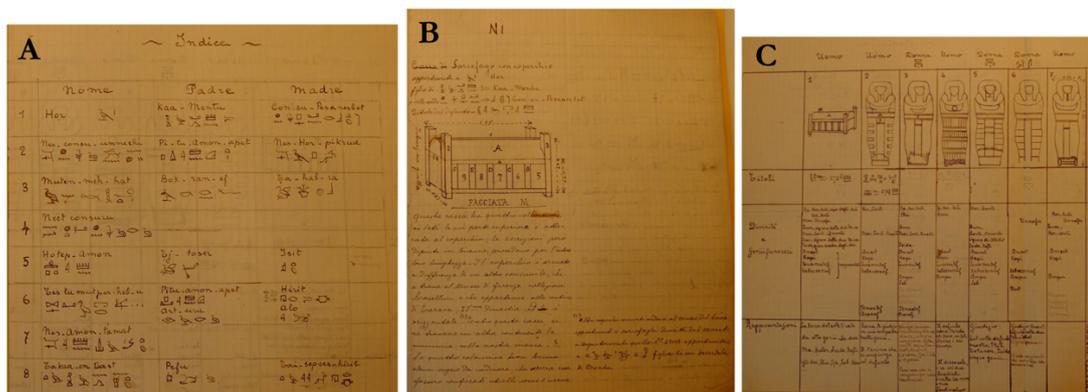


Fig. III.15. The study of the coffins from tombs QV 43 and QV 44 (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche*, *maggo 6 - fascicolo 15, pages 3, 4, and 5*); © Archivio di Stato, Torino.

While the workmen were excavating in the western sector of the main *wadi*, a commenced tomb was discovered: this is QV 45, which is labelled as n. 5 on Ballerini's

³³¹ Guzzon 2017.

³³² Schiaparelli 1924, 129.

drawings (fig. III.16). The construction of this tomb was interrupted after having cut the initial part of the corridor.³³³

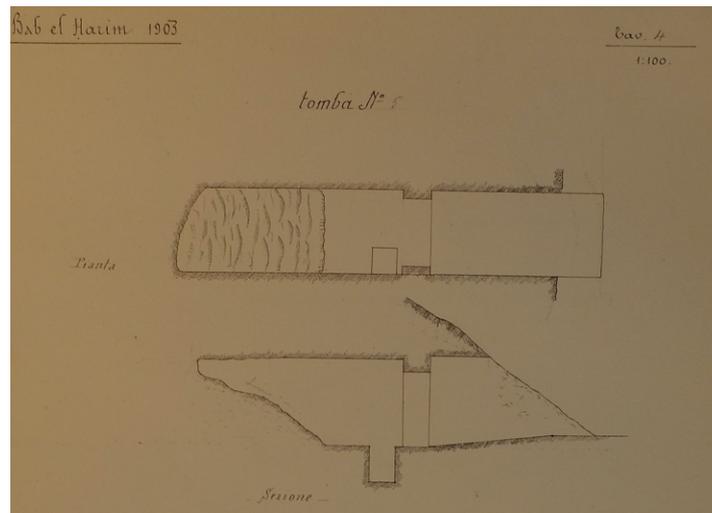


Fig. III.16. Tomb QV 45, Ballerini's drawing (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche, marzo 6 - fascicolo 11, Tav. 4*).
© Archivio di Stato, Torino.

On the 3rd of March, whereas a team was working in the Valley of the Rope and another one in the western sector of the main *wadi*, another group discovered other tombs in a spot of the necropolis indicated very generically: within the letters, Ballerini accounts that “*in un altro posto poi abbiamo trovato l'ingresso di quattro o cinque tombe che appaiono già violate dai copti i quali anzi vi stabilirono la loro abitazione per parecchio tempo*”.³³⁴ Within the *Notizia Sommaria*, Ballerini states that “*mentre tali ritrovamenti si facevano nella parte superiore della valle [= the upper part of the main wadi, the sector of the princes' tombs], nell'inferiore all'imboccatura dove – come si disse – si insinua una piccola convalle [= the Valley of Prince Ahmose], gli scavi mettevano in luce altre tombe, e più precisamente una tomba con una scalinata assai ripida ed angusta, e tre altre a camera molto rozza e piccolissima, alle quali si accedeva per mezzo di brevi pozzi di quattro a cinque metri di profondità. Finalmente sul ciglione si rinvennero quattro tombe, che però attualmente presentano l'aspetto di celle per comunità copte; una anzi tra esse, più spaziosa, rivestita di stucco a volta fu adibita ad uso di cappella*”.³³⁵ It may be possible that the four/five tombs mentioned in the letter dating to the 3rd of March correspond with the four tombs described by Ballerini within his *Notizia Sommaria*, three of which

³³³ Ballerini 1903, 31.

³³⁴ Reference and quotation from Consonni and Quirino 2012, 122.

³³⁵ Quotation from Ballerini 1903, 32.

were provided with shaft entrances and one with a staircase entryway. Among the several unpublished drawings made by Ballerini, there is one dating to 1903 that depicts four tombs, three of which are shaft tombs and one has a staircase entryway; in addition, a square possibly indicates a commenced shaft (fig. III.17/A). It seems apparent that this map depicts the “*quattro o cinque tombe*” described by Ballerini in the letter of the 3rd of March and within his *Notizia Sommaria*. Schiaparelli as well mentions this discovery within the 1903 report for the king: “*Nella piccola valle si disseppellirono: una tomba di una sola camera, a cui si scendeva con una gradinata, tre tombe a pozzi...*”.³³⁶

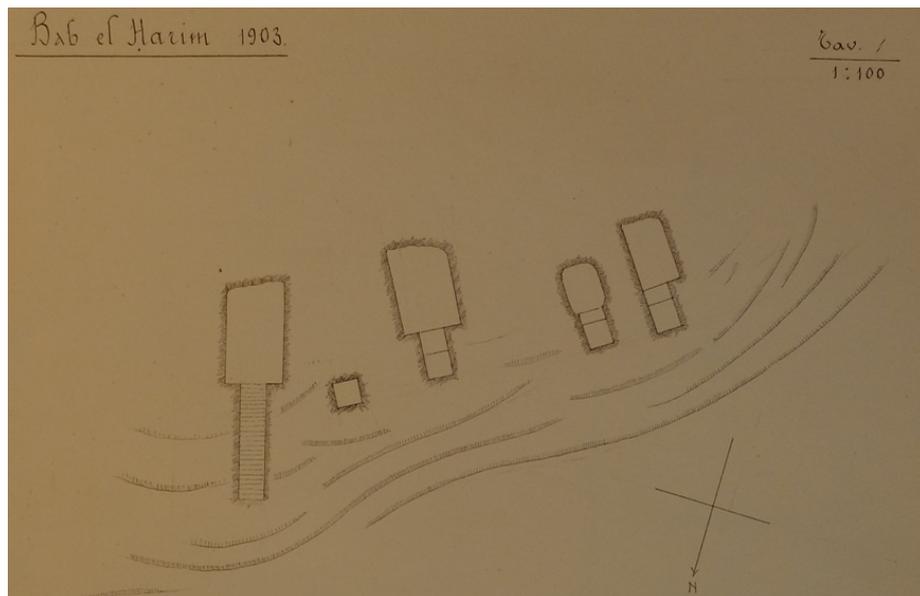


Fig. III.17. The unidentified tombs discovered by the Italian team in 1903 (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche, numero 6 - fascicolo 11, Tav. 1*). © Archivio di Stato, Torino.

The question is: where are these tombs located? The map prepared by Ballerini is precise, it is provided with the metric scale (1:100) and the indication of the north. Considering these elements, by checking the current maps of the Queens’ Valley, it was not possible to find such a sequence of tombs. The enumeration of the four/five tombs described by Ballerini and Schiaparelli certainly does not include tombs QV 88 and QV 98, which were discovered at the beginning of the second archaeological campaign in 1904.³³⁷ According to Thomas, these unidentified tombs may refer to the group of tombs QV 24, QV 25, and QV 26;³³⁸ however, her suggestion cannot be accepted since the

³³⁶ Schiaparelli 1903, *Relazione*.

³³⁷ As remarked by Schiaparelli within the report for the king (Schiaparelli 1904, *Relazione*).

³³⁸ Thomas 1966, 187.

tombs depicted on Ballerini's map display plans which are different from those of the tombs suggested by Thomas (for instance, tomb QV 24 is a commenced ramp, which is not depicted in Ballerini's map). Moreover, by accepting Thomas' hypothesis, QV 23 should be the tomb with a staircase entryway, but this tomb has a shaft entrance and a different architectural layout. Therefore, concerning the identification of the tombs in question, there are two likely options: 1) following Ballerini's description, the four tombs should be located along the path that leads from the main *wadi* to the Valley of Prince Ahmose, but seemingly still within the main *wadi*; 2) otherwise, following Schiaparelli's description, these tombs may be located within the Valley of Prince Ahmose. Leblanc and Fekri reported that after having cleared tomb QV 98, they found “*autres sépultures, datant visiblement de la même époque [= 18th Dynasty]*”.³³⁹ No additional information is given about these “other tombs”, they do not specify how many there are, but it might be possible that these are the same tombs described by Ballerini and Schiaparelli: in this case, the tombs should be positioned within the Valley of Prince Ahmose. However, why are these tombs not indicated on the maps? This unsolved issue makes it evident that a new survey is needed in order to clarify the issue concerning the identification of such tombs.

The other four tombs mentioned by Schiaparelli are easily identifiable as the hermit shelters located on the upper part of the western cliff of the Valley of Prince Ahmose (fig. III.18). These are tombs that during the Coptic Period were converted into shelters for the monks. The largest one, coated with stucco and characterized by a vaulted ceiling, was used as a Christian chapel.³⁴⁰



Fig. III.18. Hermit shelters cut into the rock, upper part of the Valley of Prince Ahmose (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche, marzo 6 - fascicolo 13, unnumbered photo*). © Archivio di Stato, Torino.

³³⁹ Leblanc and Fekri 1993, 260.

³⁴⁰ Quotation from Ballerini 1903, 32. See also Schiaparelli 1924, 24.

All these abovementioned tombs were discovered by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* during the first archaeological campaign in the Queens' Valley. Ballerini mentioned them within the *Notizia Sommaria*. His letters offer an invaluable help for the reconstruction of the chronological sequence of the discoveries, which is proposed in this work for the first time. The investigation of the Valley of Prince Ahmose is mentioned as the first point in Schiaparelli's first report to the king;³⁴¹ however, the box containing the human foetus was discovered on the 19th of February and the letters make it clear that the discoveries of the four/five tombs and the four hermit shelters occurred towards the end of the 1903 campaign. In addition, Ballerini describes the discovery of tombs QV 92, QV 93, and QV 97 (Valley of the Rope) as the last event that occurred before the end of the 1903 campaign,³⁴² but the letters clarify that these discoveries occurred before the excavation works in the Valley of Prince Ahmose. Therefore, Ballerini's letters allow to have a perception of the diachronic sequence of the discoveries and, at the same time, the synchrony of archaeological investigations within different sectors of this necropolis as well. The last letter sent from the Queens' Valley dates to the 6th of March: before his departure, Ballerini expresses some thoughts about his experience and the place where he lived and worked for 39 days.³⁴³ His words give the impression that he had established a deep, emotional connection with that place: "*Ed io - vi ripeto - mi allontano da questa valle di cui conosco tutto palmo a palmo con un certo senso di rammarico quale viene dal dover rompere le abitudini...*".³⁴⁴ On Sunday the 8th of March, Ballerini left the Queens' Valley.³⁴⁵ It is worth mentioning that, towards the end of the first campaign, he became aware that the modern toponym "Queens' Valley" had become in a way misleading. The finding of the princes' tombs (QV 43 and QV 44), along with the other shaft tombs, very likely not intended for queens, pointed out that the social identity of the tomb owners was more complex than thought. This necropolis had hosted not only queens' burials, as he clearly remarked in a letter sent from Giza on the 10th of March: "*...La Valle delle Regine che minacciava di diventare come vi dissi la Valle dei Principi. Difatti, è questo uno dei notevoli risultati della nostra Missione, qui dove si credevano sepolte solo regine abbiamo trovato due tombe di principi, di*

³⁴¹ Schiaparelli 1903, *Relazione*.

³⁴² Ballerini 1903, 35-37.

³⁴³ Consonni and Quirino 2102/a, 124.

³⁴⁴ Quotation from Consonni and Quirino 2012, 124.

³⁴⁵ Consonni and Quirino 2012, 124 (letter of the 10th of March, from Giza: "*Ho lasciato la mia valle delle Regine la Domenica passata*"). Moiso suggests that the mission in Bab el-Harim lasted until the 15th of March (Moiso 2008, 205-206), however, the first letter from Giza dates to the 10th of March (Consonni and Quirino 2012, 124); therefore, Moiso's suggestion is seemingly wrong, unless it is based on documents that are unknown to the author of this PhD research.

figli d'uno dei faraoni più grandi, [= QV 43 and QV 44] e di due altri abbiamo accertato l'esistenza pur non avendone ancora potuto trovare la tomba [= prince Ahmose/QV 88 and the anonymous prince/QV 98³]. Di più abbiamo scoperto altre tombe ma di regina [= QV 36] ed abbiamo pure trovato il nome di una regina sconosciuta [= Satefmira].³⁴⁶ The table below summarizes the highlights of the first Italian archaeological mission (table III.c).

First archaeological mission in the Queens' Valley - 1903			
28 th January		Exploration of the necropolis before the beginning of the works	
30 th January		Beginning of the works	
Tomb investigated by the MAI		Ballerini's numbering	Date of discovery/investigation
Previously investigated	Investigated for the first time by the MAI		
QV 52		Tomb of Tity	30 th January
QV 38		Tomb of Satra	31 st January
	QV 37	n. 7 or 8 (tomb plan made by Ballerini in the digging diaries); n. 6 (Ballerini, <i>Miss. Arch.</i>)	31 st January
	QV 36	n. 7 or 8 (tomb plan made by Ballerini in the digging diaries) n. 5 (Ballerini, <i>Miss. Arch.</i>)	1 st February
	QV 44	Tomb of Khaemuaset	15 th February
QV 45		n. 5 (tomb plan made by Ballerini in the digging diaries)	?
	QV 97	No tomb plan	26 th February
	QV 92	Pozzo a/pozzo II	?
	QV 93	Pozzo b/Pozzo I	?
	QV 43	Tomb of Setherkhepeshef	1 st March
	Four/five tombs	n. 5/1, 6/2, 9/3, and 10/4	Discovery mentioned in the letter dating to the 3 rd of March
	Four hermit shelters	?	
6 th March		Last letter sent from the Queens' Valley	
8 th March		Ballerini leaves the Queens' Valley	

Table III.c. The discoveries made by the Italian team in 1903. © E. Casini.

III.4. 1904: the Second Archaeological Mission

The reconstruction of the discoveries that occurred in the framework of the second archaeological mission in the Queens' Valley is more difficult compared with the analysis of the 1903 campaign. Ballerini did not published a report of the results of the 1904 archaeological campaign, contrary to what he had done with regard to the previous one. Moreover, in 1904, Ballerini did not send letters to his family since his wife Lucia Noseda followed him to Egypt. From the Queens' Valley, Ballerini sent only two letters to

³⁴⁶ Quotation from Consonni and Quirino 2012, 125.

Schiaparelli, which mainly concerned organizational matters.³⁴⁷ Therefore, among the sources used to reassess the 1904 archaeological mission, there are:

- 1) the photographic album and the report written by Schiaparelli for King Vittorio Emanuele III,³⁴⁸ which provides an invaluable help for the examination of the discoveries;
- 2) Schiaparelli's *Esplorazione della Valle delle Regine*, which includes information concerning all the discoveries (tombs and findings) that occurred in the Queens' Valley between 1903 and 1905 (it is worth noting that Schiaparelli did not refer to any kind of diachronic development of the discoveries);
- 3) the unpublished digging diaries, which include notes, list of objects, maps, and tomb plans prepared by Ballerini in the field; these documents are essential for the analysis of the discoveries that occurred in 1904 and allow to have, here for the first time, a complete picture of the situation regarding the tombs investigated by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana*;
- 4) the report sent to the Ministry of the Education.³⁴⁹

The date of the beginning of the second mission within the Queens' Valley seems to be the 13th of February 1904.³⁵⁰ The letter sent by Ballerini to Schiaparelli on 19th February suggests that the excavation works started the day after, on the 20th February (*“domani mattina cominciamo gli scavi come ella [=Schiaparelli] mi disse”*).³⁵¹ However, one of the tomb plans sketched by Ballerini is provided with the date of the 13th of February. In addition, the (unpublished) list concerning the number of Egyptian workmen, who were employed by the Italian team day by day, begins on the 13th of February.³⁵² Following Schiaparelli's 1904 report, the Italian team started the new archaeological mission with the exploration of the Valley of Prince Ahmose and discovered the tombs of two princes (QV 88 and QV 98), the existence of which had been established in the previous campaign. Checking the unpublished digging diaries, it is not possible to determine whether the excavation works actually began in the Valley of Prince Ahmose. The tomb recorded on the 13th of February seems to be QV 20, which is located on the southern slope of the main *wadi*. Therefore, the excavation works likely started in the main *wadi*, otherwise, it may be possible that two

³⁴⁷ Moiso 2012/b.

³⁴⁸ Schiaparelli 1904, *Relazione*.

³⁴⁹ Moiso 2008, 211-212.

³⁵⁰ Moiso 2008, 211.

³⁵¹ Moiso 2012/b, 181.

³⁵² The author deeply thanks Dr. Del Vesco for sharing this invaluable information.

spots (the southern slope of the main *wadi* and the Valley of Prince Ahmose) were the subject of the early investigations concomitantly.

As will be highlighted in the course of the next section, the contribution of the unpublished documentation to the understanding of the discoveries occurred in 1904 is absolutely invaluable. In particular, the dossier *mazzo 3 - fascicolo 13*, which is wrongly attributed to the documentation concerning the excavations at Assiut, includes several tomb plans, two of which date to February and March 1904: it is therefore apparent that these plans refer to the tombs investigated by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* in the Queens' Valley during the second archaeological campaign. Therefore, thanks to this dossier, it is possible to reassess the discoveries made by the Italian mission during the second archaeological campaign.

III.4-a. The Archaeological Mission Relived through the Digging Diaries

As remarked above, the earliest date attested on the digging diaries is the 13th of February 1904 and concerns the discovery, or investigation, of a tomb that is devoid of any number or label. Thanks to the measures provided by Ballerini and the indication of the north, this author suggests identifying this tomb as QV 20 (fig. III.19). On the same date, the 13th of February, the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* apparently began the excavation works, immediately identified a tomb, and excavated and recorded it during the same day. In this regard, it is worth mentioning that, within the 1903 report written for the king, Schiaparelli mentions the southern slope of the main *wadi* as one of the investigated sectors (fig. III.7). It may be possible that he referred to the central and eastern sector of the southern slope of the main *wadi*, and not to the western part of it, where QV 36, QV 37, and QV 38 were discovered in the previous campaign. Indeed, these latter tombs may have been considered as located in the part of the upper sector of the main *wadi*, close to the tombs of Ramses III's sons. By assuming this, it is possible that the shaft tombs of the southern slope of the main *wadi* had already been identified in 1903, but explored, due to time constraints, only in the next archaeological campaign. Turning back to QV 20, its identification is made easy thanks to the peculiar plan of the tomb, which consists of two burial chambers. Ballerini remarks that the tomb was filled with unspecified materials (debris?) and it was not possible to take the exact measures; among the findings, only animal bones are mentioned.

On the 17th of February, other materials were found, but Ballerini did not specify their find-spot again (fig. III.21). Among the listed objects there are a fragment of Coptic lamp, fragments of amulets and necklaces, two large fragments of alabaster canopic jar bearing part of a cartouch (n. 16), fragments of decorated vessels (n. 17, n. 18, and n. 19), vessels of different shapes (n. 20, n. 21, n. 22, n. 23, n. 24, and n. 25), wood (n. 26); n. 27 is not specified, only the sketch of the hieroglyph combining the bowl and legs is provided. It is worth remarking that at the beginning of the diary page, there is the sketch of a rectangle, which likely represents the plan of the tomb within which these objects may have been found; neither the indication of the north nor any other information are given, this making the identification of the tomb impossible.

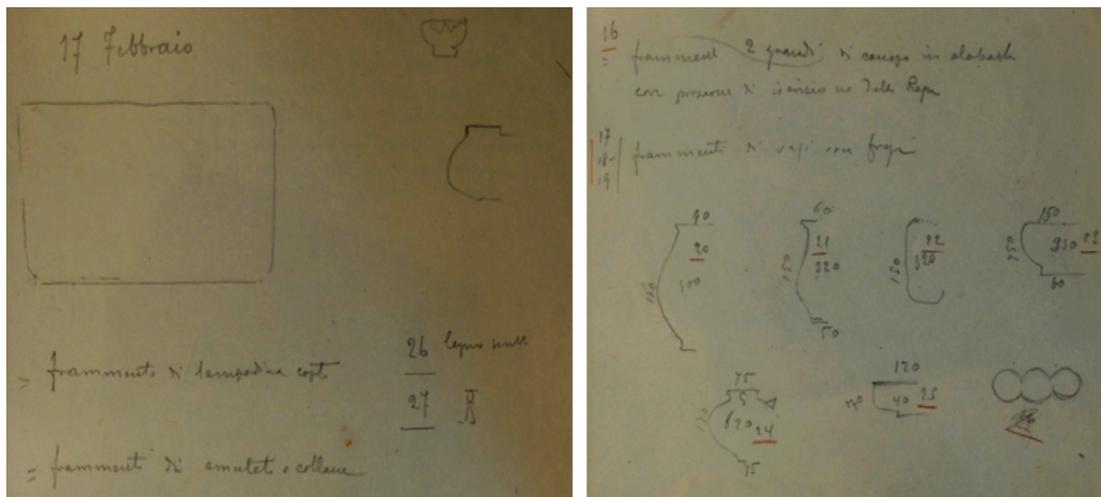


Fig. III.21. Ballerini's digging diary, 17th of February (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche, marzo 6 - fascicolo 16, p. 9*). © Archivio di Stato, Torino.

On the same day, Ballerini recorded the finding of three wooden coffins and mummies “*nel trab*³⁵³ vicino al luogo di Hathor” (“in the *trab* close to Hathor’s place”). The coffins, which have been found under a layer of debris 1,80 m deep, were fragmented and rotten because of the water of the rainfalls. Likely, the Italian team did not bring these objects to Italy because of their bad state of preservation. Concerning their find-spot, the author is not convinced about the identification of the “Hathor’s place” with the Grotto-cascade. Indeed, although Ballerini mentions the ancient dam, it is not certain whether the Italian team worked in the area of that cave. In this regard, it is worth noting that Schiaparelli and Ballerini never mention this cave within their works, therefore, it may be possible that

³⁵³ The *trab*, which is called *turab* by Thomas, consists of debris and rubble that have cemented due to water.

they did not know that the cave was a sacred spot linked to the Goddess Hathor. This aspect makes the identification of the “Hathor’s place” challenging, but not impossible, as will be shortly shown.

On the 18th of February, the Italian team found other objects in a fragmentary state of preservation (fig. III.22, on the left): a fragment pertinent to the base of an alabaster canopic jar (n. 28), a fragment of a decorated vase (n. 29), a small fragment of coffin with hieroglyphs painted in black, the fragment of the lower part of an alabaster shabti (n. 28bis), a limestone piece of stone with hieratic inscription (n. 30), a fragment of painted and inscribed stucco from a coffin, and fragments of an unspecified Coptic object. Sometimes, Ballerini produced a fac-simile of the object using tracing paper (fig. III.22, on the right). In a number of cases, it was possible to identify the objects: for instance, the *ostrakon* labelled as n. 30 corresponds with current ME S. 05663.³⁵⁴

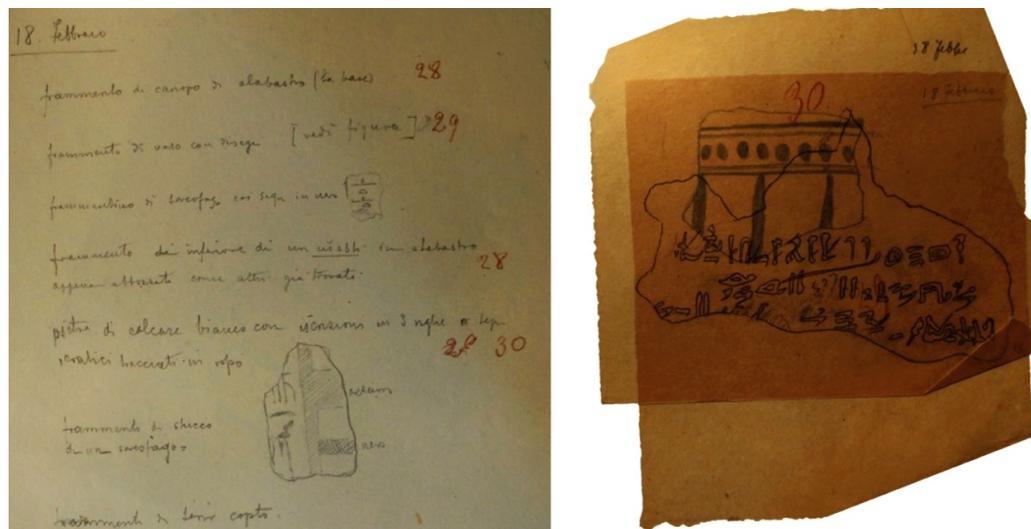


Fig. III.22. Ballerini's digging diary, 18th of February (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche, marzo 6 - fascicolo 16, pages 17, 18, and 19*). © Archivio di Stato, Torino.

During the 5th day of work, the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* found a mud-brick *dér* (= wall) belonging to an unspecified Coptic construction, which was positioned to the left of the entrance of the “*tomb of the anonymous princess*”. At first, this author assumed that it could refer to tomb QV 36, which had been discovered during the preceding campaign; however, although the tomb was actually prepared for the burial of a princess, Ballerini attributed it to an anonymous queen (within his unpublished *Missione Archeologica in Egitto*). Excluding QV 36, the likely candidate was QV 40: indeed, on the same day, Ballerini

³⁵⁴ Schiaparelli 1924, 171; López 1978, 35, pl. 35.

about its identification. It is worth noting that next to the sketch of the tomb plan and longitudinal section there is the caption “*foglie d’oro*” (= gold leaves), without specifying where they were found. Limestone splinters were found inside the shaft; inside the tomb (without specifying in which room), inside the *trab*, the Italian team discovered five canopic jar lids (one made of alabaster and the others of terracotta) and a fragment of the lower part of a canopic jar, which were partly blackened due to the fire that occurred in the tomb. Furthermore, the Italian team found, over the *trab*, a roughly-made wooden coffin, containing a mummy and some items; upon the lid, there were still the linen cords and knots that had served to tie up the case and the lid. Other findings are mentioned: fragments of baskets, a leather sandal, and fragments of shrouds with remains of coating of stucco. Differently from what can be observed on the preceding pages of Ballerini’s report, the findings of the 20th of February are not provided with numbers. The presence of a single number, written in red at the bottom of the page (n. 33), may suggest that this refers to the tomb and relating findings (fig. III.24).

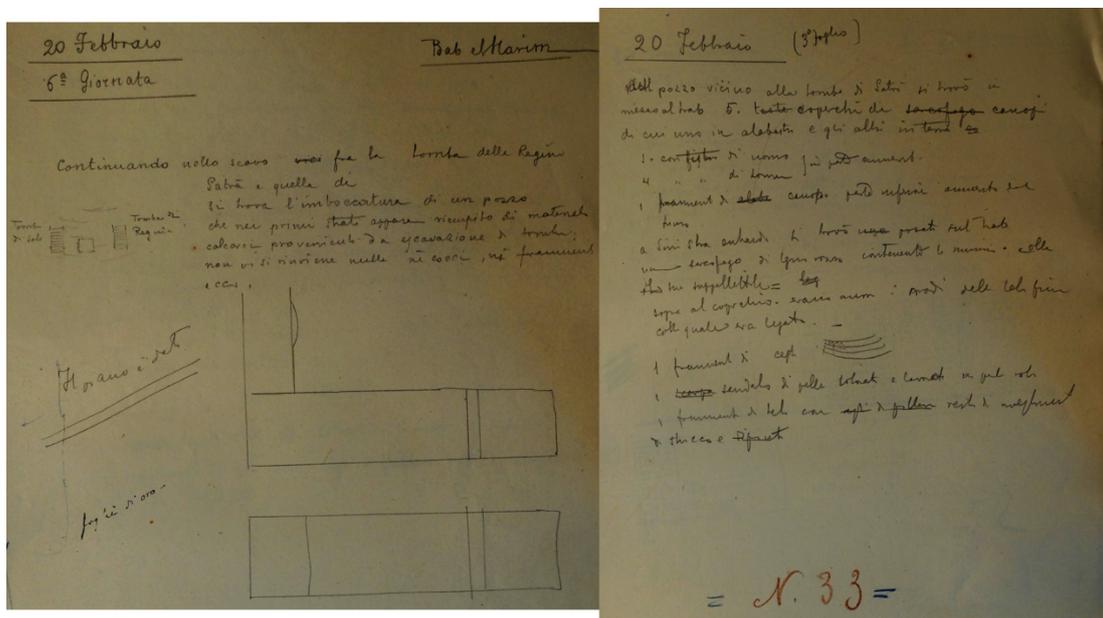


Fig. III.24. Ballerini’s digging diary, 20th of February (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche, marzo 6 - fascicolo 16, pp. 23 and 24*). © Archivio di Stato, Torino.

On the same day, another tomb (QV 46) was discovered in the main *wadi*, between “*il luogo della testa di Hathor*” and the Coptic *dér* (close to QV 40). The so-called “hathor’s head” does not seem to refer to the Grotto-cascade (as already remarked above with regard to the expression “Hathor’s place”), but it may refer to an object: indeed, among

the findings housed at the Museo Egizio, there is a small Hathoric head made of faience (ME S. 05630, see *Chapter IV*, fig. IV.11). Therefore, it is likely that the “Hathor’s place”, which is mentioned in the report dating to the 17th of February, refers to the find-spot of this small object. Furthermore, under a layer of *trab* (Ballerini does not specify in which spot), the Italian team found fragments of wooden coffins: this information matches the finding of the damaged coffins in the “*luogo di Hathor*” that occurred some days before. “N. 52” (written in blue) seems to refer to the fragment of the coffin sketched by Ballerini (fig. III.25, on the left). Other objects were found close to the Coptic *dér*: 15 Coptic lamps within vase n. 37, a fragment of a blue glass vase with yellow and white stripes (n. 33), and fragments of canopic jars, and other pots (n. 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, and 41) (fig. III.25, on the right). Checking the numbers assigned to the objects, it is evident that the numbering system starts to become inconsistent: indeed, Ballerini had already used n. 41 and n. 33 (this seems to refer to tomb QV 39). In the case of the fragment of blue glass vase, it may be possible that reference to n. 33 was done to suggest that it was found within QV 39.

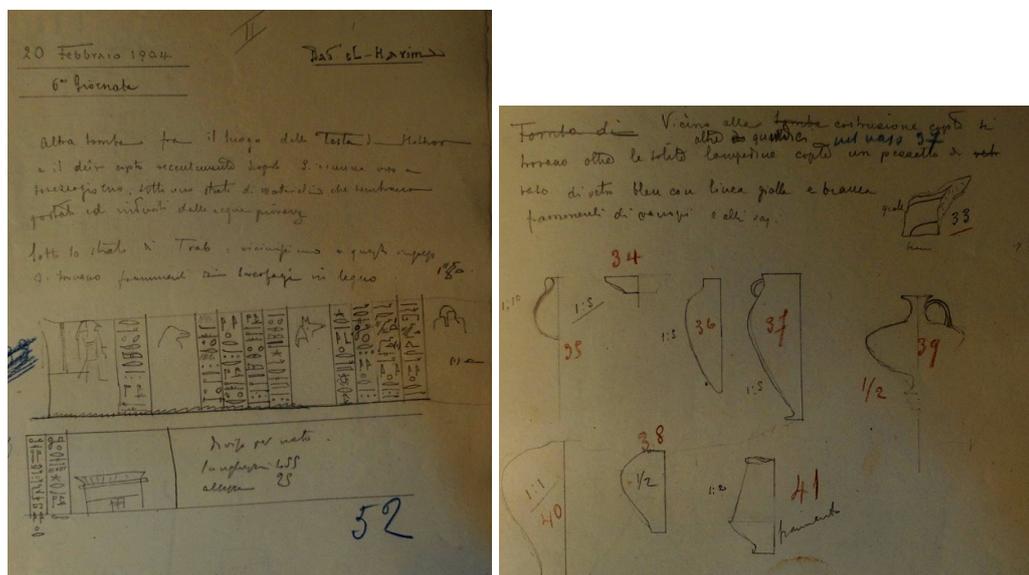


Fig. III.25. Ballerini’s digging diary, 20th of February (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche, mazzo 6 - fascicolo 16, pages 25 and 27*). © Archivio di Stato, Torino.

On the 21st of February, the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* continued the investigation of tomb QV 39, within which they found two lids of canopic jar. They also continued the excavation works in the anonymous tomb QV 40, within which they found a few fragmented objects (“*frammenti di alabastro oramai informi e alcuni pezzetti di smalto, del resto nulla*”). In addition, the Italian team started the investigation of tomb QV 46 (“*la tomba più*

sotto è costituita da un ποζζο³⁵⁷), as confirmed by a letter sent by Ballerini to Schiaparelli, within which this tomb is labelled as “D”.³⁵⁷ It is worth remarking that the same label “tomb D” is attributed to another tomb located on the northern slope of the main *wadi*, which can be identified as tomb QV 64: this aspect still again points out that the numbering system, which was assigned to the tombs in the field, was chaotic and inconsistent. Among the findings from the tomb of the vizier Imhotep (QV 46),³⁵⁸ Ballerini lists fragments of coffin³⁵⁹, a basket full of *trab*, within which they found an alabaster amulet (with name and titles of the deceased incised), and wooden meat boxes. It is worth remarking that the meat boxes from tomb QV 46 are associated with “n. 53”, which might therefore refer to the whole ensemble “tomb+findings”. Concomitantly, other workmen were investigating the area outside the tomb, in particular the sector of the Coptic *dér*, within which they found five Coptic lamps (inside vase n. 37), three vases (n. 54, n. 55 and n. 56), a bowl (n. 57), a vase with floral pattern on the neck (n. 45), and others without decoration (n. 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, and 51) (fig. III.26).

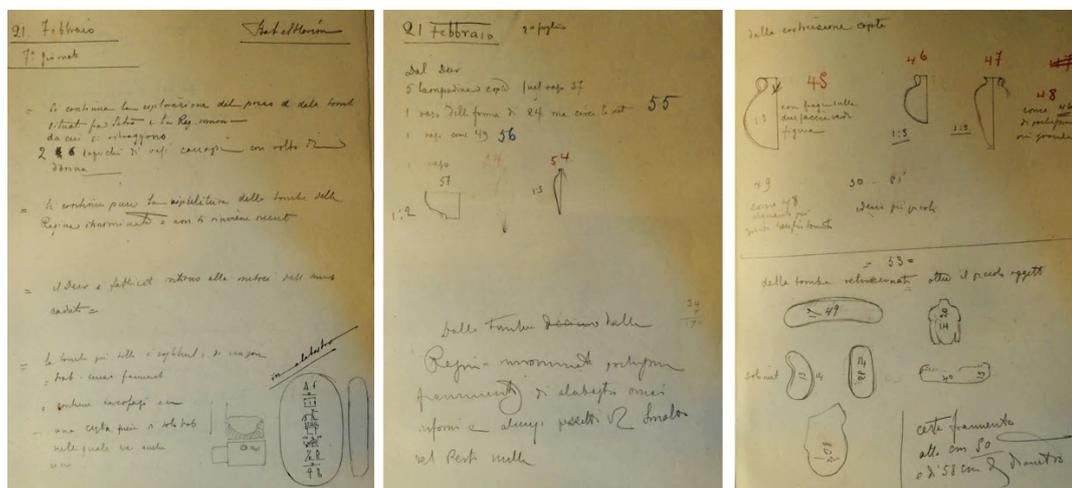


Fig. III.26. Findings of the 21st February (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche, marzo 6 - fascicolo 16, pages 28, 29, and 31*). © Archivio di Stato, Torino.

On the 22nd of February, the Italian team continued to investigate the anonymous tomb QV 40 and found some “*frammenti insignificanti*” of wood, alabaster and glaze. Three flint blades (n. 60) were found in the *trab*, without specifying their exact find-spot. Within QV 46, another duck-shaped meat box was found. In the sector of the *dér*, the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* brought to light a Coptic lamp. Other findings were found in the tomb

³⁵⁷ Moiso 2012/b, 182.

³⁵⁸ Schiaparelli 1924, 25-34.

³⁵⁹ Schiaparelli 1924, 25.

close to that of Satra and were labelled as n. 53: fragments of wig, fragments of gold leaves, three terracotta canopic jar lids, a sole of a leather sandal, two small fragments of wooden coffin blackened due to fire, fragments of baskets, and one fragment of shroud (fig. III.27). It seems likely that it deals with tomb QV 39: the fragments of gold leaves and the blackened coffin fragments are in line with the objects found in that tomb. Therefore, the reference to n. 53 (which refers to tomb QV 46) may be a mistake: actually, Ballerini should have referred to n. 33.

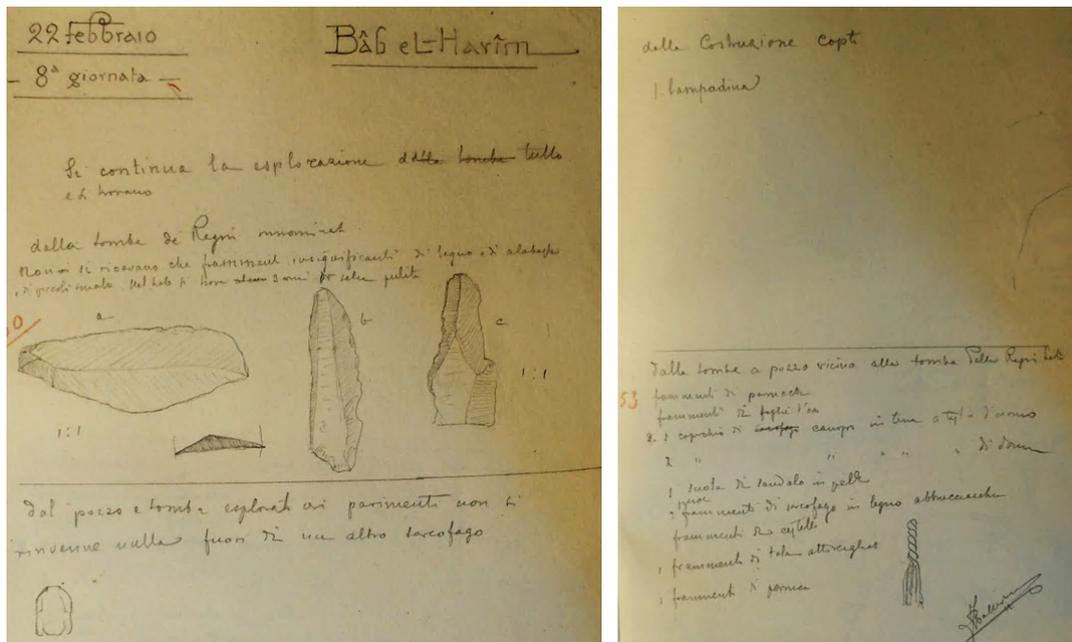


Fig. III.27. Findings of the 22nd of February 1904 (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche*, maggio 6 - fascicolo 16, pages 32 and 33). © Archivio di Stato, Torino.

On the 23rd of February, the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* continued investigating tomb QV 46 and found fragments of gilded stucco (possibly belonging to a coffin), pottery sherds, fragments of linen shrouds, and other meat boxes, some of them still containing mummified remains. It is worth remarking that “n. 60” occurs again and, in this context, it clearly refers to the anonymous tomb QV 40. Other objects were found in QV 39: a canopic jar lid, a fragment of the lid of a coffin, and a fragment of wig.

On the 24th of February, the excavation works continued in tomb n. 60/QV 40 without any discovery, as suggested by the space left blank on the digging diary page. Concomitantly, the Italian team continued the investigation of tomb n. 53/QV 46 and brought to light the torso, head, and other pieces of a mummy, three fragments of baskets, other meat boxes (some of which still sealed), a fragmented canopic jar (without the lid)

bearing the inscription with the title and name of its owner (*t3ty jj-m-htp*), and several fragments of canopic jars made of alabaster. The exploration of tomb n. 33/QV 39 went ahead and other materials were brought to light: lids of canopic jars, a small lotus-shaped jewel made of gold and stones (“*un piccolo gioiello d’oro e pietre = fior di loto*”), and fragments of wigs (fig. III.28). Tomb QV 39 contained a large quantity of archaeological evidence and it seems curious that no object, which has been brought to light from it, is currently housed at the Museo Egizio of Turin. Within the same tomb, the CNRS found “31 mummies (attributed to the Roman period), 51 human skulls, fragments of terracotta canopic vessels, fragments of painted wooden sarcophagi”.³⁶⁰ This huge number of anthropological materials sounds curious since Ballerini did not mention them. Therefore, it may be possible that the Italian mission reburied these mummies and anthropological remains (and other materials), which they had gathered from other tombs, using QV 39 as a storeroom.

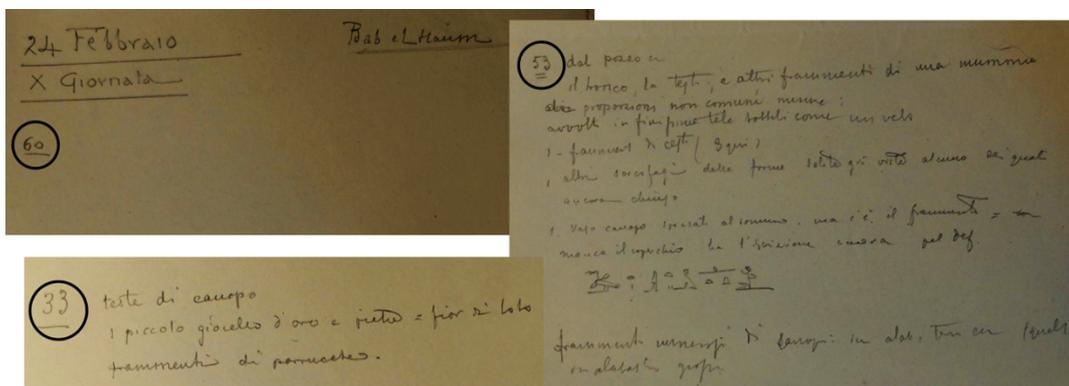


Fig. III.28. Ballerini’s digging diary, 24th of February (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche, marzo 6 - fascicolo 16, pages 36 and 37*). © Archivio di Stato, Torino.

On the 27th of February, the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* focused on the western sector of the main *wadi*, close to the ancient dam that protected the tombs from the rainwaters (“*si comincia la esplorazione del sommo della valle grande vicino al muro antico che sbarra la vallè*”), and found some potsherds behind it (fig. III.29/A, the find-spot is indicated with a cross on the digging diary page). The *trab* in that sector of the necropolis was composed of two layers: the lower one included materials that were brought by the rainwaters; the upper one included Coptic potsherds and other pots. Within this same area, the Italian team found a roughly-made and unscribed alabaster shabti, fragments of Coptic bed (legs and mats), five Coptic lamps, pieces of pink granite sarcophagus, beads, fragments of stucco

³⁶⁰ Reference and quotation from Demas and Agnew 2016, 82; see also Macke *et al.* 2002, 28.

with traces of red-painted decoration (likely belonging to a coffin), fragment of an *ostrakon* preserving trace of two red painted lines (labelled as n. 59), some fragments of branches, fragments of a painted shroud, one amphora, and other two fragmented amphoras. Some vases are sketched and labelled as n. 61 (fig. III.29/C). It is challenging to determine whether these numbers 59 and 61 refer to a specific tomb or to a generic find-spot located outside the tombs. In addition, close to the tombs of Sethherkhepeshef and Khaemuset, the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* re-discovered the tomb of Prince Paraheruenemef (fig. III.29/B, the tomb is circled in black).

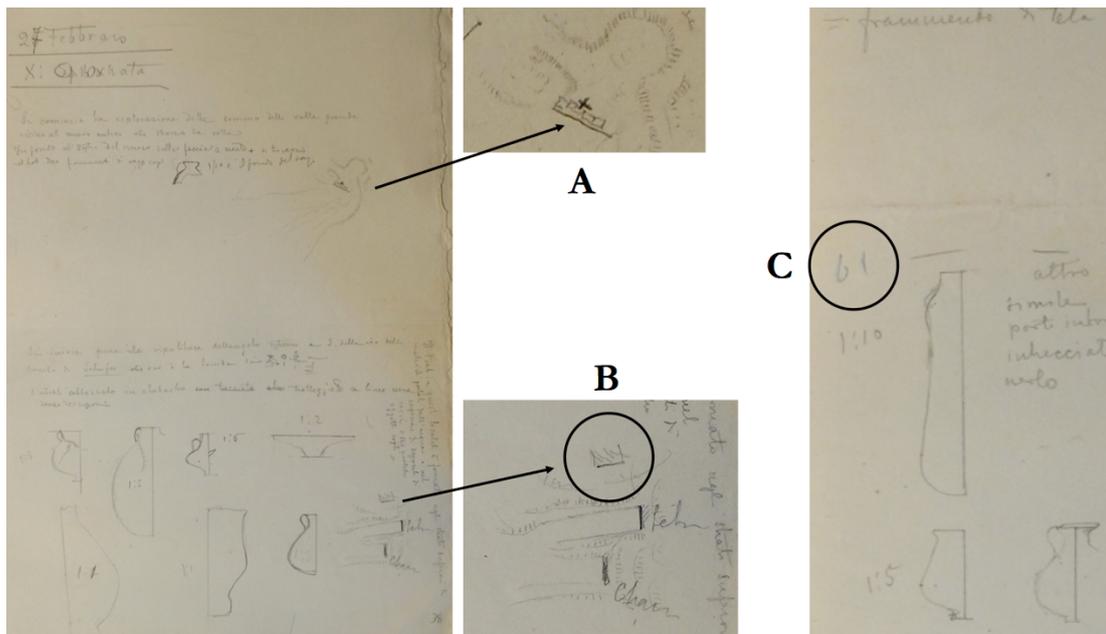


Fig. III.29. Findings of the 27th of February (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche, marzo 6 - fascicolo 16, pages 38 and 40*). © Archivio di Stato, Torino.

On the 28th of February, the Italian team made several discoveries, thus confirming, once again, that there were more than one team working concomitantly in different sectors of the necropolis. Close to the ancient dam, one team found a shell, potsherds, and other fragmented materials (“*cocci e frammenti insignificanti?*”). Another group started clearing tomb “n. 62”, which is located on the northern slope of the main *wadi*. A sketch made by Ballerini makes it clear that tomb n. 62 is provided with staircase entryway (fig. III.30/A). This confirms that the QV numbering system was not at work in 1904: indeed, current tomb QV 62 has a shaft entrance. However, no mention about the architectural layout of tomb n. 62 is provided, nor any information about wall decoration. The only tomb that is close to the dam and has staircase entryway is QV 58, which is therefore a candidate

for tomb n. 62.³⁶¹ During the investigation of the area close to the entrance of the tomb, the Italian team found a small wooden leg belonging to furniture, a bronze lotus flower (likely a decorative element), and a mummified skull. In addition, another tomb was investigated, which Ballerini labelled as “n. 63” (fig. III.30/B), although no information about the tomb type (decorated or undecorated?) is provided; moreover, nothing is said regarding the type of entrance (shaft or staircase?). The only clue that Ballerini indirectly provides is the presence of a corridor, within which the Italian team found six Coptic lamps, two vases, the lower part of an alabaster shabti, the upper part of a blue glazed shabti (with part of the inscription that reads [s]hd wsr), small glazed fragments, an *ostrakon*, and other vases. The presence of Coptic lamps found inside the tomb might indicate that tomb n. 63 is current tomb QV 60, which was massively reused by the Christians: actually, the corridor about which Ballerini talks may be the descending stepped ramp access. However, without any plan of the tomb, this identification remains a pure conjecture. In addition, in the already mentioned tomb/sector n. 61, the Italian team found three vases and other fragments of Coptic objects made of terracotta (“*frammenti vari di fittili copti*”). Finally, two small *ostraca* were found within an unspecified sector (fig. III.30/C).

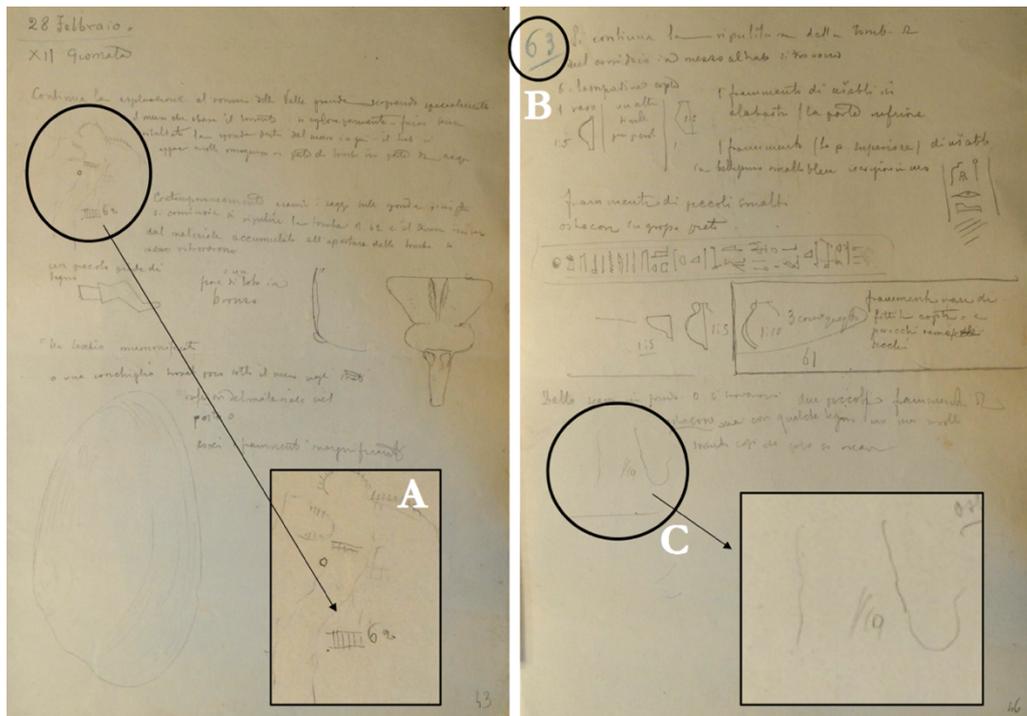


Fig. III.30. Findings of the 30th of February (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche, marzo 6 - fascicolo 16, pages 43 and 46*). © Archivio di Stato, Torino.

³⁶¹ It cannot be excluded that n. 62 refers to one of the two commenced tombs QV 56 or QV 57.

The last page of the daily-recorded digging diary bears the date of the 29th of February. Among the activities recorded by Ballerini, there is mention of the investigation of Prince Paraheruenemef's tomb (QV 42). In addition, “to the left, towards the other tomb” (but he does not specify which one) the Italian team explored the tomb/area n. 61 and found fragments of garlands (“*frammenti di corone*”), nine lamps, part of a blue glazed shabti with black painted lines, vases, two *ostraca* (n. 64 and n. 65), the find-spot of which is marked on a roughly sketched map of difficult interpretation, a block of limestone with a hole, and a vase (fig. III.31). In this context, numbers seem to indicate objects.

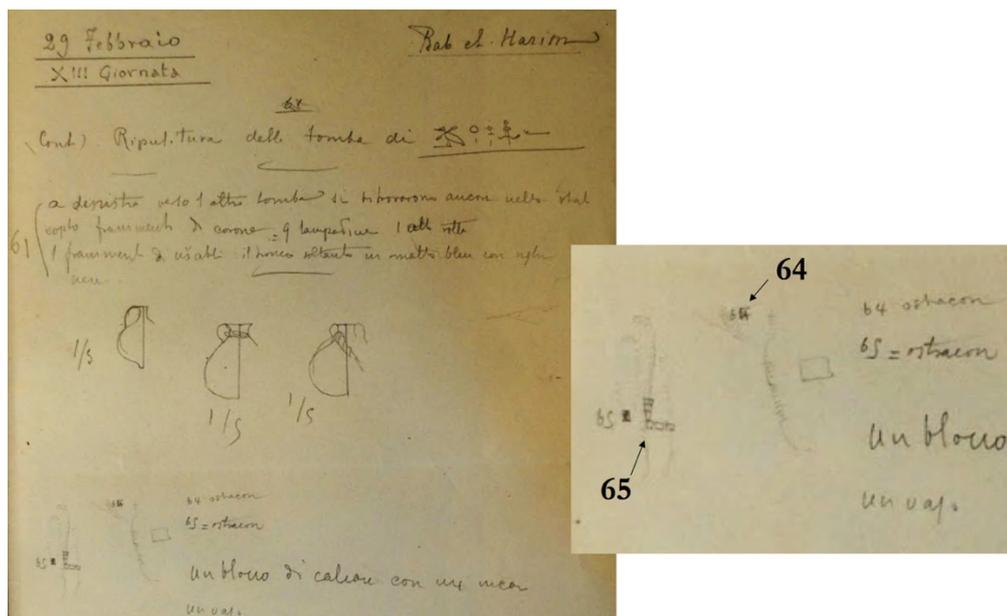


Fig. III.31. Findings of the 28th of February, numbers added (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche, marzo 6 - fascicolo 16, p. 47*). © Archivio di Stato, Torino.

After the 29th of February, there are no more day-by-day reports about the excavation works. This does not mean that the Italian team interrupted the excavation works. Ballerini's digging diary changed its interface and became a collection of tomb plans provided with measures and brief descriptions of the architectural features and relating findings. The data concerning the tombs are often rather generic and seems to have been gathered very hastily. Certainly, it was not easy task for Ballerini to deal with the discoveries of the several tombs situated on the southern and northern slope of the main *wadi* and to record all the findings, even considering that there was an unspecified number of teams working concomitantly within different tombs and in different spots over the *wadi* floor. Schiaparelli dedicated a few lines to these tombs (“*Altre tombe*”, within his

Eplorazione della Valle delle Regine),³⁶² and he did not provide any detailed information about them, except for one that is said to be rather large and accessible by means of a steep staircase entryway (probably, current tomb QV 65). This is the point where the unpublished documents come into play: through the analysis of the excavation notebooks, tomb plans, and maps, a thorough identification of the tombs investigated by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* is proposed here in this work for the first time.

III.4-b. The Tombs Located on the Northern Slope of the Main Wadi

The tombs located on the northern flank of the main *wadi*³⁶³ (which Ballerini and Schiaparelli always mention as the “left side” of the valley) are labelled as 2/II, α, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, L, M, N, and # (fig III.32). As will be shown shortly, the identification of these tombs has been possible thanks to the comparison between the tomb plans prepared by Ballerini and the plans prepared by the Franco-Egyptian team³⁶⁴ and the Theban Mapping Project.³⁶⁵

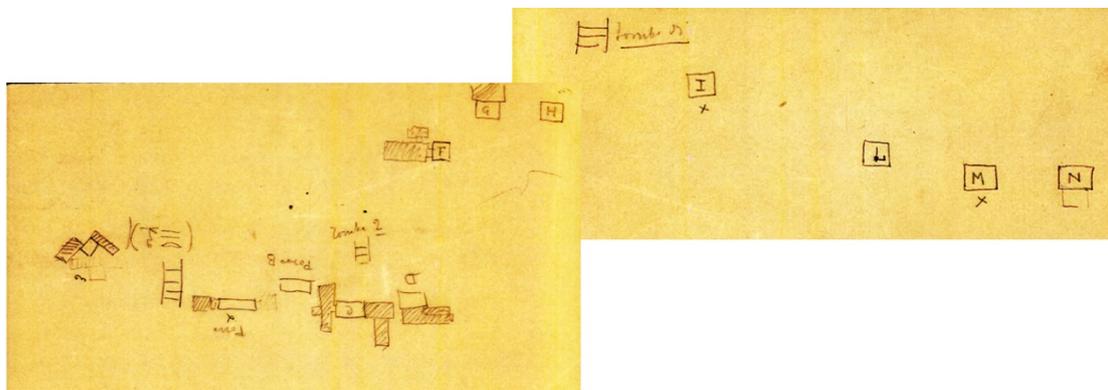


Fig. III.32. Sketched map of the northern slope of the main *wadi*, including the indication of the investigated tombs (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche, mappa 3 - fascicolo 13, p. 3*). © Archivio di Stato, Torino.

Ballerini’s tomb 2/II consists of a steep staircase entryway, a rectangular burial chamber, and an annex (fig. III.33/A). By comparing the plan sketched by Ballerini with the current plans of the Queens’ Valley tombs, it is possible to identify tomb 2/II as current QV 65³⁶⁶ (fig. III.33/B). The Franco-Egyptian mission labelled another tomb as QV 65 (fig. III.33/C), the architectural plan of which is different from that of the current

³⁶² Schiaparelli 1924, 40-41.

³⁶³ “*Piani di tombe e pozzi a sinistra del torrente*”, as labelled in the unpublished documents.

³⁶⁴ These tomb plans have been published by Leblanc and his collaborators in their monographs and papers.

³⁶⁵ The plans prepared by the TMP are available in Demas and Agnew 2016.

³⁶⁶ Although this tomb plan was already published (Moiso and Lovera 2017, 197), no identification has been seemingly suggested so far.

QV 65. Such a mistake is inexplicable since Thomas explored tomb QV 65, before the Franco-Egyptian team, and provided a plan of it, which matches that published by Demas and Agnew (fig. III.33/D).³⁶⁷ Strangely, current QV 65 does not appear on the Queens' Valley maps prepared by the Franco-Egyptian team,³⁶⁸ but it shows up on the map provided in the Demas and Agnew's publication (fig. III.33/E). Ballerini describes tomb 2/II/QV 65 as following: “La porta che dalla camera grande conduce alla camera laterale è appena abbozzata e pare piuttosto un buco. La seconda camera è parimenti appena scavata ma non squadrata né ripulita. Le misure sono medie”. There is no mention of any archaeological findings. Likely, this is the tomb that Schiaparelli mentions in his publication.³⁶⁹ As remarked above, Thomas investigated tomb QV 65 and assumed that it had been explored by the Italian team, although there was no concrete proof confirming it.³⁷⁰ She also was of the opinion that QV 65 had never been used due to the absence of archaeological materials; furthermore, she assumed that its construction had been interrupted because of the unsafe state of the rock.

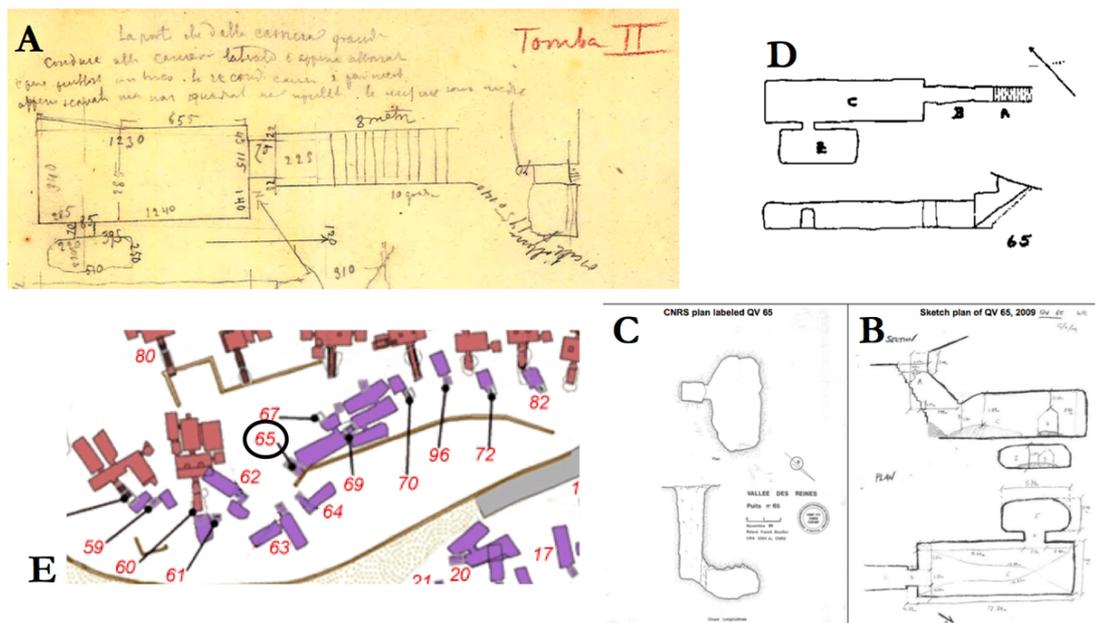


Fig. III.33. Tomb II/QV 65. A: Ballerini's sketch of the tomb plan (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche, marzo 3 - fascicolo 13, p. 4*), © Archivio di Stato, Torino. B: plan of QV 65 (after Demas and Agnew 2016, 17; © Will Reynolds). C: plan of tomb QV 65 according to the CNRS (after Demas and Agnew 2016, 17; © CNRS).

D: Thomas' plan of tomb QV 65 (from Thomas 1966, 200). E: position of QV 65 (map from http://www.narmer.pl/kv/qv_en.htm, last accessed on 24.10.2019, © Dariusz Sitek).

³⁶⁷ Thomas 1966, 200. She suggested that QV 65 might be Wilkinson's tomb n. 6 (Thomas 1966, 210).

³⁶⁸ Leblanc 1989/a, pl. XXXI; Leblanc and Siliotti 1997, 16-17.

³⁶⁹ Schiaparelli 1924, 40. Thomas identified the tomb described by Schiaparelli as QV 49 (Thomas 1966, 185, footnote n. 129).

³⁷⁰ Thomas 1966, 210.

In addition, thanks to the comparison between Ballerini's plan and the current tomb plans, it is possible to identify tomb B as QV 62 (fig. III.34). Within the unpublished notes, he remarks that the smaller chamber seems to be unfinished whilst the larger chamber has been cut into the rock rather precisely. There is also mention of a number of findings, although Ballerini's handwriting is not clear. The tomb plan is very similar to that of QV 59 and this aspect might suggest that the two tombs are coeval.³⁷¹

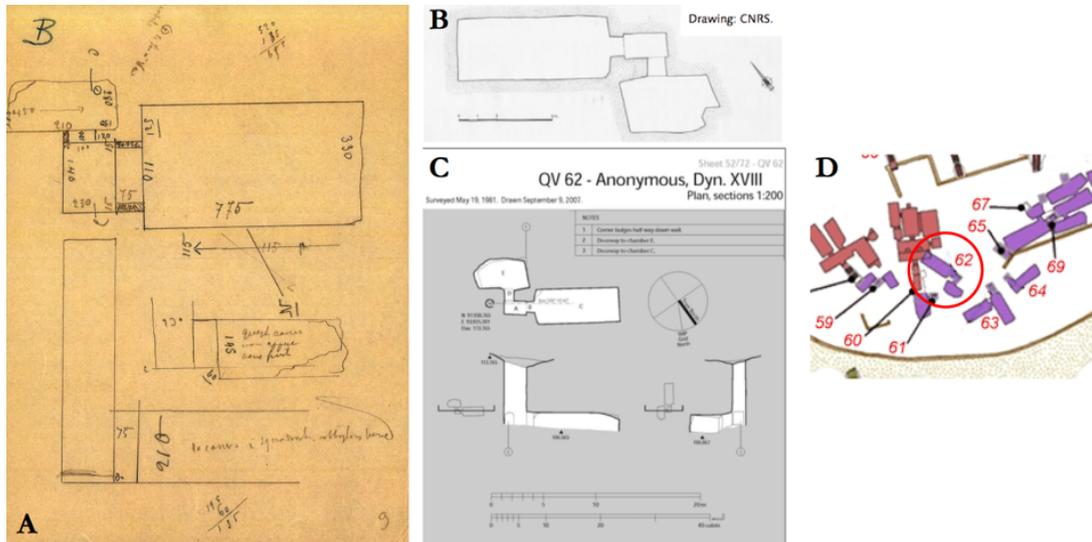


fig. III.34. Tomb B/QV 62. A: Ballerini's drawing of the tomb plan (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche, magazzino 3 - fascicolo 13, p. 9*), © Archivio di Stato, Torino. B: plan of QV 62 (after Demas and Agnew 2016, 95; © CNRS). C: plan of QV 62 (after Demas and Agnew 2016, 95; © TMP). D: position of tomb QV 62 (map from http://www.narmer.pl/kv/qv_en.htm, last accessed on 24.10.2019; © Dariusz Sitek).

Ballerini's tomb C can be identified as current QV 63 (fig. III.35). Only the plan and longitudinal section of the tomb are provided, but no information about architectural features nor about archaeological findings. Even the report by the Getty Conservation Institute does not mention any archaeological material brought to light from this tomb. In this regard, nothing more precise can be said since the results of the excavation works of QV 63 carried out by the Franco-Egyptian team have not been published thus far.

³⁷¹ As also remarked by Thomas (1966, 185).

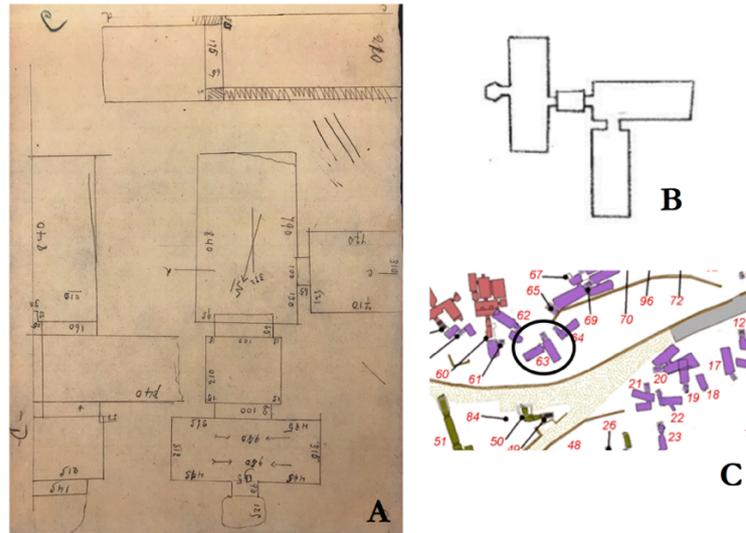


Fig. III.35. Tomb C/QV 63. A: Ballerini's drawing of tomb C (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche, marzo 3 - fascicolo 13, p. 10*), © Archivio di Stato, Torino. B: plan of QV 63 (after Demas and Agnew 2016, 97; © CNRS). C: position of tomb QV 63 (map from http://www.narmer.pl/kv/qv_en.htm, last accessed on 24.10.2019; © Dariusz Sitek).

Thanks to the indication of the north and the measures provided by Ballerini, it is also possible to identify tomb D as current QV 64. There is no additional information about the architectural features (except for the adjective “*irregolare*” referring to the mouth of the shaft) nor about the archaeological findings (fig. III.36). The Franco-Egyptian team investigated again the tomb, but they did not publish anything about the archaeological materials. Among the materials recorded in the framework of the investigation led in 2010 by the CNRS and the SCA, there are a bundle of linen mummy wrappings, a fragmented bone, and part of a human skull,³⁷² thus suggesting that the tomb had not been completely cleared.

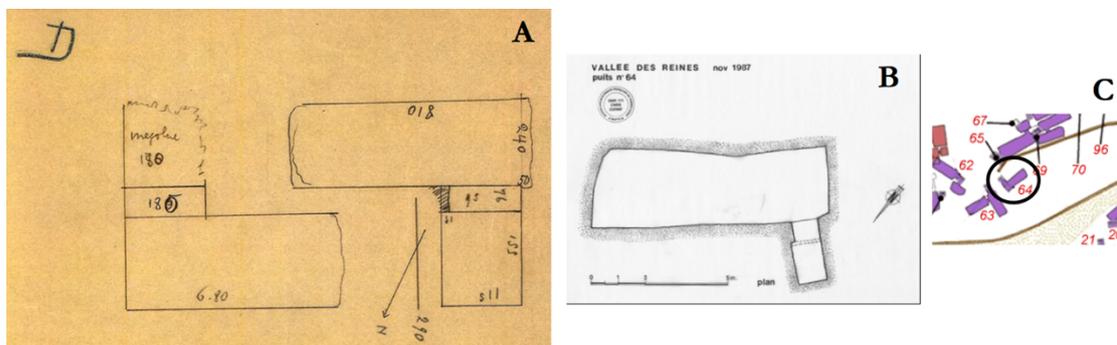


Fig. III.36. Tomb D/QV 64. A: Ballerini's drawing of tomb D (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche, marzo 3 - fascicolo 13, p. 11*), © Archivio di Stato, Torino. B: plan of QV 64 (after Demas and Agnew 2016, 99; © CNRS). C: position of QV 64 (map from http://www.narmer.pl/kv/qv_en.htm, last accessed on 24.10.2019), © Dariusz Sitek.

³⁷² Demas and Agnew 2016, 98-99.

Shaft tomb E can be identified as current QV 59, thanks to Ballerini's sketch and information about the presence, close by, of structures dating to the Coptic Period (“*pozzzo vicino alle costruzioni copte*”). Actually, behind and in front of the entrance of tomb QV 60, as well as close to the shaft entrance of tomb QV 59, there are Coptic structures. Ballerini provides information concerning a number of findings from the northern burial chamber: a short wall made of stone (“*muricciolo di sassi*”, see fig. III.37/A-1), a mummy (fig. III.37/A-2), and leaves (fig. III.37/A-3). No other object is mentioned. About the architecture, he remarks that the southern burial chamber “*è tagliata nella roccia alquanto grossolanamente: in parte anche le pareti e il soffitto si sono sfaldati*”. According to Thomas, the Italian mission already explored the tomb because she remarked that it was “*virtually to entirely empty*”.³⁷³

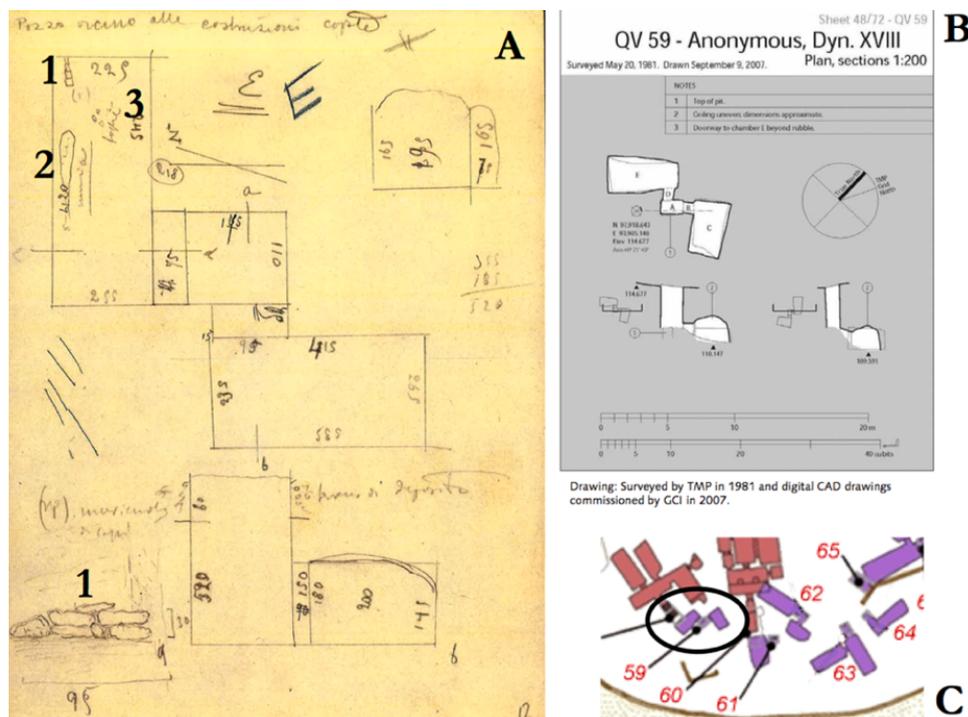


Fig. III.37. Tomb E/QV 59. A: Ballerini's drawing of tomb E, numbers added (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche, marzo 3 - fascicolo 13, p. 12*), © Archivio di Stato, Torino. B: plan of QV 59 (after Demas and Agnew 2016, 91; © TMP). C: position of QV 59 (map from http://www.narmer.pl/kv/qv_en.htm, last accessed on 24.10.2019; © Dariusz Sitek).

Tomb F shows a peculiar plan that leaves no doubt about its identification as current QV 69 (fig. III.38). The Franco-Egyptian team found the tomb partially filled with debris and some archaeological findings, which are not specified (the results of the investigation

³⁷³ Thomas 1966, 188.

have not been published yet).³⁷⁴ Ballerini provided detailed measurements (as well as some remarks concerning the height of the ceiling) and pointed out that the side chamber of the “western tomb” was roughly cut into the rock (it may deal with a later addition that occurred when the tomb was reused). Ballerini does not mention archaeological or anthropological materials.

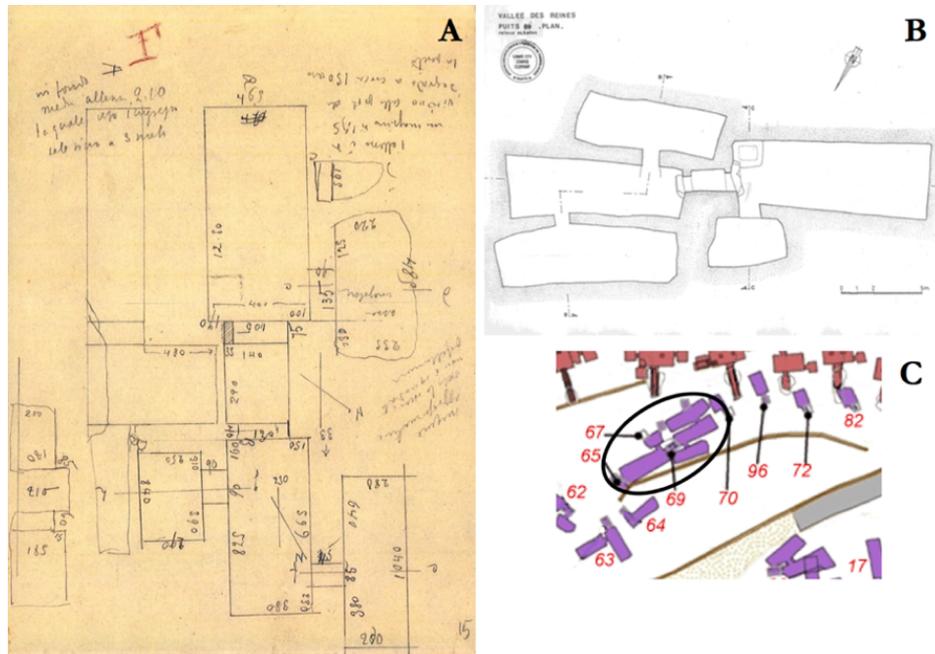


Fig. III.38. Tomb F/QV 69. A: Ballerini’s drawing of tomb F (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche, mezzo 3 - fascicolo 13, p. 15*), © Archivio di Stato, Torino. B: plan of QV 69 (after Demas and Agnew 2016, 105; © CNRS). C: position of QV 69 (map from http://www.narmer.pl/kv/qv_en.htm, last accessed on 24.10.2019; © Dariusz Sitek).

The identification of the single-chambered tomb G is challenging since little information is provided within the unpublished documents. On Ballerini’s map, the tomb is located north-east of tomb F/QV 69. At first, this author assumed that tomb G could be current QV 70. However, tomb QV U2, the existence of which is attested only in the Demas and Agnew’s publication, better fits with Ballerini’s data (fig. III.39). Indeed, he remarked that tomb G was not cut in a symmetrical way (“*scavata poco simmetricamente*”), there were stones at the entrance (“*ripiena di pietre all’imboccatura*”), and among the findings he mentioned bones (“*qualche ossa sparse*”). Actually, a few bones are the only materials listed by Demas and Agnew in the Getty Conservation Institute assessment report.³⁷⁵ Furthermore, stones are piled up at bottom of the shaft, as a number of stones visible in

³⁷⁴ Demas and Agnew 2016, 104.

³⁷⁵ Demas and Agnew 2016, 126.

one of the pictures published by Demas and Agnew.³⁷⁶ The only aspect that makes this identification suspicious is the fact that Ballerini did not mention the very irregular ceiling, unless the “*scavata poco simmetricamente*” does refer to it. There are two other likely candidates for this tomb (QV 67 and QV U1), however, no plan of these two tombs is currently available; therefore, the issue still remains open.

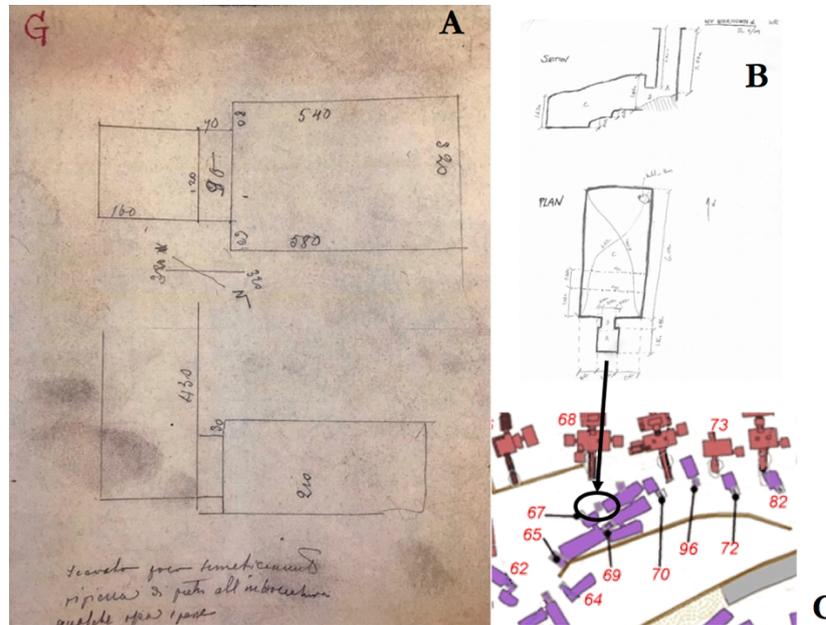


Fig. III.39. Tomb G/QV U2. A: Ballerini's drawing of tomb G (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche, marzo 3 - fascicolo 13, p. 13*), © Archivio di Stato, Torino. B: plan of QV U2 (after Demas and Agnew 2016, 127; © Will Raynolds). C: position of QV U2 (map from http://www.narmer.pl/kv/qv_en.htm, last accessed on 24.10.2019; © Dariusz Sitek).

Tomb H might be identified as current QV 70. The measurements given by Ballerini cannot be compared with those of the tomb in question since this author did not find any plan of QV 70. However, checking Ballerini's sketch, it was noted that the bottom of the shaft is not positioned in the middle of the southern, short wall but it is closer to the south-eastern corner. Some maps of the Queens' Valley show the outline of the tomb plans and that of QV 70 seems to match that of tomb H (fig. III.40). This means that the anonymous Ramesside Period tomb with staircase entryway (“*tomba di ___*”) located north-east of tomb H on Ballerini's map may be QV 71 (Queen Bentanta). About tomb H, Ballerini says that the walls are rather well cut (“*lavorata discretamente*”) and among the findings, only pottery is mentioned and nothing more (“*ingombra di vasi e trab all'ingresso, del resto non ha nulla*”).

³⁷⁶ See picture in Demas and Agnew 2016, 126.

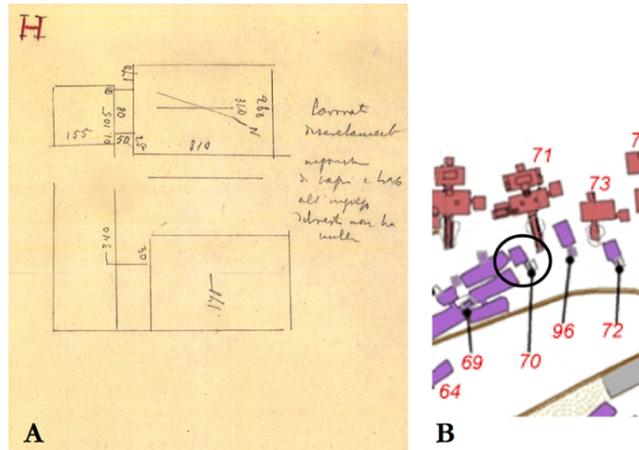


Fig. III.40. Tomb H/QV 70. A: Ballerini's drawing of tomb H (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche, marzo 3 - fascicolo 13, p. 14*), © Archivio di Stato, Torino. B: position of QV 70 (map from http://www.narmer.pl/kv/qv_en.htm, last accessed on 24.10.2019; © Dariusz Sitek).

The identification of tomb I is anything but simple. According to the tomb plan sketched by Ballerini, tomb I has a bent axis. However, while checking the sector of the northern slope where it should be located, no tomb displays such a feature. Taking into account the position of tomb I within Ballerini's plan, the only candidates may be current tombs QV 72 and QV 82, both of them being single-chambered tombs with straight axis. Therefore, it is not possible to identify tomb I and it cannot be excluded that this tomb still lies under debris, within a sector included between QV 70 and QV 82 (fig. III.41). Among the findings from tomb I, Ballerini lists fragments of baskets and wood, and canopic jars (*"frammenti di ceste e di legno, canopi?"*).

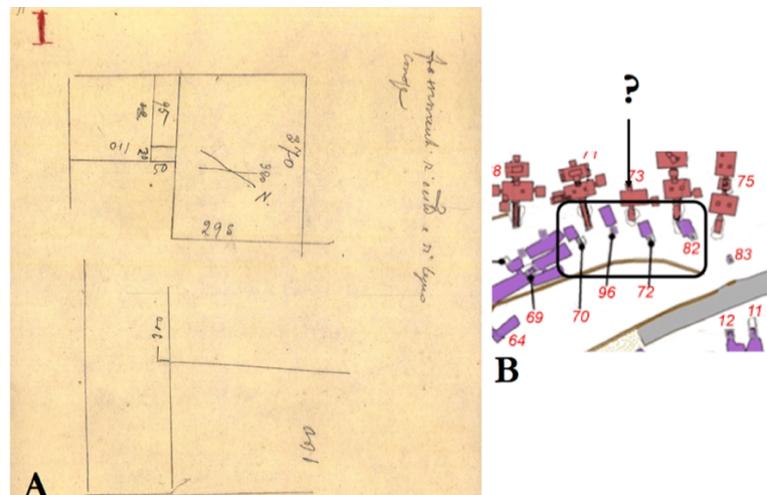


Fig. III.41. Tomb I. A: Ballerini's plan (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche, marzo 3 - fascicolo 13, p. 16*), © Archivio di Stato, Torino. B: possible location of tomb I (map from http://www.narmer.pl/kv/qv_en.htm, last accessed on 24.10.2019; © Dariusz Sitek).

Tomb L is a single-chambered tomb that can be identified as QV 76: indeed, the max length of tomb L is 580 cm and this measurement fits with the max length of tomb QV 76, which is about six metres; in addition, the position of tomb L on Ballerini's map, as well as the indication of the north, speak in favour of such identification (fig. III.42). Within the *trab* that filled the chamber till one third of the total height, some objects were found: an offering table (40 x 90 cm), fragments of a polychrome-painted wooden coffin, and fragments of mats. It is worth remarking that the tomb was investigated but not completely cleared, since the Franco-Egyptian team found other materials within it, bearing the attestation of one of the 18th-dynasty tomb owners: the *s3.t nsw* Merytra.³⁷⁷

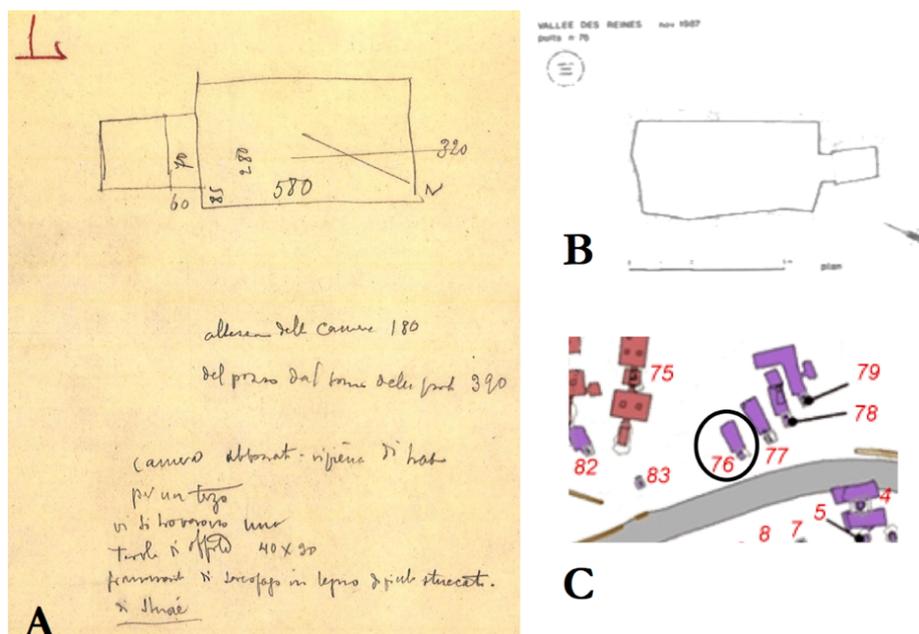


Fig. III.42. Tomb L/QV 76. A: Ballerini's drawing of tomb L (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche, maggio 3 - fascicolo 13, p. 17*), © Archivio di Stato, Torino. B: plan of QV 76 (after Demas and Agnew 2016, 109; © CNRS). C: position of QV 76 (map from http://www.narmer.pl/kv/qv_en.htm, last accessed on 24.10.2019; © Dariusz Sitek).

Tomb M can be identified as tomb QV 77, thanks to the measurements provided by Ballerini, that can be compared with the those of the tomb plan prepared by the Franco-Egyptian team. The only information that Ballerini provides about this tomb concerns the finding of fragments of damaged mummies (fig. III.43).

³⁷⁷ Demas and Agnew 2016, 109.

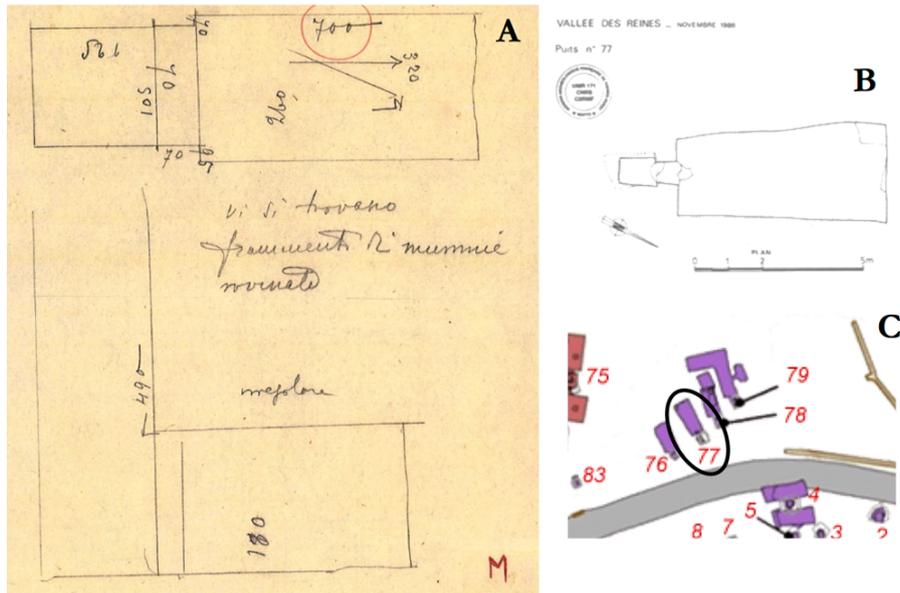


Fig. III.43. Tomb M/QV 77. A: Ballerini's drawing of tomb M (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche, marzo 3 - fascicolo 13, p. 18*), © Archivio di Stato, Torino. B: plan of QV 77 (after Demas and Agnew 2016, 111; © CNRS). C: position of QV 77 (map from http://www.narmer.pl/kv/qv_en.htm, last accessed on 24.10.2019; © Dariusz Sitek).

Tomb N can be easily identified as QV 78, due to its peculiar plan that does not have any comparison with the other tombs located on the northern slope of the main *wadi*. The original burial consisted of a shaft entrance and a single rectangular chamber. However, when the tomb was reused, likely during the Third Intermediate Period, it was enlarged by means of the cutting of a shaft leading to two small rooms (which are labelled as II and III on Ballerini's sketch). A few findings are mentioned: from the original chamber ("I" on Ballerini's sketch), a Late Period offering table, fragments of damaged wooden coffin, a small pot, potsherds, and fragmented linen shrouds; damaged mummies from the intermediary room with blackened walls ("II"); finally, bones and fragments of vases (even dating to the Coptic Period) from the lowest chamber with blackened walls ("III") (fig. III.44). It is worth remarking that among the findings brought to light by the Franco-Egyptian team, there are other materials, such as 250 terracotta shabtis and a funerary cone that have not been mentioned by Ballerini: this indicates, as remarked in other cases above, that the tomb was investigated but not cleared in-depth.

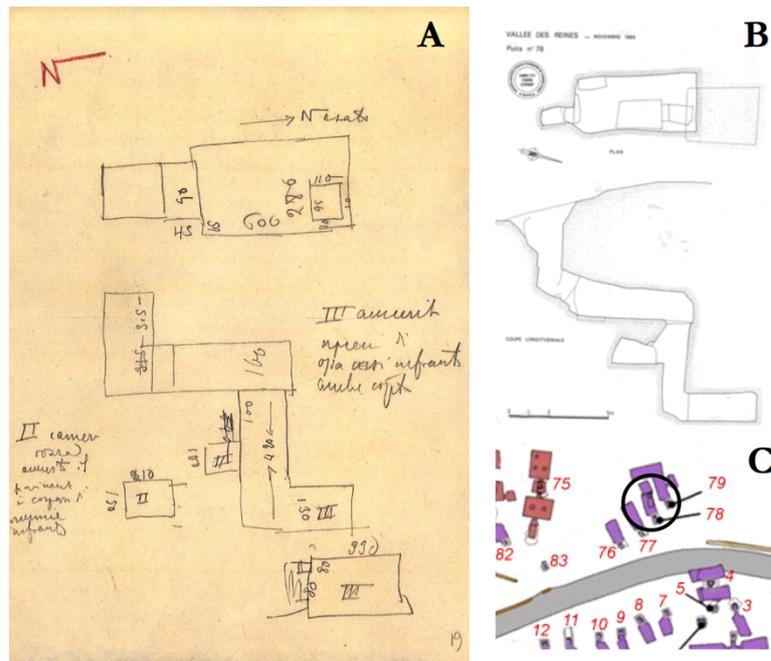


Fig. III.44. Tomb N/QV 78. A: Ballerini's drawing of tomb N (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche, marzo 3 - fascicolo 13, p. 19*), © Archivio di Stato, Torino. B: plan of QV 78 (after Demas and Agnew 2016, 113; © CNRS). C: position of QV 78 (map from http://www.narmer.pl/kv/qv_en.htm, last accessed on 24.10.2019; © Dariusz Sitek).

Finally, another tomb is indicated on Ballerini's map (tomb α), however, no plan of it was prepared. This might suggest that the tomb had been identified but not investigated. In any case, considering its position on the map, it may be possible that this tomb is QV 61, although this remains only a conjecture.

After having suggested an identification for each tomb located on the northern slope of the main *wadi*, it is possible to "update" Ballerini's map by adding the current QV numbers (fig. III.45). Tomb I could not be identified, and it is possible, as suggested above, that it still lies under debris. The tomb of Queen Nebettauy is indicated on this map and this suggests that the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* may have investigated QV 60; on this regard, this author proposed the identification of Ballerini's tomb n. 63 with QV 60. In addition, the Italian team knew the position of the tomb of Queen Bentanta (QV 71), as it can be assumed from its indication on the map and the few remarks made by Schiaparelli within his publication.³⁷⁸ By reading the descriptions of the tombs on Ballerini's notes, it seems evident that the Italian team investigated them very quickly, without clearing the tombs in-depth: indeed, the purpose of Ballerini and Schiaparelli was to record the tombs and find materials for the Regio Museo di Antichità of Turin. This

³⁷⁸ Schiaparelli 1924, 111.

explains why the Franco-Egyptian team found several archaeological and anthropological materials within the same tombs already investigated by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana*.

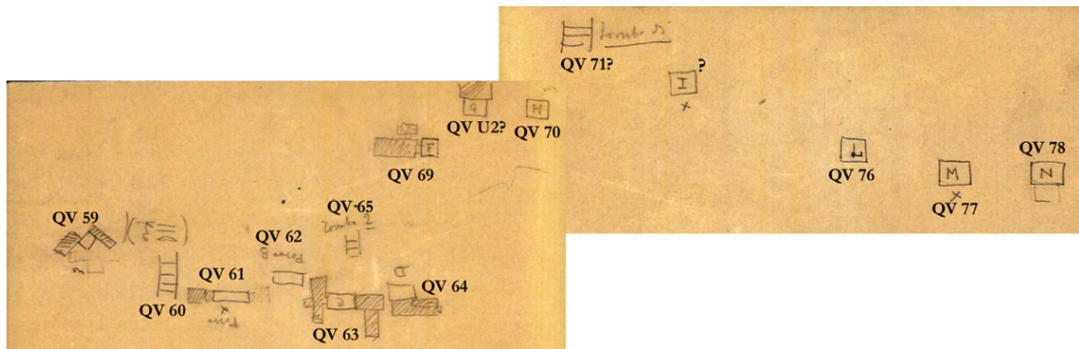


Fig. III.45. Ballerini’s map of the northern slope of the main *wadi* (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche, maggio 3 - fascicolo 13, p. 3*), adapted with the indication of the current QV numbering system. © Archivio di Stato, Torino.

III.4-c. The Tombs Located on the Eastern Sector of the Southern Slope of the Main *Wadi*

Beyond the tombs of the northern slope of the main *wadi*, the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* investigated other tombs located on the eastern sector of the southern slope, close to the entrance to the main *wadi*.³⁷⁹ Their identification is challenging due to the little information provided by Ballerini and the roughly-made sketches of the tomb plans. Except for tomb #, which is not indicated on the map but should be located on that slope of the *main wadi*, Ballerini labelled all these tombs using letters of the Hebrew alphabet (fig. III.46).

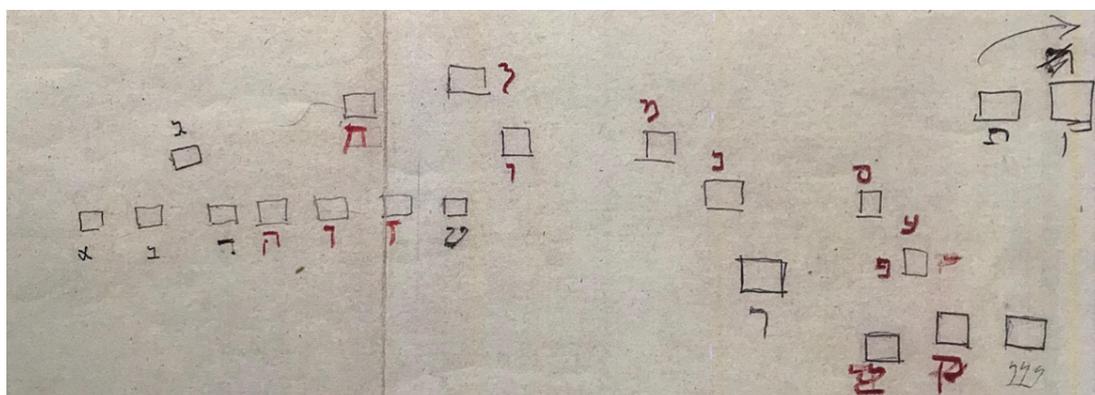


Fig. III.46. Ballerini’s map indicating the tombs located on the southern slope of the main *wadi* (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche, maggio 3 - fascicolo 13, p. 41*); © Archivio di Stato, Torino.

³⁷⁹ “*Pozzi al principio della Valle*”, as labelled in the unpublished archival documents.

The identification of tomb # is challenging (fig. III.47). Indeed, as remarked above, this tomb is not indicated on any map prepared by Ballerini. At first, this author thought that the tomb was located on the northern slope of the main *wadi*; however, the only single-chambered tombs displaying the same orientation north-south, with the entrance to the north, are QV 61 and QV 64 and both can be excluded because they have bent axis. Ballerini provides the measures of the burial chamber (8,20 x 3 m.) and accounts that the tomb did not contain anything (“*non conteneva nulla*”). This kind of comment has to be taken into account prudently, since this “*nulla*” can refer to the fact that nothing valuable/interesting was found therein, and not that the tomb was actually empty. Thus, the identification of tomb # remains uncertain. Considering that no match was found during this research, it may be possible that the tomb still lies under debris.

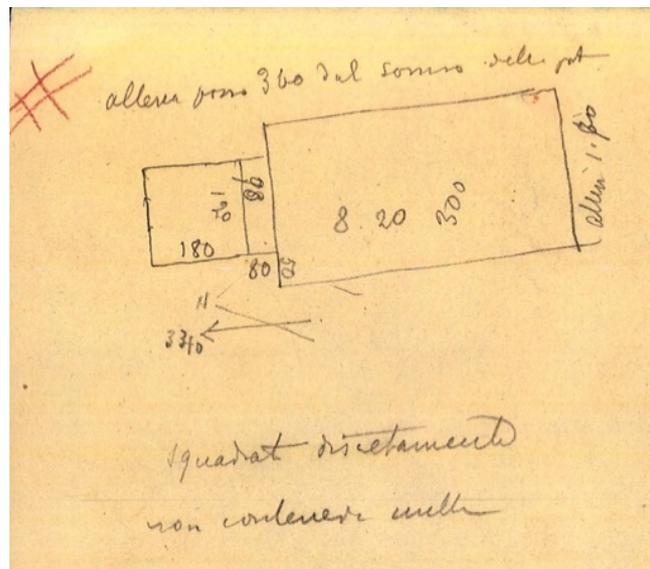


Fig. III.47. Ballerini’ tomb # (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche, marzo 3 - fascicolo 13, p. 20*); © Archivio di Stato, Torino.

Turning back to the tombs indicated by means of Hebrew letters, tomb aleph (א) was not investigated since the chamber was completely filled with flood debris (“*trab d’acqua*”), as remarked by Ballerini. The shaft is short (1,70 m high). The position of this tomb on Ballerini’s map, very close to tomb beth/QV 3 (see below), suggests identifying it as current QV 2, which is a commenced tomb. Actually, it is possible that the Italian team did not realise that there was no burial chamber, confusing the friable rock into which the commenced tomb is cut³⁸⁰ with the flood debris.

³⁸⁰ Demas and Agnew 2016, 32.

Ballerini did not take any note about tomb beth (ⲛ), as the page meant for it has been left blank. However, this does not mean that the tomb was not investigated. Considering the position of this tomb on his map, it is likely that tomb beth correspond with current QV 3.

Tomb ghimel (Ⲓ) is described by Ballerini as characterized by a rather asymmetrical burial chamber (circa 3 m. wide). He also remarks that it is connected with two tombs, ⲛ and ⲏ (then corrected as ⲧ). The identification of this tomb is very challenging. Considering its position on Ballerini's map, Ⲓ is located south of ⲛ and ⲏ. For this reason, it is suggested here to identify Ballerini's tomb Ⲓ as QV 81 (fig. III.48). Actually, tomb ⲛ/QV 3 is connected with tomb Ⲓ/QV 81. Ballerini also assumed a connection between Ⲓ/QV 81 and ⲏ/ⲧ, however, this connection actually does not exist.

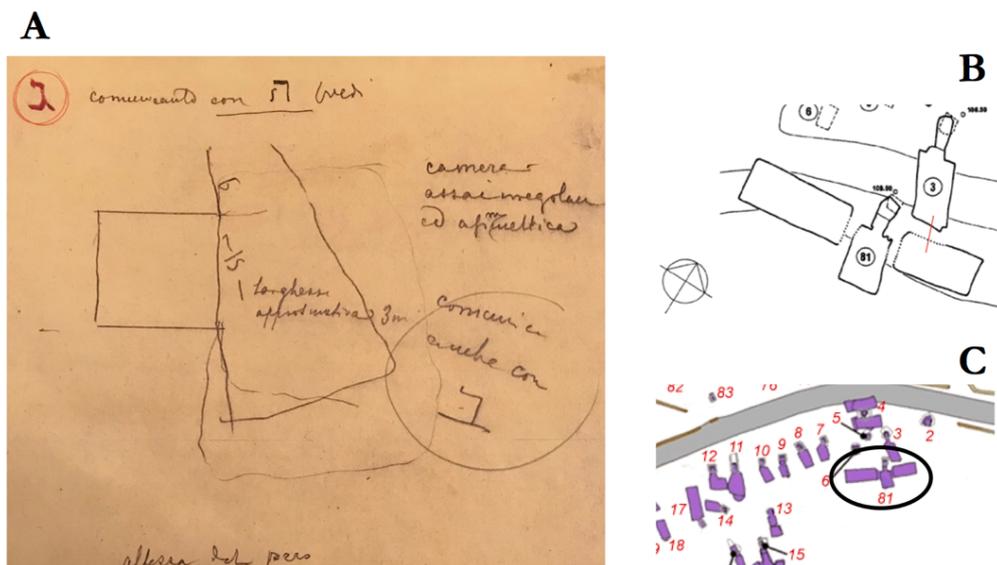


Fig. III.48. Tomb QV 81. A: Plan of tomb ghimel (Ⲓ), Ballerini's drawing (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche, marzo 3 - fascicolo 13, p. 34*); © Archivio di Stato, Torino. B: plan of QV 81 (after Demas and Agnew 2016, 117; © CNRS). C: position of QV 81 (http://www.narmer.pl/kv/qv_en.htm, last accessed on 24.10.2019; © Dariusz Sitek).

Tomb daleth (ⲧ), as shown on Ballerini's sketch, has two burial chambers (I and II). Ballerini remarks that this tomb was roughly cut into the rock and also points out that there is no symmetry in the layout of the plan. The shaft leads to the first chamber that is characterized by a bent axis. Then, a small "door" leads to the second chamber. Due to the air flow perceived within this second chamber, Ballerini assumed that ⲧ was in connection with tomb Ⲓ (QV 81), however, he did not verify it. Both the rooms were filled with debris and *trab* and it was impossible to take accurate measures of the second chamber. By comparing Ballerini's sketch with current tomb plans, and considering the

position of the tomb on his map, tomb daletth (ⲧ) can be possibly identified as tomb QV 7 (fig. III.49). It is worth remarking that Ballerini mentions the finding of an empty box for tobacco (“*scatola di tabacco vuota*”): this clearly suggests that the tomb had already been explored, likely by Wilkinson (who reported on the discovery of 12 shaft tombs).

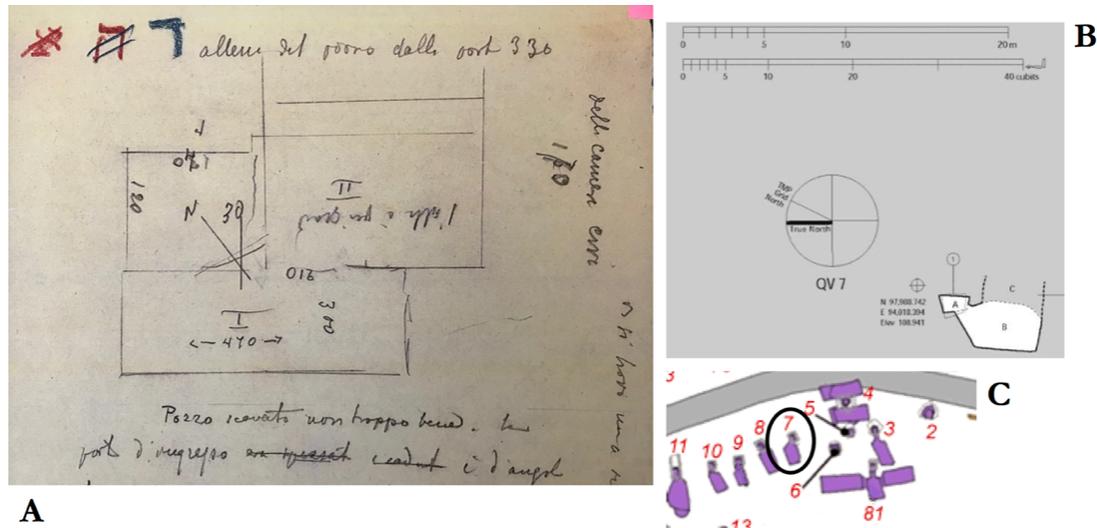


Fig. III.49. Tomb QV 7. A: Plan of tomb daletth (ⲧ), Ballerini’s sketch (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche, mazzo 3 - fascicolo 13, p. 28*); © Archivio di Stato, Torino. B: plan of QV 7 (after Demas and Agnew 2016, 39; © TMP). C: QV 7 on a map of the Queens’ Valley from http://www.narmer.pl/kv/qv_en.htm (last accessed on 24.10.2019); © Dariusz Sitek.

Ballerini’s tomb he (ⲧ) is likely current tomb QV 9 (fig. III.50/A). Although another probable candidate may be the close tomb QV 8, the burial chamber of tomb ⲧ is 3,20 m long and this measurement fits with the length of the burial chamber of tomb QV 9 (tomb QV 8, indeed, has longer longitudinal walls). Concerning the architectural features, Ballerini remarks that QV 9 has inclined ceiling that rises towards the bottom of the room (this feature can be observed in the longitudinal section of the tomb that has been published by Demas and Agnew: fig. III.50/B). The tomb was filled with *trab* (thus suggesting that only the upper layers may have been investigated) and a few findings are listed: some pieces of shrouds, parts of mummies, and pieces of wooden coffins (among which a beard). At the bottom of the shaft, there were some stones placed in order to create steps.

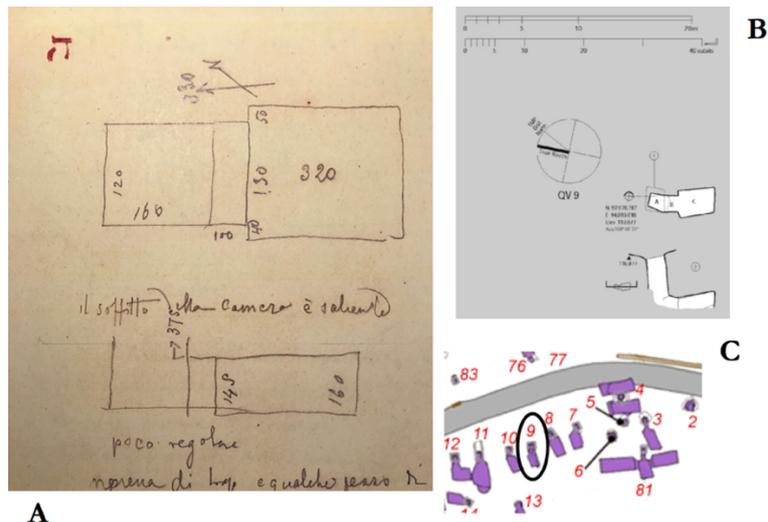


Fig. III.50. Tomb QV 9. A: Plan of tomb chamber (π), Ballerini's sketch (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche, marzo 3 - fascicolo 13, p. 27*); © Archivio di Stato, Torino. B: plan of QV 9 (after Demas and Agnew 2016, 43; © TMP). C: position of QV 9 (map from http://www.narmer.pl/kv/qv_en.htm, last accessed on 24.10.2019; © Dariusz Sitek).

Inside the burial chamber of tomb waw (π), which was filled with stones and *trab*, the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* found fragments of mummies and pieces of linen shrouds. Ballerini describes the burial chamber as roughly cut and remarks that it is devoid of any symmetry. He also points out that the ceiling is inclined, with a difference in level of 50 cm towards the rear of the chamber. Considering this aspect, the orientation, the dimension, and its position on Ballerini's map, tomb waw can be identified as QV 10 (fig. III.51). It is worth remarking that the date of the discovery (or excavation work) of this tomb is exceptionally known (21st of March 1904).

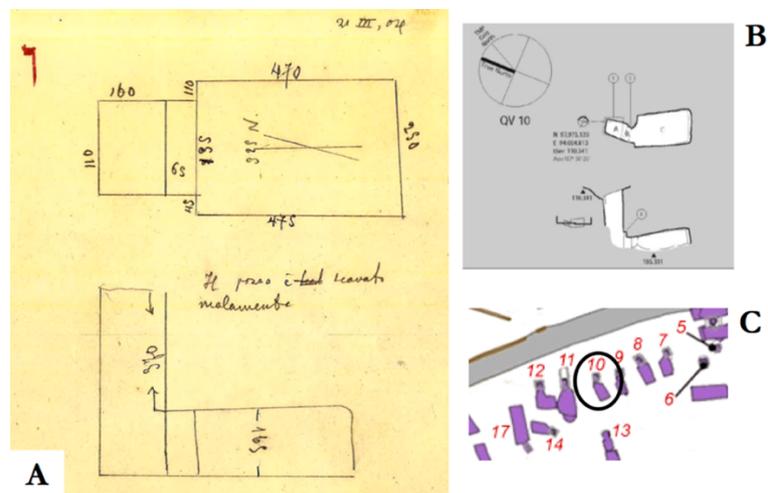


Fig. III.51. Tomb QV 10. A: Plan of tomb chamber (π), Ballerini's sketch (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche, marzo 3 - fascicolo 13, p. 26*); © Archivio di Stato, Torino. B: plan of QV 10 (after Demas and Agnew 2016, 43; © TMP). C: QV 10 on a map of the Queens' Valley, from http://www.narmer.pl/kv/qv_en.htm (last accessed on 24.10.2019); © Dariusz Sitek.

The plan of tomb zajn (ⲧ) shows the entrance shaped as a shaft, however, Ballerini observes that it actually resembles a staircase. This relevant clue allows to identify tomb ⲧ as current QV 11 (fig. III.52). Indeed, Lecuyot remarks that the original shaft was transformed into a stepped entryway during the reuse of the tomb that occurred in the Third Intermediate Period.³⁸¹ Among the material evidence found within the debris and the *trab*, Ballerini lists fragments of shrouds, pottery sherds, and the fragment of a bed.³⁸² Considering that he did not mention the two pits cut into this tomb during the Third Intermediate Period, it is apparent that the Italian team did not clear QV 11 but only explored it very quickly searching for interesting materials.

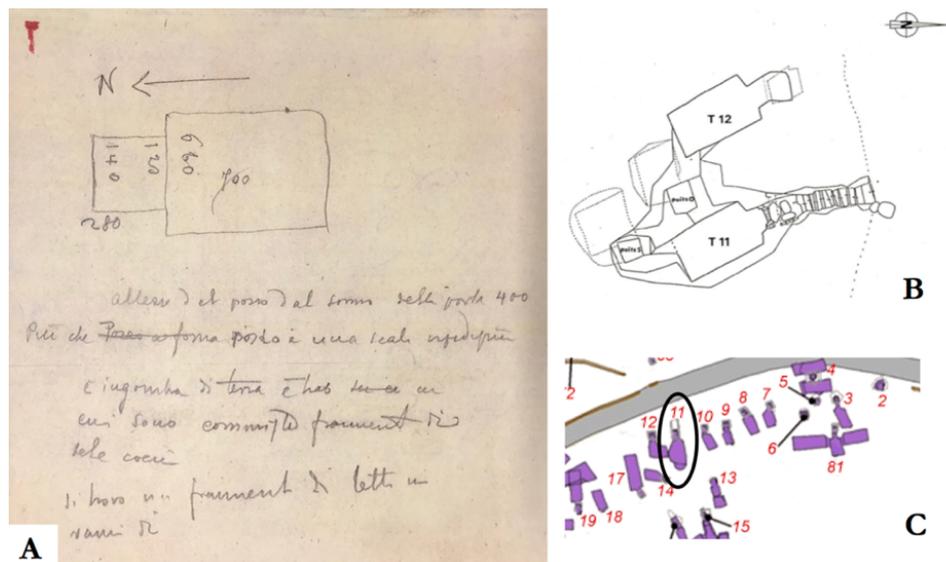


Fig. III.52. Tomb QV 11. A: Plan of tomb zajn (ⲧ), Ballerini's sketch (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche, marzo 3 - fascicolo 13, p. 25*), © Archivio di Stato, Torino. B: plan of QV 11 (after Demas and Agnew 2016, 47; © CNRS/Lecuyot). C: position of QV 11 (map from http://www.narmer.pl/kv/qv_en.htm, last accessed on 24.10.2019; © Dariusz Sitek).

By comparing the peculiar plan of tomb heith (ⲡ) with the tomb plans prepared by the Franco-Egyptian mission, it has been possible to identify it as current tomb QV 13 (fig. III.53 A and B). Ballerini observes that the tomb has been cut rather irregularly. The bad state of preservation of the walls depends on the friable rock into which the tomb has been cut. He also notes the presence of brick-made threshold and doorposts, this being a likely consolidation work that was carried out during one of the phases of reuse of the

³⁸¹ Lecuyot 1992/a.

³⁸² A fragment of a bed is mentioned by Lecuyot among the objects found outside tomb QV 11 (Lecuyot 1992/a, 100-108).

tomb.³⁸³ Among the findings, Ballerini mentions fragments of wood, shrouds, and stones. Considering the high quantity of archaeological findings brought to light by the Franco-Egyptian team from this tomb, it is evident that the Italian team investigated QV 13 quite quickly.

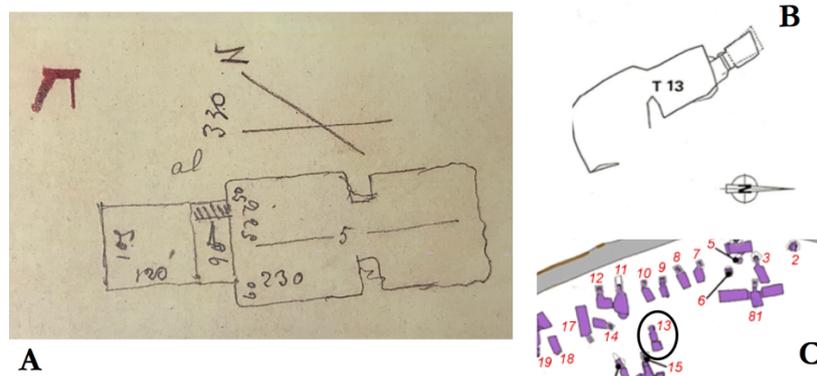


Fig. III.53. Tomb QV 13. A: Plan of tomb kheth (π), Ballerini's sketch (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche, marzo 3 - fascicolo 13, p. 24*), © Archivio di Stato, Torino. B: plan of QV 13 (after Demas and Agnew 2016, 49; © CNRS/Lecuyot). C: position of QV 13 (map from http://www.narmer.pl/kv/qv_en.htm, last accessed on 24.10.2019; © Dariusz Sitek).

Tomb teth (ϑ) can be identified as current QV 12, thanks to Ballerini's remark about the fact that it communicates with tomb zajn/QV 11 (fig. III.54). According to him, this tomb remained opened for a long time since the burial chamber was completely filled up with materials (without specifying of which type). He observes that the tomb is roughly cut; however, this comment may depend on the bad state of preservation of the walls, due to the friable rock into which the tomb has been cut.

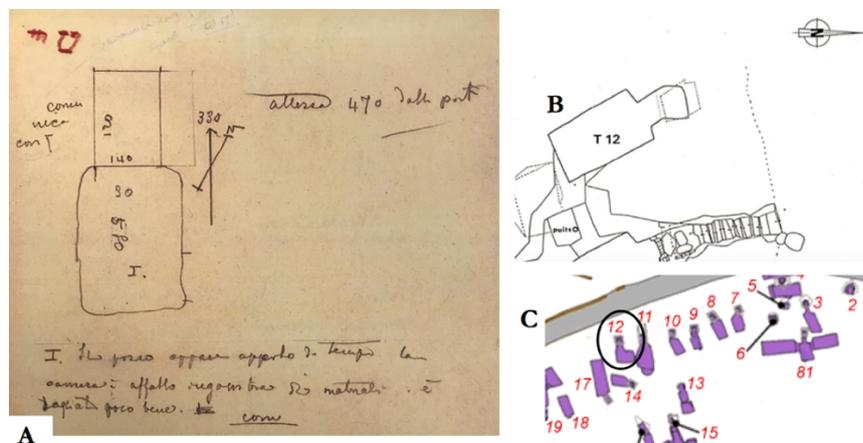


Fig. III.54. Tomb QV 12. A: Plan of tomb teth (ϑ), Ballerini's sketch (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche, marzo 3 - fascicolo 13, p. 23*), © Archivio di Stato, Torino. B: plan of QV 12 (after Demas and Agnew 2016, 47; © CNRS/Lecuyot). C: position of QV 12 (map from http://www.narmer.pl/kv/qv_en.htm, last accessed on 24.10.2019; © Dariusz Sitek).

³⁸³ See Lecuyot 1992/a, 89.

Tomb yod (ϥ) can be identified as current QV 14 (fig. III.55), thanks to the indication of the north, as well as the sketch of the longitudinal section provided by Ballerini. Little is said about the architectural features. Ballerini observes that the tomb has been roughly cut into the rock; however, this remark may depend on the bad state of preservation of the friable rock. The burial chamber was filled with *trab* up to the ceiling, so that the Italian team could not properly investigate it. Ballerini remarks that nothing was found within the tomb (“*non vi si trovò nulla*”). However, the Franco-Egyptian team, which cleared this tomb in 1986, found archaeological materials dating to the first stage of use of the tomb, the Third Intermediate Period, and the Roman Period.³⁸⁴ Therefore, it seems probable that the Italian team explored QV 14 very quickly.

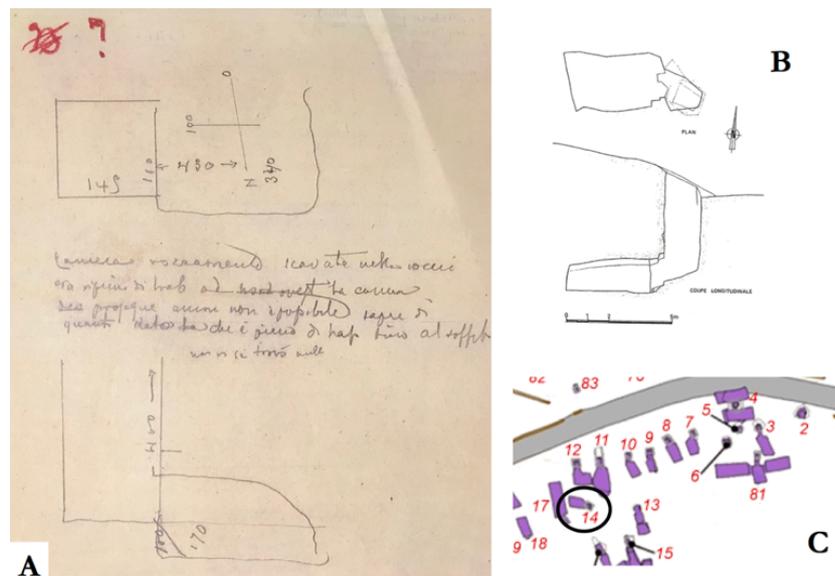


Fig. III.55. Tomb QV 14. A: Plan of tomb yod (ϥ), Ballerini's sketch (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche, marzo 3 - fascicolo 13, p. 22*), © Archivio di Stato, Torino. B: plan of QV 14 (after Loyrette 2011, 182; © Yves Laurent). C: position of QV 14 (map from http://www.narmer.pl/kv/qv_en.htm, last accessed on 24.10.2019; © Dariusz Sitek).

Concerning tomb lamed (ϥ), Ballerini observes that it is roughly cut (however, as remarked above, this kind of comment may depend on the bad state of preservation of the walls due to the friable rock into which the tomb was cut). The sketch of the plan provided by Ballerini makes the identification of tomb lamed as current QV 16 rather evident: this tomb is composed of a staircase entryway, a burial chamber, and a corridor 4 m. long (fig. III.56). Likely, Ballerini did not explore the corridor till the end, otherwise he would have remarked that there was another tomb, QV 15, with which QV 16 is in

³⁸⁴ Demas and Agnew 2016, 50.

connection. Among the findings, Ballerini lists fragments of mummies, pottery sherds, and skulls of cattles.

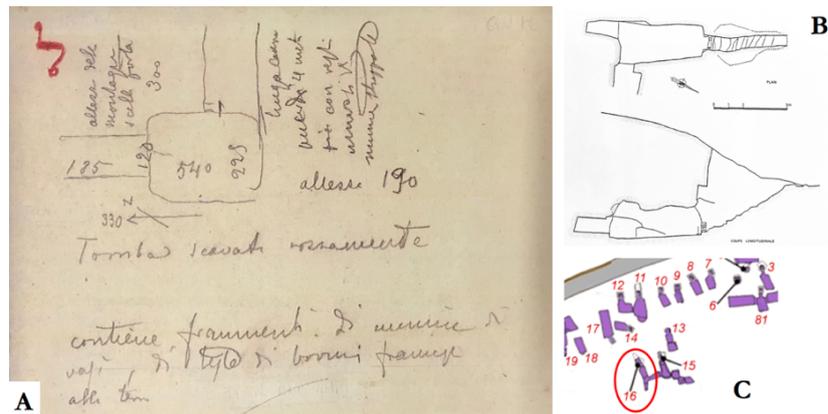


Fig. III.56. Tomb QV 16. A: Plan of tomb lamed (7), Ballerini's sketch (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche, marzo 3 - fascicolo 13, p. 21*), © Archivio di Stato, Torino. B: plan of QV 16 (after Loyrette 2011, 189; © Yves Laurent). C: position of QV 16 (map from http://www.narmer.pl/kv/qv_en.htm, last accessed on 24.10.2019; © Dariusz Sitek).

Ballerini did not provide the plan of tomb resh (7) with the indication of the north; however, the position of the tomb on his map, along with the remark that the tomb walls are blackened, makes the identification of this tomb as QV 18 very probable (fig. III.57). Indeed, no other tomb in that sector has blackened walls. In addition, the length of the burial chamber and the height of the shaft provided by Ballerini fit with the dimensions of QV 18 only. Regarding the findings, there were stones, fragments of mummies, and unspecified zoological materials within the *trab*.

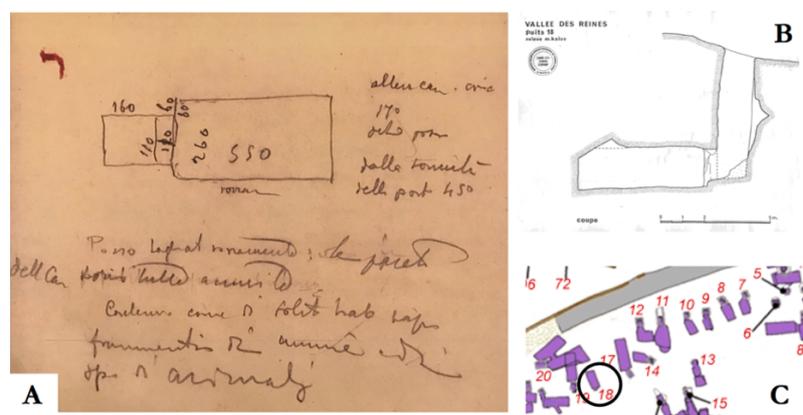


Fig. III.57. Tomb QV 18. A: Plan of tomb resh (7), Ballerini's sketch (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche, marzo 3 - fascicolo 13, p. 35*), © Archivio di Stato, Torino. B: plan of QV 18 (after Demas and Agnew 2016, 57; © CNRS/M. Kalos). C: position of QV 18 (map from http://www.narmer.pl/kv/qv_en.htm, last accessed on 24.10.2019; © Dariusz Sitek).

On his map, between QV 14 (♣) and QV 18 (♠), Ballerini indicates two tombs: **n** and **nun**. The plan of tomb mem (**m**) was not prepared. Conversely, the plan tomb nun (**nun**) is available, although the identification of this tombs is very challenging (fig. III.58/A). Indeed, this single-chambered tomb, which is characterized by an east-west axis, should be located south of tomb QV 18, however, there is not currently any known tomb in that sector (fig. III.58/B). Concerning this tomb, Ballerini says that its walls were roughly cut and the ceiling was higher at the centre of the burial chamber; among the findings, he lists pieces of mummies and fragments of linen shrouds. Tomb QV 17 is located nearby, however, it has north-south axis: therefore, it can be excluded that nun is QV 17. Thus, the only suggestion by this author is that tomb nun (and maybe tomb mem as well) was not re-investigated by the Franco-Egyptian team and it may still lie under debris.

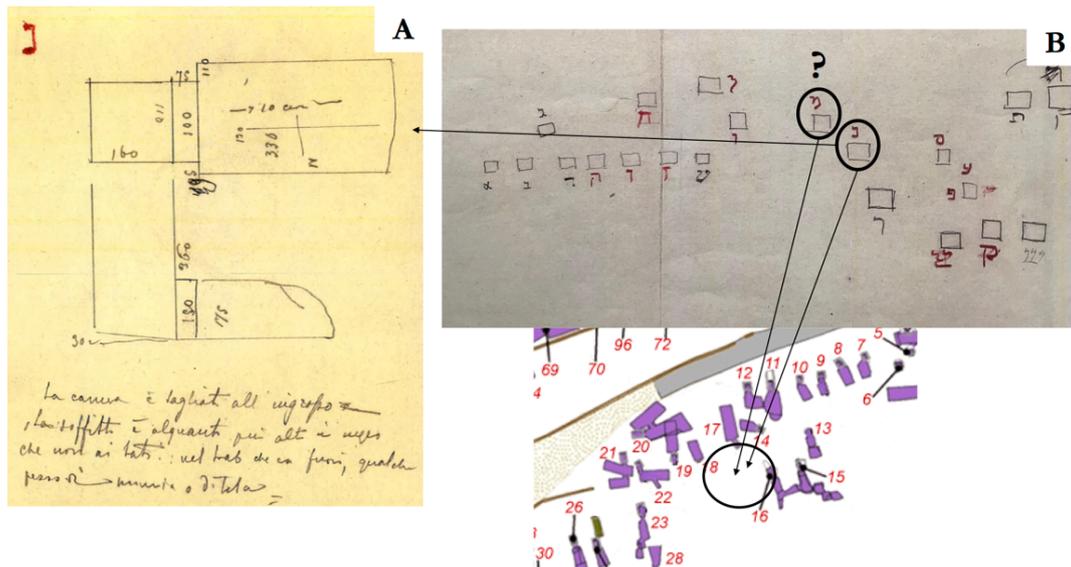


Fig. III.58. Unidentified tomb. A: Plan of *nun* (n), Ballerini's sketch (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche, marzo 3 - fascicolo 13, p. 37*), © Archivio di Stato, Torino. B: Old map indicating the tombs located on the southern slope of the main wadi (*Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche, marzo 3 - fascicolo 13, p. 41*), © Archivio di Stato, Torino. C: Map of the Queens' Valley with indication of the spot where tomb *nun* might be located (map after http://www.narmer.pl/kv/qv_en.htm, last accessed on 24.10.2019; © Dariusz Sitek).

Tomb *shin* (♣) shows a peculiar architectural layout consisting of a shaft entrance and two burial chambers positioned in a row, both of them provided with bent axis. Thanks to this peculiarity, it is possible to identify it as current QV 21 (fig. III.59). Within the first chamber, the Italian team found two mummies, lying upon a layer of *trab* (60 cm high), and fragments of wooden coffins. Inside the second chamber, which Ballerini describes as roughly cut, there were bones of cattle and potsherds.

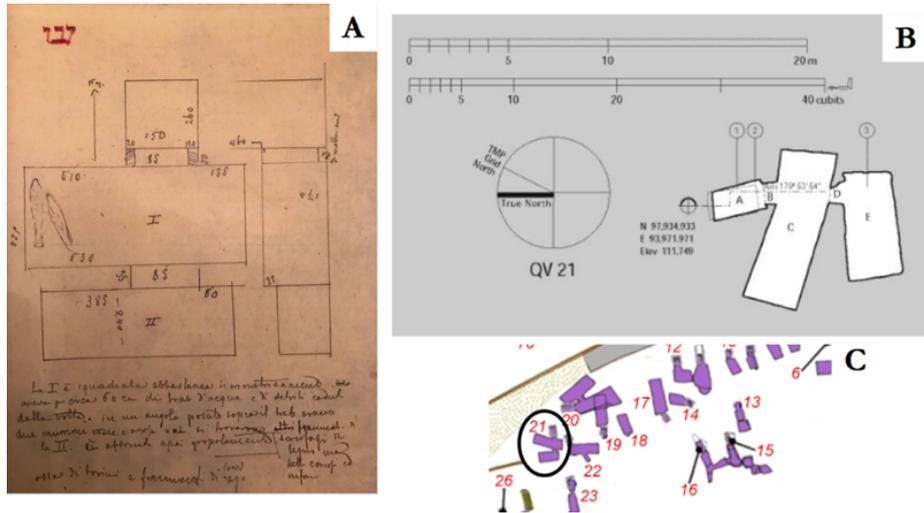


Fig. III.59. Tomb QV 21. A: plan of tomb *shin* (ϣ), Ballerini's sketch (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche, maggio 3 - fascicolo 13, p. 32*), © Archivio di Stato, Torino. B: plan of QV 21 (after Demas and Agnew 2016, 63; © TMP). C: position of QV 21 (map after http://www.narmer.pl/kv/qv_en.htm, last accessed on 24.10.2019; © Dariusz Sitek).

Tomb *tzadi* (ϣ) can be identified as current QV 22, thanks to the peculiar layout of its architectural layout: a shaft entrance leads to the main chamber, which is provided with bent axis; on the opposite side, there is a small annex (fig. III.60). The walls of this tomb were roughly cut, as it was observed by Ballerini. It was found filled with *trab*. Among the findings, Ballerini lists remains of mats made of straw, bones of cattle, the broken skeleton of chickens, and pieces of mummies wrapped in coarse shrouds.

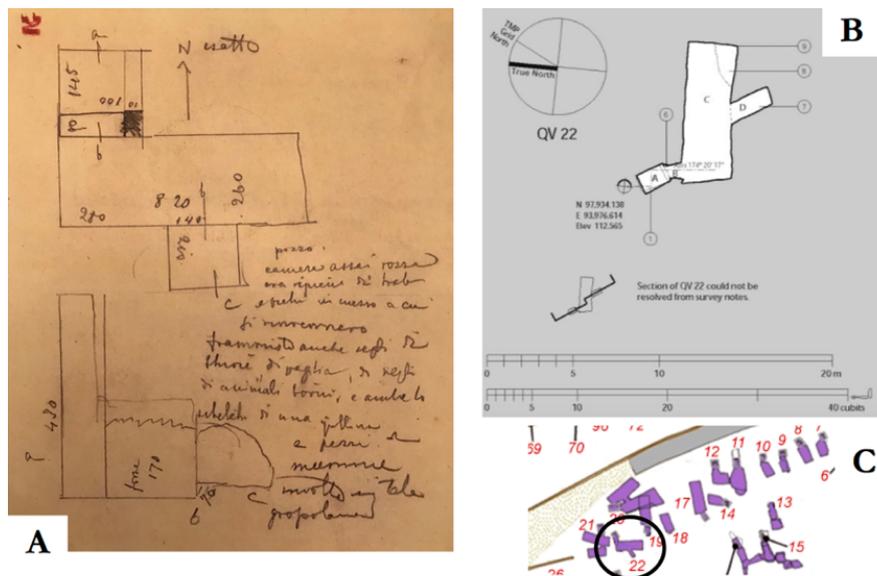


Fig. III.60. Tomb QV 22. A: Plan of tomb *tzadi* (ϣ), Ballerini's sketch (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche, maggio 3 - fascicolo 13, p. 33*); © Archivio di Stato, Torino. B: plan of QV 22 (after Demas and Agnew 2016, 65; © TMP). C: position of QV 22 (map from http://www.narmer.pl/kv/qv_en.htm, last accessed on 24.10.2019; © Dariusz Sitek).

Thanks to two remarks provided by Ballerini, it is possible to identify tomb *tau* (τ) as current QV 25 (fig. III.61). The sketch prepared by Ballerini shows the presence of another structure (570 x 180 cm.) attached to the shaft of tomb *tau*; the dimensions (570 x 180 cm) suggest that it deals with a ramp. Actually, this is the access ramp of the commenced tomb QV 24. In addition, Ballerini observes that tomb *tau* has blackened walls and this remark leaves no doubt about the identification of this tomb: indeed, a picture published by Demas and Agnew shows the blackened walls inside the tomb. Among the findings, Ballerini mentions blackened fragmented mummies and fragmented shrouds found within the *trab*.

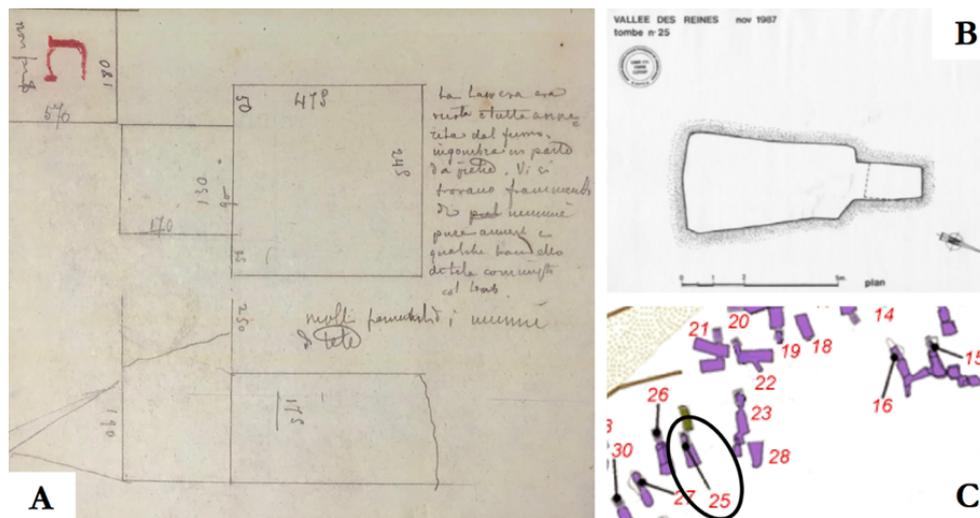


Fig. III.61. Tomb QV 25. A: Plan of tomb *tau* (τ), Ballerini's sketch (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche, maggio 3 - fascicolo 13, p. 31*), © Archivio di Stato, Torino. B: plan of QV 25 (from Demas and Agnew 2016, 69; © CNRS). C: position of QV 25 (map after http://www.narmer.pl/kv/qv_en.htm, last accessed on 24.10.2019; © Dariusz Sitek).

Close to tomb *tau*/QV 25, Ballerini positions tomb final-*nun* (η), the identification of which is not clear (fig. III.62/A). Actually, the dimensions of the burial chamber provided by Ballerini (700 x 280 cm) fit with those of tomb QV 26 (fig. III.62/B). However, Ballerini remarks that the entrance of tomb final-*nun* resembles a steep staircase rather than a shaft, and this is a feature that characterizes tomb QV 27 (fig. III.62/C), as indicated by a sketch of the longitudinal section of this tomb provided by Thomas.³⁸⁵ In any case, considering the dimension of the burial chamber of QV 26, its identification as tomb final-*nun* is plausible. Inside this tomb, the Italian mission found pieces of linen shrouds, fragments of mummies (six skulls), and pottery sherds.

³⁸⁵ Thomas 1966, 200.

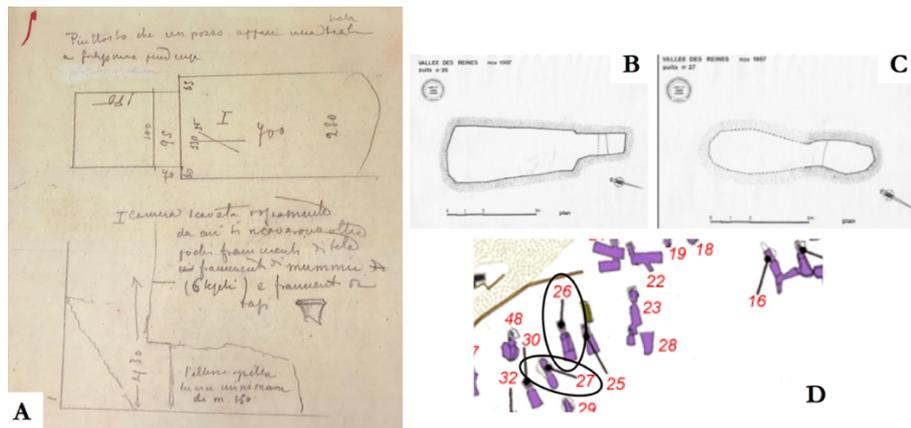


Fig. III.62. Tomb QV 26/27. A: Plan of final-nun (1), Ballerini's sketch (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche, marzo 3 - fascicolo 13, p. 29*), © Archivio di Stato, Torino. B: plan of QV 26 (after Demas and Agnew 2016, 71; © CNRS). C: plan of QV 27 (from Demas and Agnew 2016, 72; © CNRS). D: QV 26 and QV 27 indicated on a map of the Queens' Valley (after http://www.narmer.pl/kv/qv_en.htm, last accessed on 24.10.2019; © Dariusz Sitek).

Other tombs indicated on Ballerini's map cannot be identified since their architectural layout has not been provided: indeed, few pages of the digging diary have been left blank and only the letters attributed to the tombs have been written in red at the top left. Likely, these tombs were at least identified (this explains why they are indicated on the map prepared by Ballerini) but the Italian mission did not have enough time to explore them; otherwise, they may have been explored without recording plans nor findings. Considering their position on Ballerini's plan, some hypotheses of identification can be attempted: tombs *pee* (9) and *ayin* (15) may be QV 23 and QV 28 respectively, although their position with regard to QV 25 and QV 26 is not precise. It is not possible to find any solution regarding tombs *mem* (11), *nun* (1), *samek* (10), and *koff* (17). Concerning the unidentified tombs, it is possible that they still lie under debris (fig. III.63).

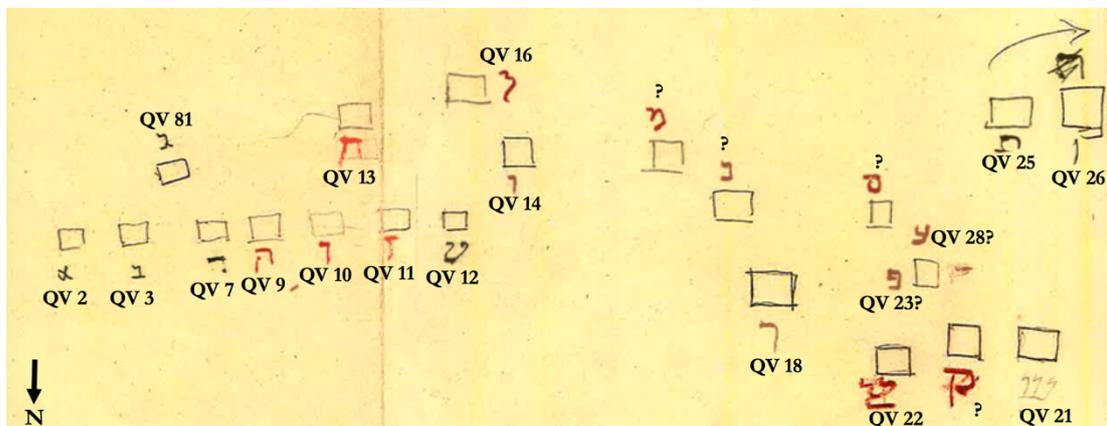


Fig. III.63. Ballerini's map of the eastern sector of the southern slope of the main wadi, adapted with the indication of the identified tombs (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche, marzo 3 - fascicolo 13, p. 41*), © Archivio di Stato, Torino.

III.4-d. Summary of the Discoveries

At this point, after having retraced the discoveries by means of the analysis of the digging diaries and attempted to identify the tombs investigated by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana*, it is possible to provide a brief summary concerning the 1904 archaeological mission. By integrating the sources at disposal, both the published and unpublished ones, a reconstruction of the events that occurred in the framework of the second mission was elaborated, although, as highlighted in the course of the preceding sections, it is not possible to determine the exact chronological sequence of all the discoveries. The events that occurred between the 13th and 29th of February 1904 are listed day by day. However, there are a few dates attributable with certainty to the discovery of the tombs. Furthermore, it is worth remarking that when dates are provided, it is not always clear whether they refer to the exact discovery of tombs, their investigation, or their recording.

Schiaparelli's report starts with the description of the exploration of the Valley of Prince Ahmose, thus suggesting that the Italian team began the investigation of the Queens' Valley from that lateral valley. The director of the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* informs that the Italian team found the shaft tomb of the Prince Ahmose (QV 88) and another tomb belonging to an anonymous 18th-dynasty prince (likely current tomb QV 98). Ballerini provided a sketch of the plan of one of the two tombs found in the "*valletta laterale*" (= the Valley of Prince Ahmose). By comparing this plan (fig. III.64/A) with that of QV 88 (fig. III.64/B), it is clear that the plan does not refer to the latter: indeed, the orientation of the axis is different. Therefore, the other plausible candidate is QV 98, of which there is no plan available thus far. Among the findings from such tomb, Ballerini mentions fragments of mummies and of linen shrouds. However, these objects are different from those mentioned in the *Giornale d'Entrata* and assigned to the tomb of an anonymous prince, which can be therefore identified as QV 98. It results that the identification of this tomb as that of the anonymous prince remains dubious.

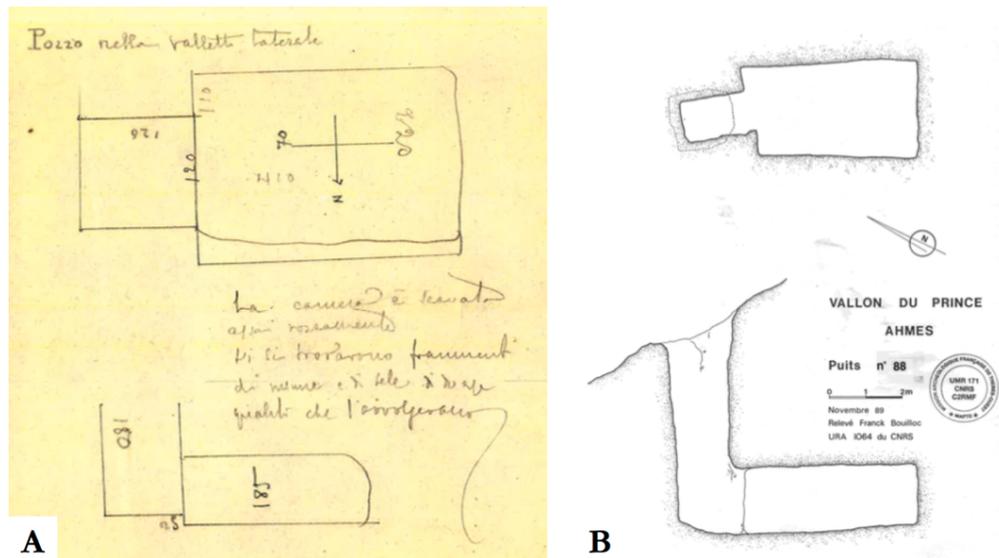


Fig. III.64. A: Ballerini's sketch of an unspecified tomb (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche, marzo 3 - fascicolo 13, p. 30*), © Archivio di Stato, Torino. B: plan of tomb QV 88 (after Demas and Agnew 2016, 134; © CNRS/F. Bouilloc).

Within the unpublished digging diaries, the earliest date of the 1904 mission, the 13th of February, is assigned to tomb QV 20, which is located on the southern slope of the main *wadi*. Therefore, by sticking to both Schiaparelli's account and Ballerini's notes, it has to be assumed that the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* started investigating the lateral Valley of Prince Ahmose and the southern slope of the main *wadi* concomitantly. After that date, the sequence of the discoveries is not clear. The dates of the discovery (or investigation) of other few tombs are known: QV 40 (19th of February), QV 39 (20th of February), QV 46 (20th/21st of February), QV 42 (27th of February), QV 58 and QV 60 (28th of February), and QV 10 (21st of March). Therefore, the exact chronology of the discoveries cannot be retraced. However, it is possible to present an overview of the discoveries, by referring to the different sectors investigated by the Italian mission: 1) the Valley of Prince Ahmose, 2) main *wadi*/northern slope, 3) main *wadi*/southern slope, and 4) main *wadi*/western sector.

Within the Valley of Prince Ahmose (fig. III.65/A), the Italian team discovered tombs QV 88 (Prince Ahmose) and QV 98² (an anonymous prince and the overseer of the treasury Qenatum). This southern valley may have constituted the starting point of the second archaeological mission.

Within the main *wadi*/northern slope (fig. III.65/B), the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* brought to light the remains of dry-stone huts that were interpreted by Schiaparelli as

shelters used by the guardians of the necropolis³⁸⁶ (actually, they were workmen's huts) and the ancient dam. On the 28th of February, tombs QV 58 and QV 60 were rediscovered (they had already been investigated by the 19th-century explorers). The tomb of Queen Nebettauy (QV 60) is also mentioned by Schiaparelli within his publication, along with tombs QV 68 (Merytamon) and QV 71 (Bentanta);³⁸⁷ the position of the latter ones was certainly known (and it is likely that they also were investigated). In addition, several shaft tombs were detected and investigated. The shafts were completely filled up with debris and stones, so that there was the hope that the tombs could be intact. However, after having cleared the shaft entrances, all the burial chambers were found violated. Within the report written for the king, Schiaparelli states that the tombs were found empty (“...*le porte delle tombe cui davano accesso si rinvennero tutte parzialmente o completamente aperte e le tombe assolutamente e letteralmente vuote.*”).³⁸⁸ However, as the analysis of the unpublished documents has highlighted, Schiaparelli's statement does not correspond to the facts. The shaft tombs in question are QV 59, QV 61, QV 62, QV 63, QV 64, QV 65, QV 69, QV U2², QV 70, QV 76, QV 77, QV 78, and another unidentified tomb (Ballerini's tomb I). Within the same sector, north of the workmen's huts, the Italian mission made the most relevant discovery: the tomb of Queen Nefertari (QV 66).³⁸⁹ Although the tomb had been plundered in ancient times, several objects were found inside.³⁹⁰

On the opposite slope of the main *wadi*, the southern one, several tombs were discovered for the first time. In the eastern sector (fig. III.65/C), the Italian team investigated tombs QV 2, QV 3, QV 7, QV 9, QV 10, QV 11, QV 12, QV 13, QV 14, QV 16, QV 18, QV 21, QV 22, QV 23², QV 24, QV 25, QV 26, QV 28², and QV 81, plus a number of tombs that cannot be identified with certainty (*mem*, *samek*, *koff*, *nun*, and *poꜣꜣꜣo* 5). In addition, in the western area of the same southern slope (fig. III.65/D), Ballerini and Schiaparelli discovered some shaft tombs, such as QV 39 (20th February), QV 46 (20th/21st February), QV 30 (unspecified date), and QV 47 (unspecified date) and some decorated tombs of the Ramesside Period, among which QV 40 (19th of February) and QV 42 (27th February). Furthermore, it is very likely that even tomb QV 31 was

³⁸⁶ Schiaparelli 1904, *Relazione*.

³⁸⁷ Schiaparelli 1924, 105.

³⁸⁸ Schiaparelli 1904, *Relazione*.

³⁸⁹ Schiaparelli 1924, 51-104.

³⁹⁰ These are: Gilded fragments of the coffins of the queen (ME S. 05158), pieces of the lid of the stone sarcophagus (ME S. 05153), thirty-four wooden shabtis (from ME S. 05164 to S. 05197), a *dd*-pillar-shaped amulet (ME S. 05163), sandals (ME S. 05160), pottery sherds (*e.g.* ME S. 05210, S. 05211), a jar (*e.g.* ME S. 05206), a knob (pertaining to a piece of furniture) with the cartouche of King Ay (ME S. 05162), two lids of shabti boxes (ME S. 05198 and S. 05199), the mummified knees of the queen (ME S. 05154), and other objects.

investigated. Indeed, within the *Esplorazione della Valle delle Regine*, after the chapter regarding the tomb of Queen Nefertari, Schiaparelli lists other 19th-dynasty tombs that the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* explored: 1) the tomb of Queen Satra (QV 38; investigated in 1903), 2) the tomb of an anonymous queen (QV 40; investigated in 1904), 3) the tomb of an anonymous princess (QV 36; investigated in 1903), 4) the tomb of another anonymous princess (?), and 5) the tombs of Merytamon, Nebettauy, and Bentanta.³⁹¹ Concerning the tomb of the anonymous princess mentioned at point n. 4, Schiaparelli provides a brief description, stressing that the tomb owner was a princess (*s3.t nsw*) who also bore the title of royal consort (*hm.t nsw*). He observed that a depiction of the queen was, at the time, still visible. Moreover, he described the tomb as composed of three chambers, two of which, at least, had been decorated, although the wall decoration had collapsed and only a few fragments were preserved. This tomb n. 4 is located on the southern slope of the main *wadi* since Schiaparelli, immediately after, at point n. 5, mentions the tombs of Queens Nebettauy and Bentanta and specifies that these are located “on the opposite side of the valley” (*i.e.* the northern slope). Considering all these clues, a few tombs can be likely candidates: QV 34, QV 33, and QV 31. Tomb QV 33 can be excluded since it belongs to Queen Tanedjemy and Schiaparelli and Ballerini should have noted the queen’s cartouche. Moreover, even QV 34 can be excluded: this tomb, indeed, is composed of two chambers and one small niche, which is in connection with QV 35; in addition, the tomb owner of QV 34 was a *hm.t nsw*, but no information about the *s3.t nsw*-honorific title is preserved. Therefore, by elimination, the only candidate remains QV 31, which is composed of three chambers and was prepared for an anonymous individual who bore both the *s3.t nsw*-honorific title and the title of *hm.t nsw wr.t*.³⁹²

Finally, in the western sector of the main *wadi* (fig. III.65/E) the Italian team re-investigated the tomb of Queen Tyti (QV 52), which had already been investigated during the preceding campaign, as well as that of Queen Isis (QV 51), the commenced tomb QV 86 (the one close to the dam), and the tomb of Prince Amonherkhepeshef (QV 55).

³⁹¹ Schiaparelli 1924, 105.

³⁹² Elleithy and Leblanc 2016, 13.

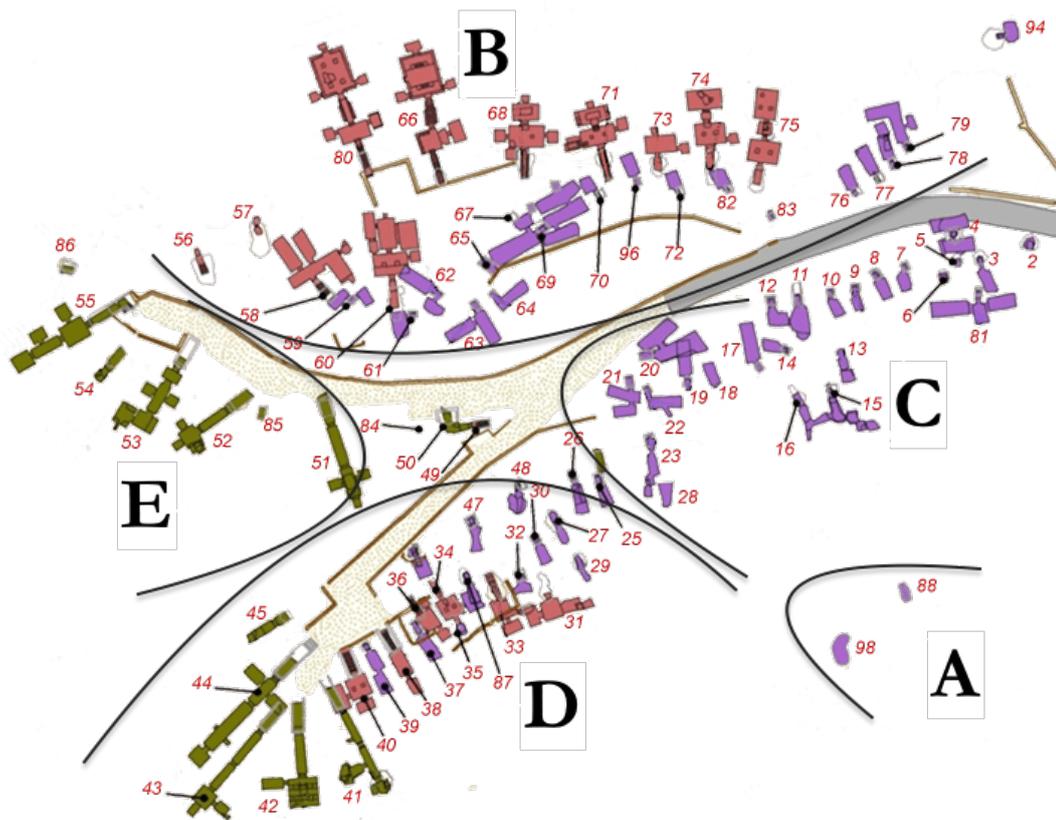


Fig. III.65. The sectors of the Queens' Valley necropolis explored in 1904 (map from http://www.narmer.pl/kv/qv_en.htm, last accessed on 26.08.2018; © Dariusz Sitek; letters added).

At the early stage of the exploration of QV 55, while the workers were clearing the sector of the entrance, Ballerini and Schiaparelli thought that the tomb was intact because the upper part of the blocking wall seemed to be the original one, being still coated with plaster (fig. III.66). However, so much disappointment occurred when the Italian mission realized that the plaster had been broken at the middle height of the wall, which had been later reconstructed: the tomb had been clearly plundered and only a few objects were still inside. On the ground, there were a number of shabtis eroded by water; within the granite sarcophagus, there were some pieces of a wooden coffin, some “*faïence*” that was originally part of a collar, and fragments of the mummy of (likely) the prince. There were also two small pieces of a gilded wooden piece of furniture. Considering that the tomb had been re-sealed and actually a few objects were still inside, Schiaparelli was of the opinion that it could have been emptied and re-sealed by the personnel of the necropolis administration.³⁹³

³⁹³ Schiaparelli 1904, *Relazione*.



Fig. III.66. Photograph of the entrance of tomb QV 55 (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche, magazzino 6 - fascicolo 13, unnumbered photo*). © Archivio di Stato, Torino.

Towards the end of March 1904, the second archaeological mission in Bab el-Harim was finished.³⁹⁴ Through the reassessment of the discoveries made by the MAI, this author aimed to highlight the real extent of the results achieved in the field, the relevance of which was not evident so far. As the table below clearly shows, this was certainly the mission during which Ballerini (and Schiaparelli) discovered the highest number of tombs (about 55), most of which had not been investigated before (table III.d).

Second archaeological mission in Bab el-Harim - 1904			
13 th February		Hypothesized beginning of the investigation of the necropolis	
Tomb investigated by the MAI		Ballerini's numbering	Date of discovery/investigation
Already investigated	Investigated for the first time		
	QV 2	<i>aleph</i> (Ⲁ)	-
	QV 3	<i>beth</i> (Ⲃ)	-
	QV 7	<i>daleth</i> (Ⲅ)	-
	QV 9	<i>he</i> (Ⲉ)	-
	QV 10	<i>waw</i> (Ⲭ)	21 st of March 1904
	QV 11	<i>zayn</i> (Ⲛ)	-
	QV 12	<i>teth</i> (Ⲙ)	-
	QV 13	<i>heith</i> (Ⲟ)	-

³⁹⁴ Moiso 2008, 212.

	QV 14	<i>yod</i> (י)	-
	QV 16	<i>lamed</i> (ל)	-
	QV 18	<i>resh</i> (ר)	-
	QV 20	?	13 th of February
	QV 21	<i>shin</i> (ש)	-
	QV 22	<i>tzadi</i> (צ)	-
	QV 23	<i>pee</i> (פ)	-
	QV 24	?	-
	QV 25	<i>tau</i> (ת)	-
	QV 26	Final- <i>num</i> (י)	-
QV 28		<i>ayin</i> (ע)	-
	QV 30	?	-
QV 31		?	-
	QV 39	n. 33	19 th of February (traces of the presence of the tomb are detected); 20 th of February (discovery of the shaft entrance)
QV 40		n. 60	19 th of February
QV 42		?	27 th of February
	QV 46	D/n. 53	20 th of February (discovery of the tomb); 21 st of February (investigation)
	QV 47	?	-
QV 51		?	-
	QV 55	?	-
QV 58?		n. 62	28 th of February
	QV 59	E	-
QV 60?		n. 63	28 th of February
	QV 61	α	-
	QV 62	B	-
	QV 63	C	-
	QV 64	D	-
QV 65		II	-
	QV 66	?	-
QV 68		?	-
	QV 69	F	-
	QV 70	H	-
QV 71		?	-
	QV 76	L	-
	QV 77	M	-
	QV 78	N	-
	QV 81	<i>ghimel</i> (ג)	-
	QV 86	?	-
	QV 88	?	(discovered at the beginning of the campaign)
	QV 98	?	17 th of February
	QV U2?	G	-
	?	I	-
	?	#	-
	?	<i>mem</i> (מ)	-
	?	<i>samek</i> (ס)	-
	?	<i>koff</i> (ק)	-
	?	<i>nun</i> (נ)	-
	?	Posso 5	-
End of March		End of the archaeological campaign	

Table III.d. The tombs discovered by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* in 1904. © E. Casini.

III.5. 1905: the Third Archaeological Mission

Towards the end of 1904, Ballerini's state of health got worse.³⁹⁵ This caused him to miss the first part of the 1905 archaeological campaign in Egypt. The *Missione Archeologica Italiana* worked within the Queens' Valley and Deir el-Medina between the 18th of January and the 8th of March 1905.³⁹⁶ Considering that Ballerini arrived in Egypt after the 12th of March,³⁹⁷ it is evident that he did not attend the third archaeological mission in the Queens' Valley. The last campaign lasted less than two weeks, as Schiaparelli himself explained: "*L'esplorazione della Valle delle Regine si poté esaurire in meno di due settimane; ne ci furono, come si prevedeva, importanti rinvenimenti, per quanto l'esplorazione del convento copto, i cui ruderi si vedevano sorgere su uno sperone della montagna che si inoltra verso la valle, consentì il rinvenimento di molti frammenti di papiri e ostraca copti e tracce di antiche sepolture che la costruzione copta aveva coperto, ma che dovevano esserci.*"³⁹⁸ With regard to these hypothesized tombs covered by the Coptic sanctuary, it is not clear what kind of traces Schiaparelli meant, since the only tomb that is within the area of the monastery of Deir er-Rumi is QV 95, which Italian mission possibly explored. According to Schiaparelli, the exploration of the Queens' Valley had been completed. However, there was actually still much work to do: indeed, looking at Ballerini's notes concerning the 1904 mission, it is likely that some tombs had been only identified but not investigated or they were quickly investigated. The Italian team might have undertaken an in-depth investigation of those tombs. However, Schiaparelli was of the idea that the archaeological potential of the Queens' Valley tombs had run out. This was the last archaeological campaign of the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* in the Queens' Valley.

III.6. Remarks on the Numbering System of the Queens' Valley Tombs

During the examination of the unpublished digging diaries and tomb plans prepared by Ballerini in the 1903 and 1904, this author observed that:

- 1) there was no consistent enumeration referring to the tombs;
- 2) Ballerini's numbering system was clearly different from the current QV-enumeration.

³⁹⁵ Moiso 2012/a, 46.

³⁹⁶ Moiso 2008, 218.

³⁹⁷ Consonni and Quirino 2012, 144-146.

³⁹⁸ Schiaparelli's words quoted by Moiso 2008, 218.

Therefore, relevant questions concerned the moment when the current numbering system was elaborated and who established it. Leblanc asserts that “*en 1903-1904, sur l’initiative de Francesco Ballerini, toutes les sépultures de la «Vallée des Reines», repérées, accessibles, ou même non encore dégagées, avaient fait l’objet d’un recensement général. Peint en rouge à l’entrée de chacune de ces tombes, un numéro définitif remplaçait désormais la notation arbitraire donnée, jusque-là, par les voyageurs et savants du XIX^e siècle*”.³⁹⁹ However, after the examination of the documentation elaborated by Ballerini, no confirmation to Leblanc’s hypothesis was found.

Before Leblanc, Thomas made the same remark, attributing to Ballerini the current numbering system. Indeed, with regard to the Queens’ Valley tombs, she observed that “*the official numbers are those of Ballerini’s survey*”.⁴⁰⁰ However, this sounds weird since Ballerini never referred to the Queens’ Valley tombs by using the current QV numbering system and, as far as this author is concerned, there is no indication, among the unpublished archival documentation, about the fact that Ballerini worked on an arrangement of a coherent enumeration of the tombs. In 1904, Ballerini used a very heterogenous enumeration, which has nothing to do with the current one: therefore, it can be excluded that the current enumeration was elaborated in 1903 or 1904. In addition, it is worth noting that, within his publication, Schiaparelli never referred to the Queens’ Valley tombs by their current enumeration. Therefore, the lack of any reference to the current numbering system in Schiaparelli’s *Esplorazione della Valle delle Regine* made this author assume that the QV-enumeration was elaborated after 1924. However, this is not possible, as it will be shown shortly.

The numbering system adopted by Ballerini during the excavation works, and afterwards, is chaotic and inconsistent. With regard to the decorated tombs, Ballerini mentioned them by the owner’s name, which was usually preserved on wall paintings, although in some cases the space destined to the name was left blank (*e.g.* in tombs QV 31 and QV 40) or the decoration had not been carried out (QV 41). If the name of the tomb owner was not preserved, Ballerini mentioned the epithets or titles of the deceased. Concerning the 18th-dynasty undecorated tombs, only in a few cases the deceased’s names were preserved. If the names were not discernible, Ballerini referred to the tombs by recourse to Latin and Arabic numbers and letters of the Latin and Hebrew alphabets. Sometimes, Ballerini referred to the same tombs using different systems, thus making the

³⁹⁹ Quotation from Leblanc 1989/b, 42.

⁴⁰⁰ Thomas 1966, 209.

situation more complicated. For instance, concerning the tombs discovered in 1903 within the Valley of Prince Ahmose, Ballerini used two different numbering systems. He prepared drawings of the tomb plans and longitudinal sections and labelled the tombs, on two different documents, as n. 5, 6, 9, and 10 (fig. III.67/A) and n. 1, 2, 3, and 4 (fig. III.67/B). It is likely that document “A” was prepared in the field whereas “B” is a plate prepared at a later stage for the publication [as it can be assumed looking at the more accurate drawing, the presence of the metric scale (1:100), and the caption “Tav. 2”].

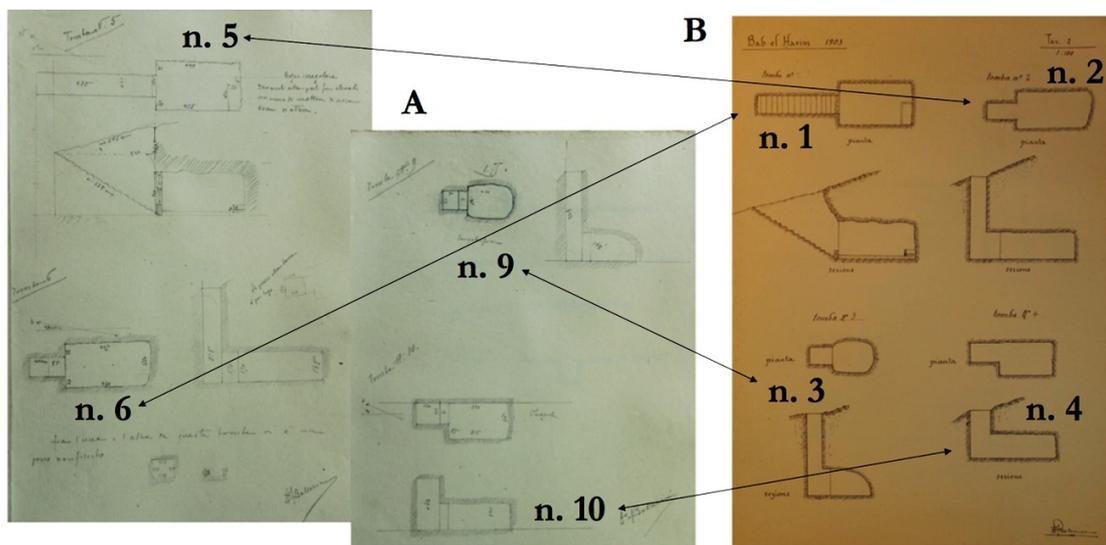


Fig. III.67. Ballerini's drawings (letters and numbers added). A: tombs n. 5, 6, 9, and 10 (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche, mazzo 6 - fascicolo 17, pp. 7 and 10*); B: tombs n. 1, 2, 3, and 4 (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche, mazzo 6 - fascicolo 11, Tav. 2*). © Archivio di Stato, Torino.

The same phenomenon can be observed in another case. The two shaft tombs discovered in the Valley of the Rope, QV 92 and QV 93, are labelled in different ways on two different documents: as “pozzo a”/“pozzo b” and “pozzo I”/“pozzo II”. The reason behind this discrepancy may depend on the fact that one enumeration was elaborated when Ballerini recorded the discovery of the tombs in the field, whilst the other one may have been assigned at a later stage, when he prepared new drawings of the tomb plans. Another example of the discrepancy of the numbering system is offered by the case of tomb QV 37 (fig. III.68/A), which was discovered in 1903. Within the index of the unpublished *Missione Archeologica in Egitto - Anno 1903*, QV 37 tomb is listed as n. 6 (fig. III.68/B and C). However, the same tomb is labelled as n. 7 or 8 on a drawing made by Ballerini himself (fig. III.68/D).

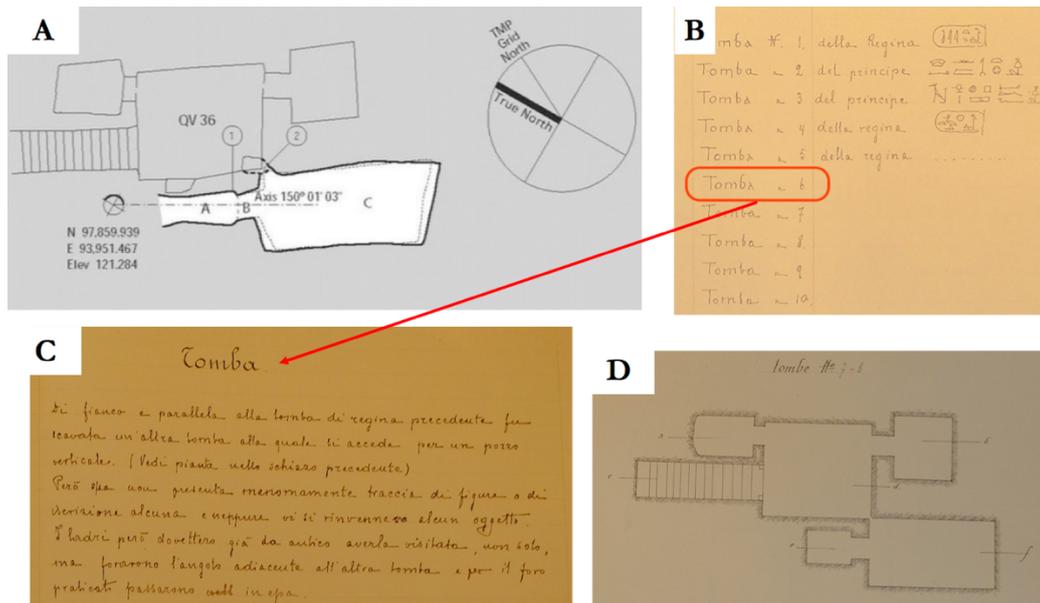


Fig. III. 68. Tomb QV 37. A: Tomb plan of QV 37 (after Demas and Agnew 2016, 81; © TMP). B: List of the tombs in Ballerini's unpublished *Missione Archeologica in Egitto. Anno 1903* (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche, Maggio 6 - fascicolo 10*), © Archivio di Stato, Torino. C: Description of tomb QV 37 within Ballerini's unpublished *Missione Archeologica in Egitto. Anno 1903* (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche, Maggio 6 - fascicolo 10*), © Archivio di Stato, Torino. D: Tomb plan of QV 36 and QV 37 (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche, maggio 6 - fascicolo 11, Tav. 6*), © Archivio di Stato, Torino.

In 1903, the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* found in the main *wadi* an inscribed “piece of stone”, the text of which reads as following: $h^c-m-w3s.t m3^c-hrw jt wnn-nfr m3^c-hrw$, *Khaemuaset, true of voice, (his) father Uennefer, true of voice* (fig. III.69/A).⁴⁰¹ Within the *Missione Archeologica in Egitto - Anno 1903*, Ballerini talks about the finding of this object and places its find-spot between tomb QV 44 and “*l'altra non finite*” (the only commenced tomb in that sector is QV 45). The same object is recorded among the documents included in the dossier *maggio 6 - fascicolo 15*; in that case, the object is said to have been found within the *trab*, in front of tomb “n. 17” (fig. III.69/B). The question is: which tomb is “n. 17”? In 1903, the *MAI* investigated 14 tombs (plus the four hermit shelters in the Valley of Prince Ahmose), therefore, “n. 17” sounds curious (unless it is assumed that Ballerini included the hermit shelters as well within the enumeration of the tombs). While checking whether Ballerini followed one of the previous numbering systems, this author remarked that “n. 17” refers to both Wilkinson’s QV 41 and Brugsch’s QV 58. Tomb QV 58 was investigated in 1904 (thus, it can be excluded), whilst tomb QV 41 seems to have not been investigated by the Italian team.⁴⁰² Therefore, it is not clear which tomb “n. 17” is, and it is also not evident why the find-spot of this inscribed piece of stone changed from “*innanzi*

⁴⁰¹ Ballerini 1903, 31, footnote 1.

⁴⁰² No trace of QV 41 was found within the unpublished documents.

alla tomba 17, nel trab” to “tra la tomba del principe Khaemuaset e l'altra non finita” (QV 45) within Ballerini’s *Missione Archeologica in Egitto*.

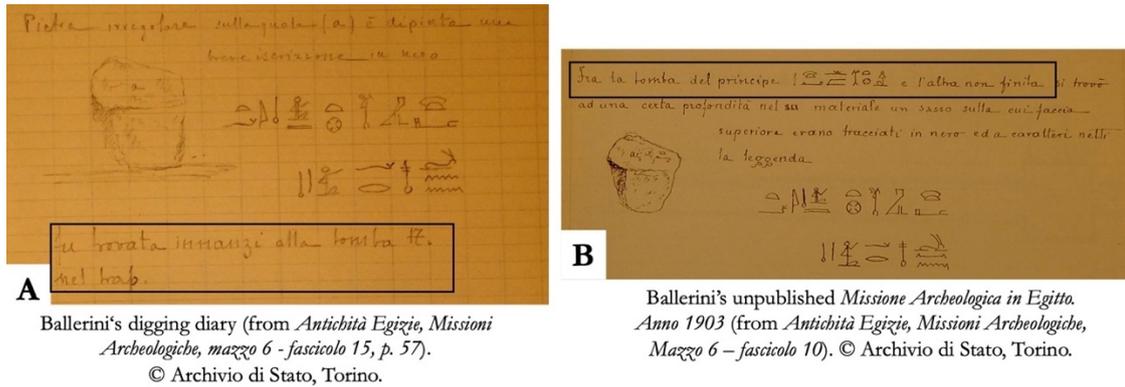


Fig. III.69. Description of the inscribed piece of stone.

It seems evident that Ballerini did not make recourse to any of the numbering systems used by the previous explorers of the 19th century. The early explorers had numbered the Queens' Valley tombs according to their own enumeration system: for instance, “n. 6” correspond with: Wilkinson’s QV 65; Champollion’s QV 40; Lepsius’ QV 60; Brugsch’s QV 40. As seen above, tomb QV 37 was not explored before 1903 and if Ballerini wanted to lock onto one of the preceding numbering systems, he should have started counting from an enumeration much higher than n. 7 and 8: just to give an example, Wilkinson counted 24 tombs, therefore Ballerini should have started counting from n. 25 onwards.

Concerning the tombs discovered and investigated in 1904, Ballerini used different numbering systems: 1) the Arabic numeral system (e.g. n. 33 = QV 39), 2) the Roman numerals (e.g. tomb II = QV 65⁴⁰³), 3) letters of the Latin alphabet (mainly for the tombs located on the northern slope of the main *wadi*), and 4) letters of the Hebrew alphabet (for the tombs located on the eastern sector of the southern slope of the main *wadi*). Next to this floating enumeration system, there are also “intrusive” labels: tomb QV 61 is indicated as ‘α’ and another unidentified tomb is labelled as ‘#’. Considering these remarks, Ballerini seemingly did not work on a new, consistent numbering system, otherwise there should have been any kind of trace of it within the unpublished documentation. Therefore, the author wondered who could have assigned the QV-numbers to the Queens' Valley tombs. The 6th edition of the *Handbuch für Reisende* edited

⁴⁰³ In this regard, it is worth remarking that number “II” had already been used in 1903 in order to label tomb QV 92.

by the Karl Baedeker partly solves this issue.⁴⁰⁴ The 1906 edition of this guide about Egypt and Sudan mentions some tombs that are clearly provided with the current QV-enumeration:

- n. 36 (anonymous princess);
- n. 39 (Queen Satra; the current numbering is QV 38!);
- n. 40 (anonymous princess);
- n. 43 (Prince Sethherkhepeshef);
- n. 44 (Prince Khaemuaset);
- n. 51 (Queen Isis);
- n. 52 (Queen Tyti);
- n. 55 (Prince Amonherkhepeshef);
- unnumbered tomb of Queen Nefertari;
- unnumbered tomb of Queen Nebettauy;
- unnumbered tomb of Queen Bentanta.⁴⁰⁵

Baedeker's guide unambiguously indicates that part of the current QV-enumeration was already at work in 1906, thus suggesting that it had been arranged before the publication of this guide itself. Considering that Ballerini used a completely different numbering system in 1904, and that he did not work in the Queens' Valley in 1905, it is likely that the tombs were provided with the new enumeration in the same year, the 1905, or in 1906 (before Baedeker's publication). It is worth noting that, within Baedeker's guide, only the tombs located on the southern slope and western sector of the main *wadi* were provided with a (QV-)number; the tombs of Nefertari, Nebettauy, and Bentanta are mentioned by names, thus suggesting that the enumeration had been started but not completed. In addition, it is worth remarking another aspect: Baedeker's guide shows that 55 tombs of the southern slope and western sector of the main *wadi* had received a number. If this numbering system reflects, more or less, the current one, one should assume that the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* investigated (or at least identified) all the numbered tombs up to "n. 55", which are all located on the southern slope and western sector of the main *wadi*. This hypothesis sounds curious because there is no mention, within the unpublished digging diaries and notebooks, of the following tombs: QV 1, QV 4, QV 5, QV 6, QV 8, QV 15, QV 17, QV 19, QV 27, QV 29, QV 32, QV 33, QV 34,

⁴⁰⁴ The author deeply thanks Prof. Dr. S. Bickel for suggesting to check this guide.

⁴⁰⁵ Baedeker 1906, 301-303.

QV 35, QV 41, QV 48, QV 49, QV 50, QV 53, and QV 54. Therefore, should one assume that these tombs had been (at least) identified in 1904, but not recorded within the digging diaries? Otherwise, were these tombs discovered in 1905, when Ballerini did not take part to the archaeological mission? This seems to be improbable, considering that the 1905 archaeological campaign in the Queens' Valley was short and mainly focused on the investigation of the sanctuary of Deir er-Rumi. In addition, why QV 81 has not been included in Baedeker's numbering system, although it was discovered in 1904? Should the hypothesis by the author of this PhD research that Ballerini's tomb ghimel (ג) corresponds with current tomb QV 81 be rejected? Finding an exhaustive solution is very difficult. There is the possibility that the position of all the tombs currently numbered from 1 to 55 was known, although not all of them were investigated: in this regard, it has not been forgotten that a number of tombs mentioned within Ballerini's notes still remain unidentified. Therefore, the Italian mission may have discovered all those tombs but Ballerini likely did not have enough time to record them; he might have planned to record them in the following season, but this did not happen due to his absence.

The next question is: who did elaborate the current QV-numbering system? Porter and Moss published the first volume of the *Topographical Bibliography* in 1927.⁴⁰⁶ Within the introductory notes, the two authors suggest that the Department of Antiquities dealt with the current QV-enumeration: “*The tombs in the Valley of the Queens, in the same order as (I); at the end are placed four unnumbered tombs*”.⁴⁰⁷ This “I” refers to the Kings' Valley necropolis, within which the official numbers were assigned to the tombs by the Department of Antiquities. In 1927, 75 tombs had a QV number, even some tombs located on the northern slope of the main *wadi*. The PM volume included QV 36 (anonymous queen), QV 37 (Princess Tanedjemy),⁴⁰⁸ QV 38 (Queen Satra), QV 40 (anonymous princess), QV 42 (Prince Paraheruenemef), QV 43 (Prince Sethherkhepeshef), QV 44 (Prince Khaemuaset), QV 51 (Queen Isis), QV 52 (Queen Tyti), QV 53 (anonymous queen),⁴⁰⁹ QV 55 (Prince Amonherkhepeshef), QV 60 (Queen Nebettauy), QV 61 (attributed to an anonymous queen),⁴¹⁰ QV 66 (Queen Nefertari), QV 68 (Queen Merytamon), QV 71 (Queen Bentanta), QV 73 (it was still anonymous), QV 74 (Queen Duatentipet), QV 75

⁴⁰⁶ Porter and Moss 1927, 39-49.

⁴⁰⁷ Porter and Moss 1927, xi.

⁴⁰⁸ She was actually a *hm.t nsw*.

⁴⁰⁹ The tomb owner has been identified as Prince Ramses-Meryamon.

⁴¹⁰ This is a wrong attribution, since QV 61 is a shaft tomb. Porter and Moss provide part of a cartouche beginning with the hieroglyph *mw.t*, thus suggesting that they referred to current QV 80, the tomb of Mut-Tuy.

(it was still anonymous), and the four shaft tombs of Princess Ahmes, Prince Ahmose, the vizier Imhotep, and the stable master Nebiry (which are mentioned by name only).⁴¹¹ This is curious since the tombs of Princess Ahmes, Nebiry, and Imhotep are located on the southern slope of the main *wadi*, therefore they should have been provided with a number. Furthermore, it is worth remarking that some numbers do not correspond with the current ones: QV 37 is said to be the tomb of Tanedjemy (this is current QV 33) and tomb QV 61 does not belong to Queen Mut-Tuy, but is an anonymous 18th-dynasty shaft tomb (Mut-Tuy's tomb is QV 80). In 1964, Porter and Moss published the 2nd revised and augmented edition of the *Topographical Bibliography - The Theban Necropolis: Royal tombs and smaller cemeteries* and provided additional information concerning the Queens' Valley tombs, including a map of the necropolis (fig. III.70). At that time, 79 tombs were provided with numbers. It is worth noting that the position of QV 81 was known (south of QV 5 and QV 3), although the tomb had not been enumerated: this means that the Italian mission may have actually discovered it.

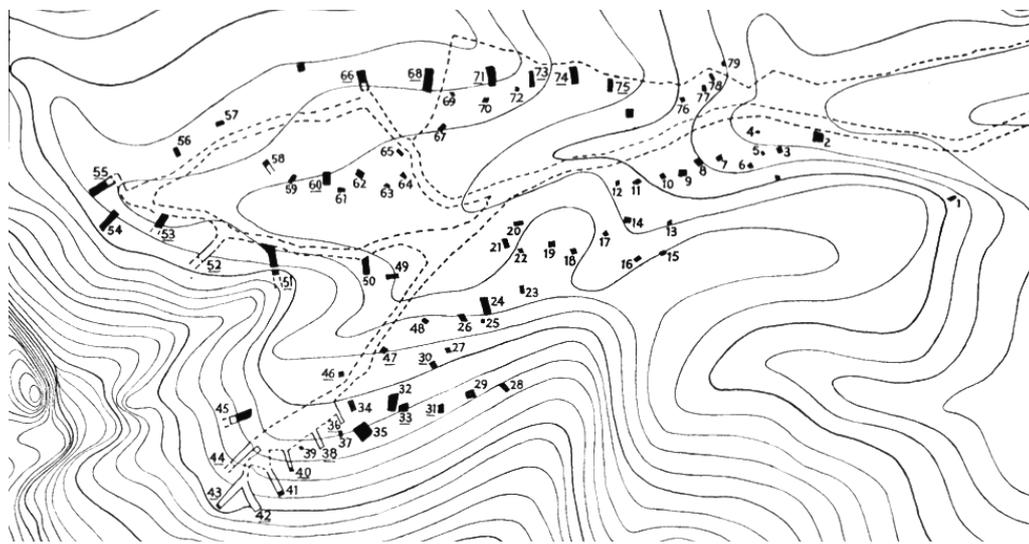


Fig. III.70. Map of the Queens' Valley (main *wadi*) after Porter and Moss 1964 (PM I²), pl. XV.

Thomas surveyed the Queens' Valley and explored the tombs that were accessible at that time. She indicated all the tombs (even those she did not manage to investigate) on a map (fig. III.71),⁴¹² which is not much different from that of Porter and Moss. Even Thomas' map shows that 79 tombs had a QV number, whereas eight tombs were

⁴¹¹ Porter and Moss 1927, 38-49.

⁴¹² Thomas 1966, 160.

indicated using the letters of the Latin alphabet (from A to H). It is worth remarking that: 1) tomb QV 72 is located west of QV 73 (as in Porter and Moss' map), whereas it is currently located east of the same tomb; 2) QV 87, QV U1, QV U2 are not indicated, likely because they had not been identified yet; 3) two tombs, F and G or H, are indicated on Thomas' map but currently not in any other known map of the Queens' Valley.

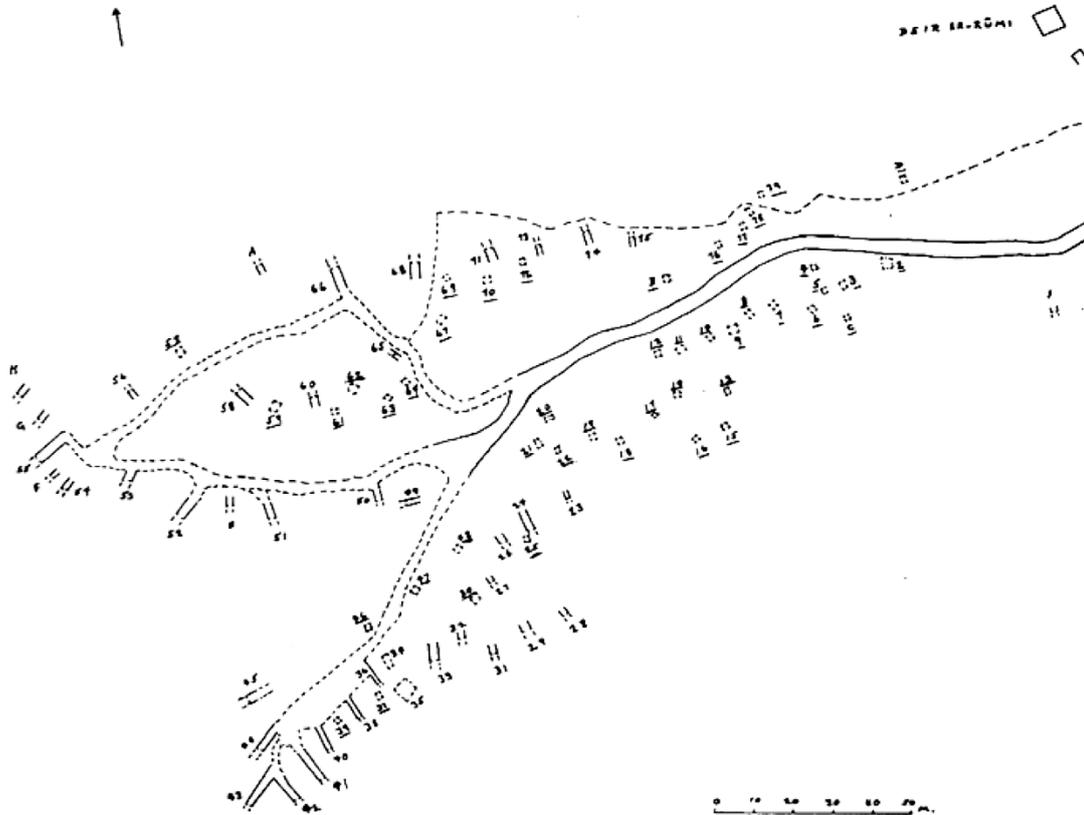


Fig. III.71. Map of the Queens' Valley (main *wadi*) after E. Thomas (Thomas 1966, 160).

To conclude, the picture of the situation may be the following. Ballerini referred to the Queens' Valley tombs using a varying and inconsistent numbering system, which he never revisited after the end of the Italian archaeological campaigns. Baedeker's guide suggests that, in 1906, the current QV-enumeration was already at work, although not in its final version (only the tombs of the southern slope and western sector of the main *wadi* were provided with a number). Porter and Moss suggest that the Department of Antiquities had elaborated the new numbering system. Baedeker's guide implies that at least 55 tombs had received a number (QV 55 is the tomb provided with highest enumeration), this suggesting that all the tombs from QV 1 (the Coptic shelter) until QV 55 had been identified by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana*. Therefore, it results that the Italian team actually did investigate tombs that are not recorded within the unpublished

documentation: QV 1, QV 4, QV 5, QV 6, QV 8, QV 15, QV 17, QV 19, QV 27, QV 29, QV 32, QV 33, QV 34, QV 35, QV 41, QV 48, QV 49, QV 50, QV 53, and QV 54. It is not clear why these tombs were not recorded. Did Ballerini have not enough time to record all the discoveries in 1904? Did he expect to finish recording them in 1905? This may be a likely option. A few tombs were commenced (QV 5, QV 6, QV 28, QV 54), one was the Coptic shelter (QV 1): therefore, it may be possible that there was not the interest in them. However, a number of them would have been worthy of a mention due to their architecture and dimension, like QV 41 (anonymous) and QV 53 (Prince Ramses-Meryamon).

III.7. The Exploration of the Queens' Valley after Ballerini and Schiaparelli

The echo of the Italian discoveries attracted the interest of several Egyptologists and explorers, and Baedeker's guide certainly contributed to promote and enhance visits to the Queens' Valley. During the winter season 1905/1906 and 1906/1907, and in 1908, the Scottish minister and collector Colin Campbell (1848-1931) explored and carried out photographic campaigns within tombs QV 52 and QV 66. He published his work in 1909,⁴¹³ thus actually being the first one to published a description and pictures of the tomb of Queen Nefertari, even before Schiaparelli. One year after, Campbell published another work focused on the tombs of Princes Khaemuset and Amonherkhepeshef.⁴¹⁴ The Queens' Valley not only attracted several explorers and scholars, who were interested in its decorated tombs, but it also was chosen as the stage for a play about a ghostly drama focused on the figure of King Akhenaten. This play should have been performed in the Kings' Valley; however, logistic issues led to organise the performance in the Queens' Valley. The play, which had been scheduled for the 26th of January 1909, was never performed and several years after, people talked about a "cursue": indeed, a few days before the play, a storm of rain and hail interrupted the rehearsal in the Queens' Valley and Corinne Smith (who should have acted as Queen Tiyi) got a severe ophthalmia. At the same time, the other protagonist of the play, Hortense Schleiter (wife of Arthur Weigall), who had to play the role of Akhenaten, was close to death due to an ectopic pregnancy.⁴¹⁵

⁴¹³ Campbell 1909.

⁴¹⁴ Campbell 1910.

⁴¹⁵ Bickerstaffe 2008.

Weigall published in 1910 *A guide to the Antiquities of Egypt*, which was prepared for the use of visitors to Upper Egypt. A section is dedicated to the “*Valley of the Tombs of the Queens?*”, with descriptions of the tombs of Queen Nefertari, Prince Amonherkhepeshef, Queen Tyti, Queen Isis, Prince Sethherkhepeshef, Prince Paraheruenemef, Prince Khaemaset, and a few words on the tomb of Queen Satra (correctly numbered as QV 38) and QV 36, which hosted the burial of an anonymous princess.⁴¹⁶ This confirms that the current numbering system was already at work in that period.

During the following years, new investigations took place in the Queens’ Valley. In 1912, the Metropolitan Museum of Art discovered a hermitage in the Valley of Prince Ahmose, although its position is currently lost.⁴¹⁷ In 1923, Bruyère investigated the Valley of the Dolmen and the area of the *menbir*.⁴¹⁸ In 1924, almost twenty years after the last archaeological campaign of the *Missione Archeologica Italiana*, Schiaparelli managed to publish (a selection of) the results of the excavations in the Queens’ Valley. In the same year, this necropolis was the subject of another investigation, which was led by Giulio Farina, who was the new director of the Regio Museo di Antichità/Sezione Egizia, of Turin.⁴¹⁹ Concomitantly, Rosalind Moss surveyed the Theban necropolis, including the Queens’ Valley, and the results of her investigation were published within *The Topographical Bibliography I – The Theban Necropolis* (1927). In 1926 and 1929 Bruyère investigated the sanctuary to Ptah and Meretseger,⁴²⁰ afterwards he identified Ramesside observation posts between the Valley of the Three Pits and the Valley of the Dolmen, and investigated the areas of the *dolmen* and of the *menbir*.⁴²¹ Some years after, in 1936, Giulio Farina (1889-1947) organized another mission within the Queens’ Valley but the results were disappointing: “*Dans la Vallé des Reines, des recherches ont été faites dans un creux à l’est de la vallée principale et sur les deux côtés du chemin qui mène à Deir el Medina, près de la chapelle de la déesse Mertseger. Aucune trace de nécropole n’a été découverte et un examen attentive exclut la possibilité qu’il en existe ailleurs dans la concession désormais épuisée*”.⁴²² This was the last Italian mission in the Queens’ Valley.

⁴¹⁶ Weigall 1910, 280-290.

⁴¹⁷ Leblanc 1989/b, 11 (endnote n. 39).

⁴¹⁸ Bruyère 1952, 74-75.

⁴¹⁹ See “Les Fouilles: Biban el Harim. Fouilles de la Mission archéologique italienne” in *Chronique d’Égypte* 10 (1935): 271-272.

⁴²⁰ Bruyère 1930.

⁴²¹ Bruyère 1952, 72-73; Thomas 1966, 181; Demas and Agnew 2012, 85.

⁴²² Quotation from “Les Fouilles. Thèbes: Fouilles de la mission égyptologique italienne”, in *Chronique d’Égypte* 24 (1937): 163-192.

In the meanwhile, scholars directed their attention to the decorated tombs, in particular the tomb of Queen Nefertari and those of Ramses III's sons, the wall decoration of which was abundantly recorded and photographed. Between 1959 and 1960, Thomas surveyed the Queens' Valley and in 1966 she published *The Royal Necropoleis of Thebes*, which included an updated version of Porter and Moss repertoire on the tombs of the Queens' Valley.⁴²³

In 1968, the Service des Antiquités examined the fragments of the wooden coffins that the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* had found in 1903 within QV 43 and QV 44 and had stored in tombs QV 51 and QV 60.⁴²⁴ In the same year, the CEDAE and CNRS started surveying the Theban necropolis and documented the graffiti, including those located in the Queens' Valley. In 1970, a Franco-Egyptian team directed by Desroches-Noblecourt undertook a new archaeological investigation, with the support of the CNRS and CEDAE.⁴²⁵ A new map of the necropolis was created and several tombs were cleared, among which those of Mut-Tuy (QV 80), Bentanta (QV 71), and Meritamon (QV 68). The tomb of Tanedjemy was cleared in 1978. Between 1981 and 1983 two other tombs were cleared, QV 60 (Nebettau) and QV 58 (anonymous).⁴²⁶ The latter one was transformed into a storeroom.⁴²⁷

Afterwards, a new systematic exploration of the Queens' Valley was undertaken in 1984, thanks to the funding by M^{me} Germaine Fond de Maria,⁴²⁸ under the direction of Leblanc. Ten years of intense research, employing more than 300 workmen, allowed the Franco-Egyptian team to map the whole necropolis and to investigate thoroughly both the tombs and other structures (the Coptic sanctuary, the Grotto-cascade, the hermit shelters, and the workmen's huts).⁴²⁹

In 1981, the Theban Mapping Project surveyed and elaborated plans and longitudinal sections of 63 tombs. In 1986 the Getty Conservation Institute began an intense program of conservation work aimed at restoring the walls of Nefertari's tomb.⁴³⁰

Tomb QV 97 is the last tomb (re-)discovered in the Queens' Valley, in 1995.⁴³¹ This tomb had been discovered, in 1903, by Schiaparelli and Ballerini in the Valley of the Rope,

⁴²³ Thomas 1966, i.

⁴²⁴ Leblanc 1989/b, 76 (endnote n. 169).

⁴²⁵ Lecuyot 2000, 44-45.

⁴²⁶ Leblanc 1989/b, 49.

⁴²⁷ Leblanc 2012, 26.

⁴²⁸ Schumann Antelme 1999, 209-210 (footnote 1); Leblanc 2012, p. 26 (footnote 9).

⁴²⁹ Demas and Agnew 2012, 86. More detailed information about the Franco-Egyptian mission are in Leblanc 1989/b, 45, 49, and 51-52.

⁴³⁰ Demas and Agnew 2012, 87.

⁴³¹ Côte *et al.* 1996.

however, its location was lost because the tomb entrance had been filled up with debris and reburied. In the following years, several surveys in the lateral valleys have been carried out, as well as restoration work inside the tombs and wall painting stabilization. In 2007, new fieldwork was carried out in the Queens' Valley, aimed at elaborating a new topographical map (H. Rüter), cleaning the site, assessing the geological composition of the necropolis (R. Wüst), and restoring the tombs. In 2008 and 2010, Leblanc and the personnel of the SCA restored the archaeological materials preserved in several tombs and moved them to tomb QV 69. All these interventions were performed in view of a restoration of the tombs, the improvement of the site management, and development of tourism.

Chapter IV. Back to the Queens' Valley: Re-contextualizing the Findings Housed at the Museo Egizio of Turin

The Museo Egizio of Turin hosts several objects from the Queens' Valley. Between 1903 and 1905, Ballerini and Schiaparelli carried out the first scientific archaeological mission, which aimed at recording both findings and tombs. Hundreds of objects were found both inside and outside the tombs, the majority of which were in a fragmentary state of preservation. Thanks to the *partage d'objets*, Schiaparelli managed to bring to the Museo Egizio a large part of them.

IV.1. From the Queens' Valley to the Museo Egizio: Museum Objects and the *Giornale d'Entrata*

Only selected objects found a place within the publications of the two Italian Egyptologists. Ballerini did not devote much space to the findings within his *Notizia Sommaria* (1903), which was *de facto* a short report of the first archaeological mission. Conversely, Schiaparelli dealt with several objects (*e.g.* the materials found in the shaft tombs of Princess Ahmes, Prince Ahmose, Imhotep, and Nebiry and those found in the decorated tombs of Queen Nefertari, Prince Khaemuset, and Prince Sethherkhepeshef). In addition, the last section of his *Esplorazione della Valle delle Regine* was devoted to materials only: *ostraca* and coffins. Notwithstanding, these two monographs, albeit invaluable, offer an incomplete and partial view of the discoveries carried out by the *MAI*. Several objects were mentioned within the digging diaries and the publications, but they seemed to have been “lost”, since there was no trace of them among the materials housed at the Museo Egizio. The author wondered whether these objects were housed (and forgotten) at the same museum, or they were left in Egypt, or had been donated to other museums, as is the case of a number of coffins from QV 43 and QV 44 given to American museums.⁴³²

The *Missione Archeologica Italiana* brought 934 objects from the Queens' Valley to Turin, objects that bear inventory numbers from S. 05050 to S. 05984. All these objects are listed

⁴³² Schiaparelli 1924, 183-184; Leblanc 1989/b, 76 (endnote n. 169). Some materials may be housed in the storerooms of the Cairo Egyptian Museum, although there is no idea about what those objects are (personal communication by Mahmoud Ibrahim).

within the manuscript inventory/*Giornale d'Entrata* and provided with a short description, indication of the material they are made of, their cost (both in Italian and Egyptian currency), and some additional remarks (consisting of find-spot - when it is known - and the number of the photo negatives). These inventory numbers were assigned to the objects once they arrived at the Museo Egizio.⁴³³ The sequential numbering attributed to the objects might reflect the same sequence by means of which the objects were temporarily “catalogued” in the field,⁴³⁴ but it certainly does not mirror the chronological sequence of discoveries: indeed, the objects from tombs QV 44 and QV 43, which were discovered in 1903, are listed after those found in tombs QV 47, QV 46, QV 30, which were discovered one year after, in 1904.

Within the *Giornale d'Entrata*, a number of objects show a well-defined find-spot, like the ones from the tombs of Nebiry (QV 30), Imhotep (QV 46), Princess Ahmes (QV 47), Prince Ahmose (QV 88), Queen Nefertari (QV 66), Princes Sethherkhepeshef (QV 43) and Khaemuaset (QV 44). However, concerning the findings from tombs QV 43 and QV 44 (*i.e.* the objects catalogued from S. 05215 to S. 05433), the *Giornale d'Entrata* does not specify their exact provenance, whether it is the tomb of Prince Sethherkhepeshef or that of Prince Khaemuaset.⁴³⁵ Furthermore, some objects are provided with a very generic find-spot (“*la Valletta*”, “*la valle deserta*”) or they are completely lacking information about it and have therefore been labelled as “*materiali dispersi*” (= dispersed materials). As it will be shortly highlighted by this author, a number of these “dispersed” objects were identified in the framework of this PhD research as coming from specific tombs. This indicates that the original find-spot of such materials may have got lost (already in Egypt?) and for this reason such objects were labelled as “dispersed”, a designation possessed by almost 400 objects (from ME S. 05440 to ME S. 05821).

The finding of a large quantity of objects outside the tombs depends on the long history of reuse and profanation that affected the Queens’ Valley over time. During the tomb robberies, objects were brought outside the tombs, selected, and the not-interesting ones were left on the ground.⁴³⁶ Furthermore, when tombs were reused, a number of materials were recycled and others were thrown outside the sepulchres in order to make

⁴³³ The author deeply thanks B. Moiso for discussions about the inventory number system of the museum objects.

⁴³⁴ There is trace of a numbering system attributed to the objects in the field, within the digging diaries; however, this enumeration was inconsistent and not all the objects were provided with a number.

⁴³⁵ In this regard, see Guzzon 2017.

⁴³⁶ For instance, the matching materials found in tombs KV 40 and KV 64 confirms this kind of practice (Bickel 2016/b, 22).

room for the new burials. During the Coptic Period, several tombs were reused by the living: therefore, they were emptied and objects and mummies were thrown outside in order to purify the spaces and convert them into chapels (like in the case of tomb QV 60) and dwellings for the monks. This picture of the situation explains why a large number of objects were found outside the tombs, sparsed over the ground. Even a vague indication of the find-spot of the dispersed materials (like northern or southern slope of the main *wadi*) has not been provided: this likely depended on the fact that the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* worked concomitantly in different sectors and it was impossible for Ballerini, who was actually the only responsible for the works in the Queens' Valley, to monitor the excavation areas and record every single finding. Outside the tombs, piles of debris and rubble were moved in the search of objects, without recording any kind of information. The situation concerning the excavation works inside the tombs was not much different. Except for a very few cases, the exact find-spot of the objects was not recorded and stratigraphic principles were not applied during the excavation. As remarked by Ballerini, several tombs were filled with debris and the lower layers were cemented due to the waters that entered the tombs during the rare flash floods (the so called *trab*), thus making the investigation very challenging if not impossible.

After Schiaparelli's *Esplorazione della Valle delle Regine*, selected classes of objects have been studied and published, such as inscribed linen shrouds,⁴³⁷ *ostraca*,⁴³⁸ coffins from QV 43 and QV 44,⁴³⁹ canopic jars,⁴⁴⁰ and others.⁴⁴¹ However, there are still objects that have remained not only unpublished but also unconsidered and are worthy of an in-depth analysis. In addition, some of the already published materials can be reassessed in the light of the analysis of the archival documents, in order to draw new information about them (in particular, about their original find-spot). Due to the large number of objects and time constraints, the draft of a catalogue of the Queens' Valley objects was determined to be unfeasible within this thesis. However, the reassessment of the Queens' Valley was strictly connected with the examination of the archaeological materials found within the necropolis. Therefore, the primary concern was to work on the formulation of a specific research question. The author wondered if it was possible to unlock the informative potential of the out-of-context objects and re-contextualize them within their original

⁴³⁷ Ronsecco 1975 and 1996.

⁴³⁸ López 1978, 22-36 (and relating plates).

⁴³⁹ Guzzon 2008, 2017, and 2018.

⁴⁴⁰ Dolzani 1982.

⁴⁴¹ Gabler and Soliman 2018.

find-spot, with the support of both the publications and the unpublished archival documents. Obviously, tracing back the exact find-spot of all the objects, especially those found outside the tombs, is impossible, however, at least an indication of a sector of provenance would be already a major achievement. This purpose gave input to the conception of the present chapter, which is about the re-contextualization of the findings from the Queens' Valley. Although it is not possible to retrace and identify the original find-spot of all the “dispersed materials”, the results of this research have risen above the expectations.

The author's attention was directed towards the de-contextualized objects dating to the New Kingdom, which is the period to which this research is mainly devoted. In order to make a selection of findings and give the priority to materials with an actual informative potential, information preserved within the digging diaries was combined with the data published by Ballerini and Schiaparelli. The picture of the situation became clearer when the author got a copy of the *Giornale d'Entrata* from the Museo Egizio. The following table shows how the objects can be distributed according to their find-spot:

Inventory number of the Queens' Valley objects	Information about the find-spot
From ME S. 05050 to ME S. 05065	QV 47 (Princess Ahmes)
From ME S. 05066 to ME S. 05108	QV 46 (Imhotep)
From ME S. 05109 to ME S. 05124	QV 30 (Nebiry)
From ME S. 05125 to ME S. 05127	QV 88 (Prince Ahmose)
From ME S. 05128 to ME S. 05133	Tomb of the anonymous <i>s3 nsw</i>
From ME S. 05134 to ME S. 05141 (linen shrouds)	From ' <i>la valletta</i> '
ME S. 05142 (wooden box with foetus)	From ' <i>la valletta</i> '
From ME S. 05143 to ME S. 05146	Materials from ' <i>la valle deserta</i> '
From ME S. 05147 to ME S. 05152	Coffin and relating objects
From ME S. 05153 to ME S. 05214	QV 66 (Queen Nefertari)
From ME S. 05215 to ME S. 05433	QV 44 (Khaemuset) and QV 43 (Sethherkhepeshef)
From ME S. 05434 to ME S. 05439	Not specified
From ME S. 05440 to ME S. 05821	Dispersed materials
From ME S. 05822 to ME S. 05874	Deir er-Rumi
From ME S. 05875 to ME S. 05955	<i>Ostraca</i> from Deir er-Rumi and other sectors of the Queens' Valley
From ME S. 05956 to ME S. 05984	?

Table IV.a. Distribution of the findings after the *Giornale d'Entrata*. © E. Casini.

The groups of objects considered as relevant in the framework of the object re-contextualization analysis are:

- objects from the tomb of the anonymous prince (from ME S. 05128 to ME S. 05133);
- objects from *la valletta* (from ME S. 05134 to ME S. 05142);
- objects found in the *valle deserta* (from ME S. 05143 to ME S. 05146);

- a roughly-made wooden coffin containing a mummy and some relating grave goods (from ME S. 05147 to ME S. 05152);
- selected dispersed materials.

IV.2. Re-contextualizing the Findings: from the Museo Egizio to the Queens' Valley

The combined analysis of objects of the Museo Egizio, digging diaries, *Giornale d'Entrata*, and publications has produced interesting results, which will be shown in the course of the present section. Among the first findings that caught this author's attention, there are the objects labelled from S. 05128 to S. 05133, which were found within the tomb of an anonymous prince ("s₃t n sa ignoto", as he is labelled within the *Giornale d'Entrata*). It deals with a fragmented alabaster canopic jar (S. 05128, fig. IV.1/A), two inscribed potsherds (ME S. 05129 and S. 05130,⁴⁴² fig. IV.1/B and C), a clay impression of a seal (ME S. 05131), a fragment of net (ME S. 05132), and a mummy (ME S. 05133). The fragmented canopic jar preserves the title of the deceased, s₃ nsw, but not his name. Actually, next to the s₃-hieroglyph (Gardiner's sign-list G/39), there is a damaged part that might suggest the original presence of the hieroglyph of a bread shape (Gardiner's sign-list X/1): if this was the case, the canopic jar would belong to a princess (s₃.t nsw) and not a prince. However, it is very difficult to distinguish between a hypothesized lost sign and a damaged part. Ballerini and Schiaparelli handled the piece in question and they speak about an anonymous prince, thus suggesting that the inscription was readable without any confusion. It should be kept in mind that the objects have experienced a certain amount of wear in the course of time, as it is clear in the case of the fragmented canopic jar of Queen Satefmira (which will be shortly presented); therefore, the "damage" may have occurred at a later stage. The two fragments of pottery jars, both of which preserve traces of a black substance attached to the interior surface, bear a hieratic inscription that may be the same, as suggested by the beginning of the titulary. The inscription on potsherd ME S. 05129 may be complete, as evident by the fact that the beginning is clear and there is no other line under the preserved inscription; this inscription reads: *jmy-r3 htm.t kn-tm, Overseer of the Treasury, Qenatum*. The holder of this important appointment, Qenatum, is

⁴⁴² López 1978, 22, pls. 12 and 12/a.

unknown thus far and his name has no comparison in the New Kingdom nor in other periods.⁴⁴³

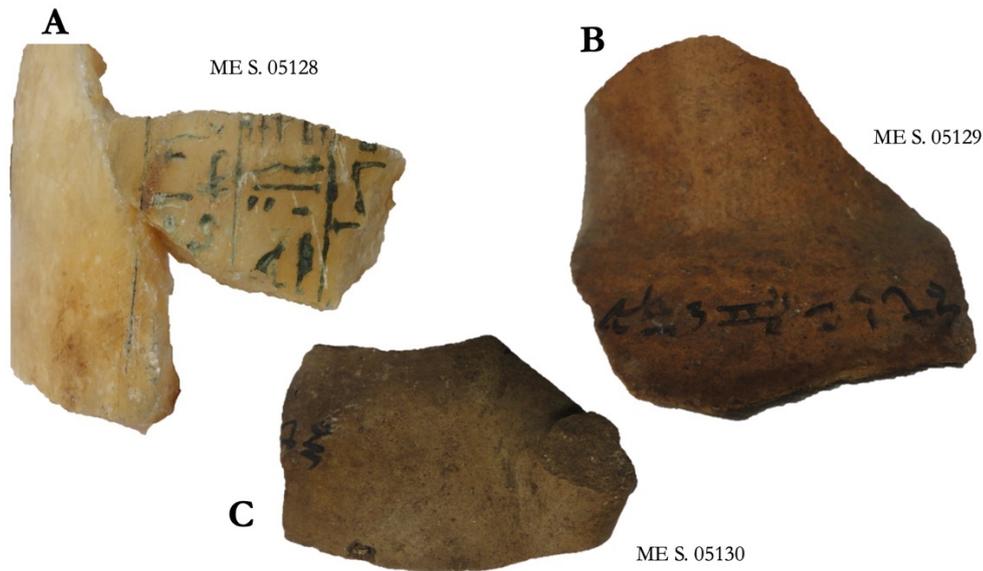


Fig. IV.1. Objects found within the tomb of the anonymous prince in the Valley of Prince Ahmose (photos by E. Casini); © Museo Egizio, Torino.

The most interesting aspect about this inscribed potsherd concerns its potential as an informative source. It is tempting to assume that the name indicated on this jar label refers to one of the deceased buried within the tomb of the anonymous prince, rather than referring to an individual who was charged with providing everything necessary for the prince's burial. This scenario - a prince buried along with an overseer of the treasury - is not at all senseless. Indeed, it is interesting to remark that, during the 18th Dynasty, some individuals in charge of the upbringing of the king's sons and daughters were appointed as *jmy-r3 htm.t*⁴⁴⁴ / "overseer of the treasury" (e.g. Ahmose-Pennekhet,⁴⁴⁵ Senneferi,⁴⁴⁶ Min,⁴⁴⁷ Sobekhotep,⁴⁴⁸ and Meryra⁴⁴⁹). As evident from the case of Imhotep, the title of "foster father"/"father of nursing" (*jt mn'*) was not inscribed on any of his grave goods but it is attested on a limestone block, which has been found outside the necropolis. It

⁴⁴³ This author checked Ranke's *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen* and the Deir el-Medina online database.

⁴⁴⁴ The hieroglyph S/19 (Gardiner's sign-list) is transliterated by Roehrig as *sd3.t*, however, the common and current transliteration is *htm.t* (see Al-Ayedi 2006, 110-111). The title *jmy-r3 htm.t* may also be translated as "overseer of the sealed things", in order to distinguish it from that of *jmy-r3 pr-hd* (in this regard, see W. Grajetzki, "Setting a State Anew: The Central Administration from the End of the Old Kingdom to the End of the Middle Kingdom", in J. C. M. Garcia, *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, 215-258. Leiden, Boston 2013: Brill).

⁴⁴⁵ Tutor of Hatshepsut's daughter, Neferura: Roehrig 1990, 48-51, 149.

⁴⁴⁶ Tutor of Thutmose III's son, Siatum: Roehrig 1990, 95-104, 149.

⁴⁴⁷ Tutor of Amenhotep II: Roehrig 1990, 193-198, 149.

⁴⁴⁸ Tutor of Amenhotep III: Roehrig 1990, 287, 350.

⁴⁴⁹ Tutor of Amenhotep III's son, Siatum: Roehrig 1990, 240-244, 350.

might be possible that this unknown individual named Qenatum was also a royal tutor, this being the reason why it was buried within the Queens' Valley; in any case, it remains challenging to say when he lived. The assessment of these objects allows to assume the presence of a double burial within the anonymous tomb, which can be identified thanks to the report written by Schiaparelli to King Vittorio Emanuele III in 1904. Following Schiaparelli's description of the events that occurred at the beginning of the 1904 campaign, it is known that the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* discovered the tomb of prince Ahmose (some of his grave goods were found in the framework of the previous campaign⁴⁵⁰) and another tomb belonging to an 18th-dynasty anonymous prince, along with his mummy and part of his grave goods. There are not so many tombs within the Valley of Prince Ahmose. Four 18th-dynasty tombs were discovered during the 1903 campaign, but these are currently not identifiable (*Chapter III.3*). Therefore, excluding these four tombs, and tomb QV 88 (Prince Ahmose), the only other known tomb placed within this lateral valley is QV 98: this might be the tomb of the anonymous prince. Although Schiaparelli does not specify the type of findings from the tomb of the anonymous prince, he says that a mummy was found there: actually, the *Giornale d'Entrata* includes a mummy among the findings from the tomb of the anonymous prince (ME S. 05133). It would be helpful to refer the unpublished reports of the CNRS, in order to check if the Franco-Egyptian team found materials such as potsherds or fragments of alabaster canopic jars matching the materials retrieved by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana*.⁴⁵¹ A confirmation of such identification may be included in the *Giornale d'Entrata* itself: therein, the objects of the burial equipment of the anonymous prince are positioned between the grave goods belonging to the burial equipment of Prince Ahmose (QV 88) and objects found in *la valletta*, which is an expression indicating the Valley of Prince Ahmose. That this expression refers to this lateral valley is evident thanks to Ballerini's description of the find-spot of a wooden box containing a human foetus (ME S. 05142): "*In questa valletta inoltre si ebbe un ritrovamento affatto nuovo per quanto ne sappiamo*".⁴⁵² Ballerini and Schiaparelli also remark that fragments of inscribed shrouds were found in the same southern small valley (and possibly they refer to the linen shrouds that bear inventory numbers from ME S. 05134 to ME S. 05141),⁴⁵³ shrouds that, according to Schiaparelli,

⁴⁵⁰ Ballerini 1903, 32-33.

⁴⁵¹ The Franco-Egyptian team cleared QV 98: see Leblanc and Fekri 1993, 260.

⁴⁵² Quotation from Ballerini 1903, 33.

⁴⁵³ Schiaparelli 1903, *Relazione*; Ballerini 1903, 33.

enveloped the mummy of a prince of the Ramesside Period. Therefore, considering the distribution of the inventory numbers of the objects from the tomb of the anonymous prince, between the objects from tomb QV 88 and those from “la Valletta”, it seems apparent that the findings from the anonymous prince’s tomb were perceived as part of a homogenous group, since they were brought to light within the same spot (table IV.b).

From ME S. 05125 to ME S. 05127	QV 88 (Prince Ahmose)
From ME S. 05128 to ME S. 05133	Tomb of the anonymous <i>s3 nsw</i> = QV 98?
From ME S. 05134 to ME S. 05141 (linen shrouds)	From ‘La Valletta’ = Valley of Prince Ahmose
ME S. 05142 (wooden box with foetus)	From ‘La Valletta’ = Valley of Prince Ahmose

Table IV.b. Objects found in the Valley of Prince Ahmose. © E. Casini.

Checking the *Giornale d’Entrata*, other objects that caught this author’s attention were those found in the so-called “*valle deserta*” (from ME S. 05143 to S. 05146). Such a designation begets a problematic interpretation since it is quite generic, as the above “la Valletta” was. Therefore, the investigation of the meaning of that expression was relevant, since it should have referred to one of the other three lateral valleys: the Valley of the Rope, the Valley of the Three Pits, and the Valley of the Dolmen. Likely, the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* explored the Valley of the Three Pits and the Valley of the Dolmen, as evident from a picture published by Schiaparelli, which depicts a guard post located on the top of the ridges;⁴⁵⁴ however, no detailed information is provided with regard to the investigation of tombs (which are located in the Valley of the Three Pits but not in the Valley of the Dolmen). Schiaparelli dedicated one section to one of these lateral valleys (“*In uno dei valloni laterali*”),⁴⁵⁵ although at first glance it was not clear which one (since the modern designations were not at work yet). During the examination of the four abovementioned objects housed at the Museo Egizio, which are assigned to the “*valle deserta*”, it was remarked that the fragmented human-head-shaped lid of the canopic jar bearing inventory number ME S. 05144 (fig. IV.2/A) corresponded with the one that Schiaparelli published within his work (fig. IV.2/B).⁴⁵⁶ Its provenance was said to be one of the two shaft tombs investigated in one of the lateral valleys. As highlighted in *Chapter III.3*, the two shaft tombs are QV 92 and QV 93, which are located within the Valley of the Rope (fig. IV.2/C), which is defined by Ballerini as “*la parte alta della valle*”, within

⁴⁵⁴ Schiaparelli 1924, 43.

⁴⁵⁵ Schiaparelli 1924, 42-47.

⁴⁵⁶ Schiaparelli 1924, 42 (fig. 39).

the unpublished digging diaries. Thus, it is evident that the canopic jar lid ME S. 05144 was found in QV 92 or QV 93. Concerning the objects discovered within the Valley of the Rope, Schiaparelli and Ballerini provided different versions. Schiaparelli says that one tomb (QV 92 or QV 93) was found empty, whilst, in the other one, the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* found two lids of canopic jars: “*Dal braccio meridionale passati poi a quello settentrionale, vi avevamo riconosciuto due bocche di pozzi, ambedue assai regolari; e questi, fatti da noi esplorare, risultarono dare accesso ciascuno ad una piccola camera, in una delle quali nulla fu rinvenuto e nell'altra si rinvennero solo i frammenti di due bellissimi coperchi di canopi a testa umana*”.⁴⁵⁷ One of these canopic jar lids is ME S. 05144 (fig. IV.2/A-B). However, no photograph of the other one is provided by Schiaparelli, and this creates a problem: indeed, there are still two canopic jar lids from the same “valle deserta”, which are ME S. 05143 (fig. IV.2/D) and ME S. 05145 (fig. IV.2/E). At this point, it is challenging, if not impossible, to say which one is the second canopic jar lid mentioned by Schiaparelli, considering that the three lids are different from each other (S. 05144 and S. 05143 have in common the same yellow-painted face, but the facial lineaments are different). Furthermore, the issue is exacerbated by the fact that the *Giornale d'Entrata* indicates that a picture of the objects in question has been taken (Neg. C 1281): checking this picture,⁴⁵⁸ it is evident that there is another canopic jar lid instead of current S. 05143. This may mean that current inventory number S. 05143 originally belonged to another canopic jar lid and for some reason there was an exchange of enumeration.

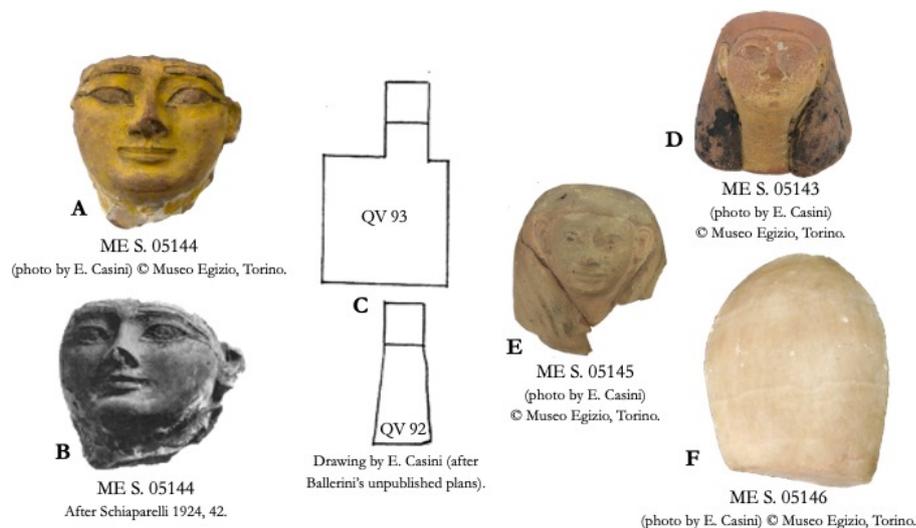


Fig. IV.2. The objects found in the Valley of the Rope.

⁴⁵⁷ Quotation from Schiaparelli 1924, 42.

⁴⁵⁸ Sincere thanks go to Dr. Paolo Del Vesco for showing the picture in question.

The situation is made more compelling due to the fact that Ballerini described the discovery of the two shaft tombs QV 92 and QV 93 but did not mention the same findings: “*Si cominciò dall’explorare due piccoli pozzi di circa cinque a sei metri di profondità che guidavano a camerette anguste nelle quali si rinvenne, eccetto - in una - una quantità di piccoli smalti di bellissimo colore azzurro, sottili, tagliati a forma rettangolare e più sovente lanceolata, che dovevano aver adornato o le pareti della camera o probabilmente il sarcofago*”.⁴⁵⁹ Instead of canopic jar lids, Ballerini reported on the finding of faience leaf-shaped inlays. Therefore, this issue poses a problem of identification of the objects found within these tombs. Should Ballerini’s report be seen as more reliable, even considering the fact that he published his work right after the first archaeological mission in the Queens’ Valley? Certainly, his memory was fresher than that of Schiaparelli, who published his work about twenty years after. Or should one trust Schiaparelli and the sequence of the inventory number system displayed in the *Giornale d’Entrata*? Furthermore, among the objects from the “valle deserta”, the fourth one (S. 05146, fig. IV.2/F) is a large fragment of an alabaster jar, the original find-spot of which is another tomb discovered in the same subsidiary valley: in this case, Ballerini and Schiaparelli agree on the provenance⁴⁶⁰ and the tomb in question can be identified as the current QV 97.⁴⁶¹ Therefore, considering the picture of the situation, there are two likely options:

- one may accept Schiaparelli’s account, which matches the sequence of the inventory number system of the *Giornale d’Entrata* (however, in this case, there would be an extra canopic jar lid);
- otherwise, one may follow Ballerini’s account and hypothesise that the small faience inlaid elements found in one of the two shaft tombs were not brought to the Museo Egizio. In this latter case, how could the finding of three canopic jar lids in the Valley of the Rope be explained? Were they found outside the tombs, this being the reason why they were not mentioned by Ballerini in his *Notizia Sommaria*? Or do they come from the main *wadi* but they have been wrongly assigned to the “valle deserta”, this being the reason why Schiaparelli made such a mistake? As already remarked, when Schiaparelli wrote his *Esplorazione della Valle delle Regine*, Ballerini was dead († 1910). Therefore, Schiaparelli could not count on the digging diaries, since they seemingly do not include any information about the objects found within the two shaft tombs. It is curious that Schiaparelli did not

⁴⁵⁹ Quotation from Ballerini 1903, 35.

⁴⁶⁰ Ballerini 1903, 35-36; Schiaparelli 1924, 46-47.

⁴⁶¹ Côte *et al.* 1996.

refer to the leaf-shaped faience inlays that are mentioned in Ballerini's *Notizia Sommaria*: this aspect suggests that Schiaparelli ignored Ballerini's *Notizia Sommaria* and put his faith in the *Giornale d'Entrata* only.

As highlighted above, during the 1904 campaign, the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* discovered several shaft tombs on the northern and southern slopes of the main *wadi*. Schiaparelli mentioned them very briefly and generically, without indicating how many tombs were actually discovered and without providing any information about the archaeological evidence. He only focused on a tomb with a staircase entryway, specifying that it was quite large: “[the Italian team] *rinvenne però, sia nella sezione orientale,*⁴⁶² *sia principalmente sulla sinistra del torrente asciutto*⁴⁶³ *che costituisce il fondo della valle, non pochi pozzi di forma regolare che davano accesso a belle camere od anche a varie camere consecutive; e, senza tener conto di tombe incominciate e non finite, disseppellì anche una tomba abbastanza grande, a cui si accedeva per una ripida scala; sia quest'ultima, come anche le tombe a pozzo, aventi tutte il carattere della Dinastia diciottesima. Si dovrebbe quindi pensare che parecchi principi o principesse o alti funzionari vissuti in quel periodo vi si fossero fatti seppellire*”.⁴⁶⁴

Thanks to the unpublished excavation notes, it has been possible to reassess the discovery of these tombs, thus having for the first time an idea of the number of tombs investigated by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana*. In addition, within the report written for King Vittorio Emanuele III, Schiaparelli focuses on the finding of four shaft tombs, which are located on the southern slope of the main *wadi*, east of the 20th-dynasty princes' tombs. One of these shaft tombs is dated to the 17th Dynasty (QV 47/Princess Ahmes) and the other three to the 18th Dynasty. Two of these can be identified thanks to the owners' names (QV 30/Nebiry and QV 46/Imhotep). The identification of the fourth tomb is challenging since the tomb owners are anonymous. However, the combined examination of archaeological materials, excavation notes, and Schiaparelli's publication allowed to hypothesize which shaft tomb it may deal with. Among the findings from this unspecified 18th-dynasty shaft tomb, Schiaparelli mentions an intact mummy which was found inside a wooden coffin. This coffin had been originally sealed and tied up by means of linen strings; furthermore, other grave goods (sandals made of vegetal fibres, polychrome leather socks, and other items that are omitted) were found in association

⁴⁶² He means the eastern sector of the southern slope of the main *wadi*.

⁴⁶³ He means the northern slope of the main *wadi*.

⁴⁶⁴ Quotation from Schiaparelli 1924, 40.

with the mummy.⁴⁶⁵ The description of such objects reminded this author of some grave goods depicted on a picture published by Schiaparelli within his *Esplorazione della Valle delle Regine*: these are a coffin with the original linen strings (the strings were repositioned upon the coffin for the photograph, in order to suggest the original composition), sandals, leather socks, and two spools (fig. IV.3/A). Concerning the find-spot of these objects, Schiaparelli does not mention any tomb but a cavity in the rock: “Nella medesima parte della necropoli, ed a poca distanza dalla tomba suaccennata,⁴⁶⁶ in una cavità della montagna bene coperta di macerie, fu rinvenuta intatta, e legata ancora con quattro legacci di tela, la piccola e rozza cassa, qui di fronte riprodotta...”.⁴⁶⁷ The objects described by Schiaparelli within the unpublished report and those published in his volume seem to be the same, although their find-spot is clearly different. However, by comparing these sources, something did not add up. How is it possible that the (apparently) same objects have been assigned to two different find-spots? This author’s suspect concerning the hardly clear situation was confirmed by some notes included within Ballerini’s digging diaries. On the 20th of February 1904, between the tomb of an anonymous queen (QV 40) and that of Satra (QV 38), the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* discovered a two-chambered shaft tomb that Ballerini labelled as “n. 33”: this is current tomb QV 39 (see *Chapter III.4*). Although this tomb had been heavily looted and set on fire (the walls of both the chambers were blackened), several objects were found within it, among which Ballerini lists a coffin containing a mummy and some relating unspecified objects (“*colla sua suppellettile*”). In addition, he remarks that upon the coffin lid, there were the original linen strings that had been used to tie the coffin case to the lid (fig. IV.3/B). By cross-referencing Ballerini and Schiaparelli’s accounts, it seems very likely that they are describing the same objects. This means that these objects housed at the Museo Egizio can be re-contextualized and QV 39 is their plausible original find-spot. The linen strings used to join together the coffin case and lid are telling elements in favour of this identification. In addition, the position of tomb QV 39, which is close to QV 47, QV 46, and QV 30, is another aspect to be considered: this would explain why Schiaparelli grouped them together within his account for King Vittorio Emanuele III. The reason why Schiaparelli transformed the original find-spot from a tomb (QV 39) into a cavity in the rock remains unknown. This issue, moreover, suggests that when Schiaparelli worked on the publication of the results of the Italian archaeological campaign, he did

⁴⁶⁵ Schiaparelli 1904, *Relazione*.

⁴⁶⁶ He refers to tomb QV 30.

⁴⁶⁷ Quotation from Schiaparelli 1924, 40.

not rely on Ballerini’s digging diaries (or he was not able to “decipher” them), but he also ignored his own report written for the king in 1904. Therefore, thanks to the picture published by Schiaparelli, it has been possible to re-contextualize these objects, which are housed at the Museo Egizio of Turin: the coffin that contains the mummy (S. 05147), some objects (S. 05148/sandals, S. 05149/leather socks, S. 05150/leather socks, S. 05151/wooden spool, and S. 05152/wooden spool), and the preserved linen strings and knots (fig. IV.3/C). These objects lost their original find-spot once they were brought to the Museo Egizio (“oggetti [?] dentro il sarcofago” in the *Giornale d’Entrata*), this being the reason why Schiaparelli located them in a different find-spot.

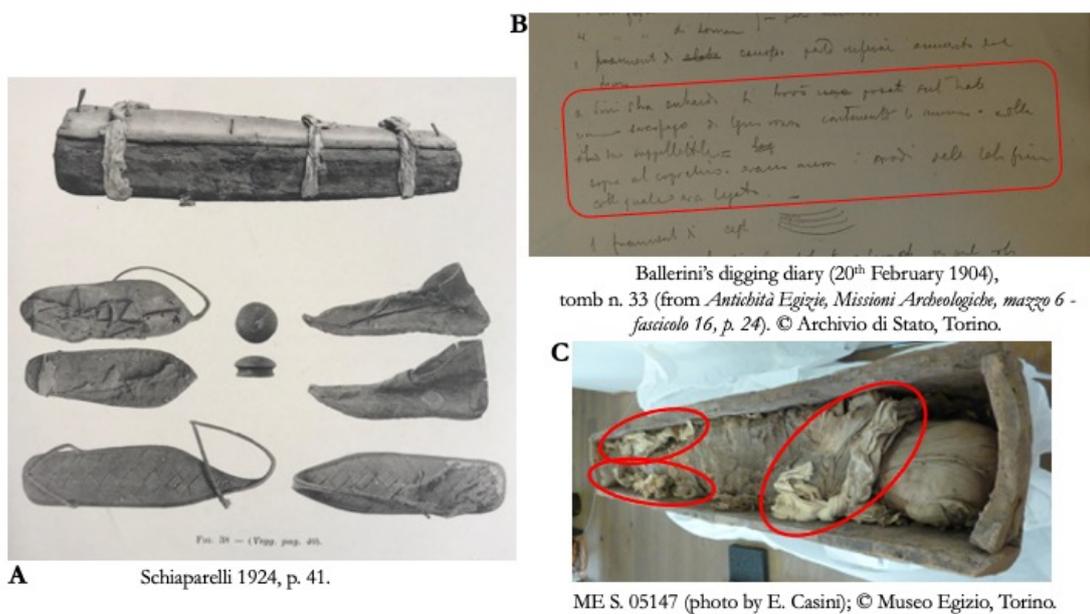


Fig. IV.3. Objects from tomb QV 39 (Ballerini’s tomb n. 33).

Considering that Ballerini lists several materials found during the investigation of tomb n.33/QV 39, it seems possible that there are other objects that experienced the same fate as the ones described above. No item is currently labelled as coming from that tomb and this sounds really curious. Should one assume that among the “dispersed materials” are other objects brought to light from this 18th-dynasty tomb? This option cannot be ruled out at all and the issue concerning the objects found in tomb QV 39 does not end here. Indeed, within the unpublished digging diaries, this tomb is described as the “*pozzo dove si rinvennero gioielli?*” (*the shaft tomb within which jewels were found*) (fig. IV.4/A), very likely because the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* found inside that tomb fragments of “*foglie di oro*” (*gold*

leaves). In addition, the Italian team found therein a small jewel, which drew this author's attention: this is described by Ballerini as “*un piccolo gioiello d'oro e pietre = fior di loto*” (a small lotus-shaped jewel made of gold and stones) (fig. IV.4/B). The brief description of this small pendant immediately reminded this author of a lotus-shaped cloisonné pendant which is on display at the Museo Egizio (ME S. 05108) and is assigned to the burial equipment of the vizier Imhotep⁴⁶⁸ (fig. IV.4/C). Within the *Giornale d'Entrata*, this lotus-shaped pendant is the last one on the list of objects attributed to tomb QV 46. Considering that, within the digging diaries, the “jewel” in question is not mentioned among the materials found within Imhotep's tomb, it can be hypothesized that the lotus-shaped pendant was actually found in tomb QV 39. Why this object ended up among the materials found in QV 46 cannot be said. However, this case, along with the preceding one, confirms this author's hypothesis concerning the fate of the objects from QV 39: it is not possible to determine how many of these findings were brought to the Museo Egizio; however, some of them are apparently at the Museo Egizio, although, for unknown reasons, they are devoid of their original find-spot.

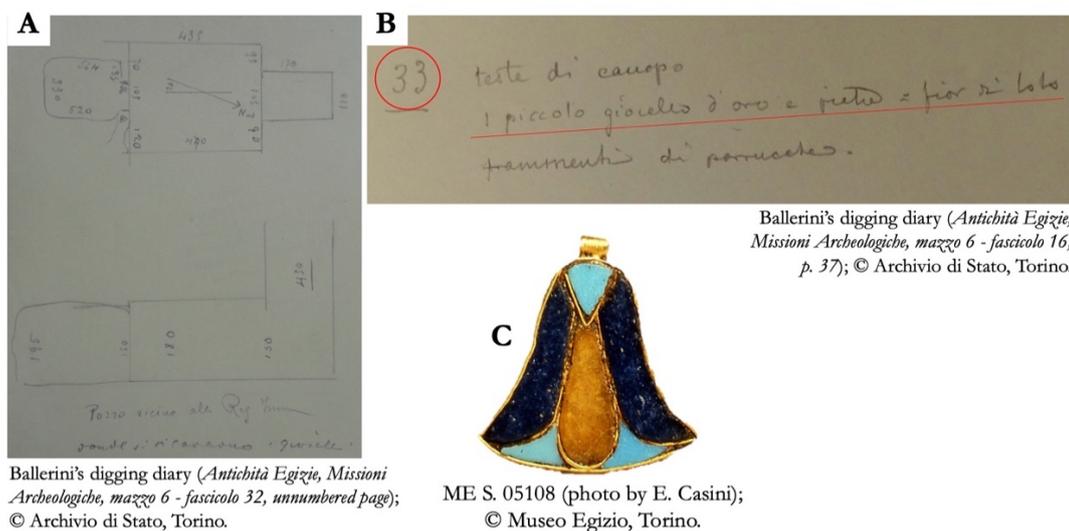


Fig. IV.4. The lotus-shaped pendant from tomb QV 39.

Among the “dispersed” materials, there are some that could be re-contextualized within the Queens' Valley necropolis. This kind of research was possible by means of a “dialogue” between Ballerini and Schiaparelli's accounts, the unpublished notes, and the objects themselves. Obviously, it is not possible to retrace the original find-spot of all

⁴⁶⁸ Donadoni Roveri 1988, 148, fig. 199.

these objects; however, as the cases below will highlight, some work on this direction can be done with interesting results. In particular, among the dispersed materials, the canopic materials from the Queens' Valley caught the author's attention. A large part of these objects (they are mostly fragmented and incomplete) is currently on display in the Gallery of Material Culture of the Museo Egizio (fig. IV.5/A). While checking these objects, a fragment of canopic jar (ME S. 05446) caught the author's attention because of the presence of a faded depiction (fig. IV.5/B). The museum catalogue regarding the objects from the Queens' Valley⁴⁶⁹ contains the following description of the object in question: “*frammento di parete di un vaso canopo che presenta due colonne verticali di geroglifici dipinti sormontati da una figura maschile e dipinta con le mani levate, in una delle quali tiene un oggetto che sembra lo scettro-uad*”. Since both the figure and hieroglyphs on the fragmented canopic jar were faded, a photograph of this object was worked out by means of black-and-white filters⁴⁷⁰ and it became evident that the human figure did not depict a man: actually, it was a woman, with one hand in praying gesture and the other one holding a floral bouquet made of four lotus blossoms, which were surmounted by a mandrake fruit (fig. IV.5/C). The scene is incomplete, it is not known whom or what the female figure is worshipping. In addition, close to the figure, something unexpected showed up: a cartouche with a name (fig. IV.5/D). Immediately, the combined presence of a female figure and a cartouche reminded the author of a fragmented object mentioned in Ballerini's *Notizia Sommaria*. Among the findings discovered in the area outside tombs QV 43, QV 44, and QV 45, Ballerini mentions a fragment of an alabaster canopic jar bearing traces of the depiction of a queen, flanked by a cartouche with her name. Although the hieroglyphs were faded already at that time, Ballerini managed to read the name as “Saefmira”.⁴⁷¹ Looking at the modified photograph (fig. IV.5/E), it is possible to read the title of *hm.t nsw* above the cartouche; inside the cartouche, from top down, there are the hieroglyphs of the pintail duck⁴⁷² and a faded bread-shape (*t*) close to it, a very faded and almost amorphous horned viper (*f*),⁴⁷³ and finally, at the bottom, the combination *mj-r^c*. A royal wife named *s3.t=f-mj-r^c*/Satefmira is not attested so far: therefore, it deals with an important piece of material evidence attesting to an unknown queen. It is worth remarking that the fragment

⁴⁶⁹ The author thanks the Museo Egizio of Turin for the access to this invaluable source.

⁴⁷⁰ The author deeply thanks Dr. Paolo Del Vesco, curator of the Museo Egizio (Torino), for this precious suggestion which helped to solve this enigma.

⁴⁷¹ Ballerini 1903, 31.

⁴⁷² Gardiner's sign-list G/39.

⁴⁷³ Gardiner's sign-list I/9.

is described as “*frammento di canopo*” within the *Giornale d’Entrata*, without providing any additional data: this indicates that information about this object was lost when it was brought to Turin and this would explain why Schiaparelli did not mention this finding within his *Esplorazione della Valle delle Regine* (thus also confirming, once again, that he unexpectedly did not check Ballerini’s *Notizia Sommaria*).

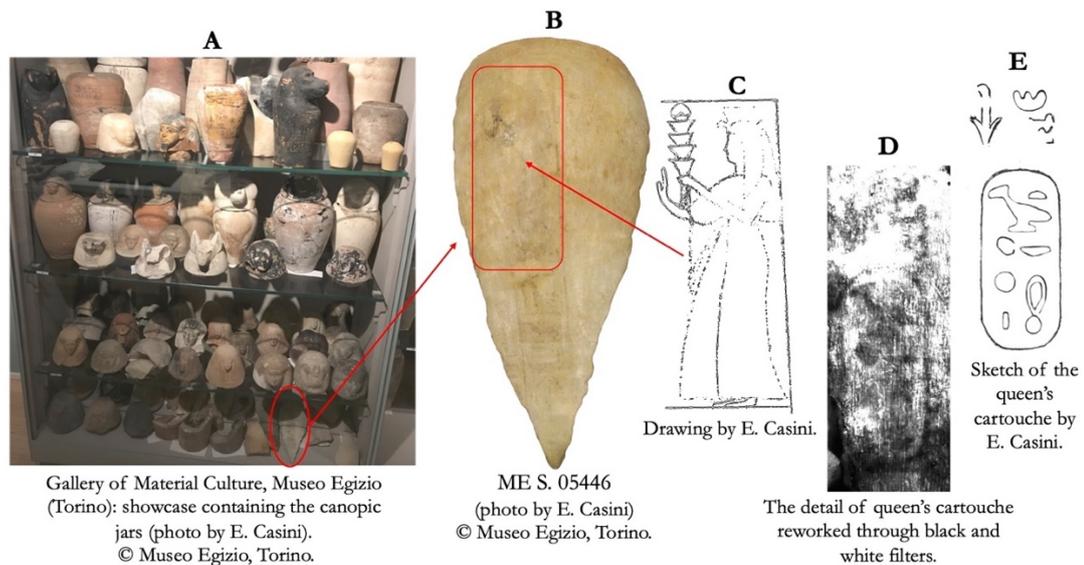


Fig. IV.5. The fragmented canopic jar of Queen Satefmira.

Such an identification is relevant because the find-spot of the fragment in question is known and, although it has been found outside the tombs, its provenance can be delimited to a specific spot of the necropolis: the south-western sector of the main *wadi*, in front of tombs QV 43, QV 44, and QV 45. In addition, as said above, such a finding is crucial because it provides the only attestation concerning the existence of Queen Satefmira. It is not known who was her consort and in which epoch she lived; however, the finding of this fragmented canopic jar attests that her burial took place within the Queens’ Valley. According to Thomas, Queen Satefmira was buried within QV 45,⁴⁷⁴ but this is rather unlikely considering that the construction of this tomb was hardly commenced. Without having examined the object in question, Leblanc suggested identifying Queen Satefmira as Queen Satra,⁴⁷⁵ thus implying that Ballerini had misread the queen’s name; however, the rediscovery of this fragmented object rules out such a hypothesis.

⁴⁷⁴ Thomas 1966, 209, 222-223.

⁴⁷⁵ Leblanc 1989/b, 45, note 205 (p. 79).

Concerning the dating of this object, preserved canopic jars with depictions of worshipping figures are not so numerous. Moreover, canopic jars belonging to 18th-dynasty royal consorts are different from that of Satefmira due to two reasons mainly: 1) they do not show any depiction; 2) the formula is carved onto the surface and then usually, but not always, filled by means of blue paste (fig. IV.6). Based on these remarks, it seems likely that the fragmented canopic jar of Queen Satefmira was not produced during the 18th Dynasty.



Fig. IV.6. Some examples of 18th-dynasty canopic jars belonging to royal wives.

Some comparisons speak in favour of a dating of Satefmira's fragmented canopic jar to the Ramesside Period. The Petrie Museum preserves a fragmented alabaster canopic jar (UC15810, fig. IV.7/A), which dates to the 19th/20th Dynasties and shows a very similar female figure depicted in worshipping gesture in front of Osiris.⁴⁷⁶ The owner of this piece is Mutneferet, chantress of Amun: therefore, it does not deal with a royal consort. The similarity of the figurative representation with the one on Satefmira's fragment is surprising, as well as the Queens' Valley as hypothesized provenance of this fragmented canopic jar, as referred by Porter and Moss.⁴⁷⁷ Considering the title of Mutneferet, this provenance seems to be unlikely, since the social identity of the deceased

⁴⁷⁶ See the online collection of the Petrie Museum. The piece has been published by Raisman and Martin (1984, pl. 18, n. 11). It is worth mentioning that two other canopic jars of this chantress of Amun Mutneferet are kept at the Anthropological Museum of the University of Aberdeen: Reid 1912, 88 (n. 112 and 113). There are no pictures of these two canopic jars, however, material (alabaster), name of the owner (Mutneferet), and titles are the same.

⁴⁷⁷ Porter and Moss 1964 (PM I²), 770.

buried in the Queens' Valley during the Ramesside Period includes only members of the royal family. Another relevant piece is the alabaster canopic jar of the scribe of the treasury Djuamon (19th Dynasty, unknown provenance), which shows a schematic depiction of the deceased, represented as a kneeling man in worshipping gesture (fig. IV.7/B).⁴⁷⁸ Another example on this regard is offered by the faience canopic jar of Ramsesnakht, which bears the depiction of the deceased worshipping the seated God Osiris (fig. IV.7/C).⁴⁷⁹ Just considering these few selected examples, the depiction of the deceased in worshipping gesture may provide an additional clue to the dating of Satefmira's canopic jar to the 19th/20th Dynasties.



Fig. IV.7. Some Ramesside Period canopic jars with depictions of worshipping individuals.

The generic find-spot of Satefmira's fragmented canopic jar, within the area outside the 20th-dynasty tombs QV 44, QV 43, and QV 45, is in line with the dating of the object to the Ramesside Period. As said above, Thomas hypothesized that Queen Satefmira was buried within the 20th-dynasty tomb QV 45, but this option seems to be unlikely. Therefore, excluding all the 18th-dynasty shaft tombs and QV 45, other candidates for the burial place of this unknown queen are: 1) the undecorated 20th-dynasty tomb QV 41 (even though no title of the owner of this tomb is preserved); 2) the 19th-dynasty tomb QV 40 (the owner was a *hm.t nsw wr.t* but the cartouche was left blank); 3) the 19th-

⁴⁷⁸ Dolzani 1982, 23 (n. 19015 = ME cat. 3209).

⁴⁷⁹ See the online catalogue of the Roswitha Eberwein - *Antike Kunst 2013* (n. 11), http://www.egypt-art.com/pdf/Katalog_2013.pdf (last accessed on 20.09.2019).

dynasty tomb QV 34 (whose owner was a *hm.t nsw*). Actually, there is another tomb that, albeit not very close to the find-spot of the fragmented canopic jar, may be a plausible candidate. When Thomas describes tomb QV 58, which is located on the northern slope of the main *wadi*, she remarks the presence of traces of a cartouche at the entrance, on the wall between the staircase and the first, central chamber, in an undefined spot: “...one can imagine, probably, remains of a small cartouche, a bird, lower down a small *t*-sign, an *f* or *d*, a small circle, a *t*”.⁴⁸⁰ These hieroglyphs are currently lost, thus it is not possible to verify Thomas’ account. Considering her words (“...one can imagine...”), it is possible that the hieroglyphs were faded and not easily readable: indeed, Thomas does not offer any interpretation about the reading of the name. In any case, this author finds interesting that Thomas remarks the presence of a bird (might it be the *s3*-hieroglyph?), an *f* (the horned viper), and a small circle (might it be the *r^c*-hieroglyph?), these signs being the same within the cartouche of Satefmira. Therefore, one may wonder whether Satefmira was buried within QV 58. If it was so, this would suggest that she lived during the 19th Dynasty, the epoch during which the tomb was likely prepared (fig. IV.8). This hypothesis is captivating, even though it remains a pure conjecture.

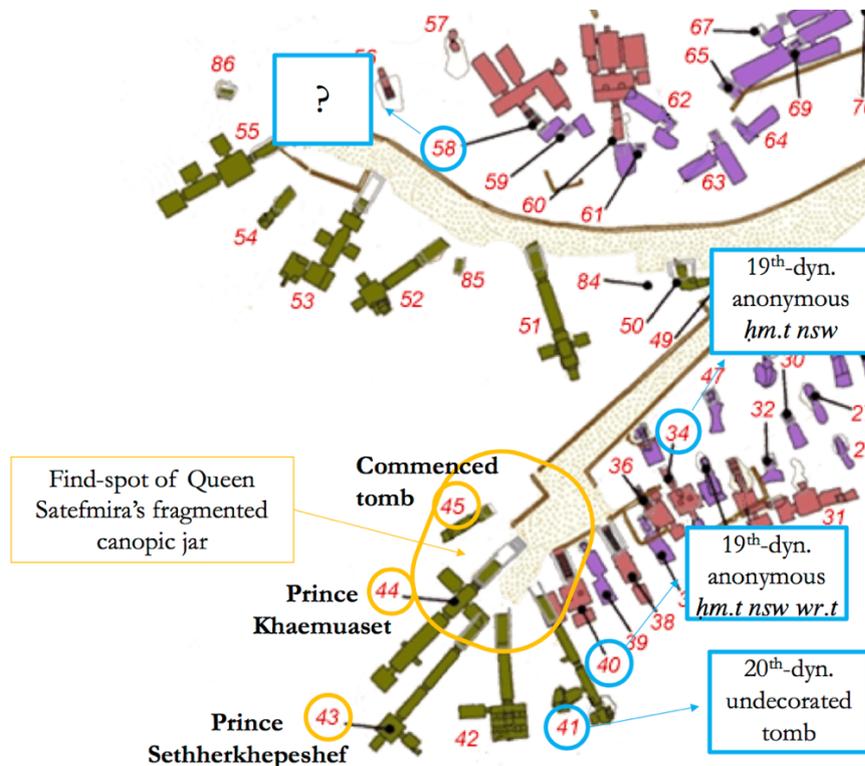


Fig. IV.8. Hypothesis about the identification of Queen Satefmira’s tomb (map adapted from http://www.narmer.pl/kv/qv_en.htm, © Dariusz Sitek, last accessed on 26.08.2018).

⁴⁸⁰ Reference and quotation from Thomas 1966, 210.

Among the de-contextualized objects, there are other two fragments of inscribed canopic jars that deserve particular attention. One of these is made of alabaster and preserves part of a cartouche (ME S. 05578) (fig. IV.9/A). The inscription is carved and filled with darkish blue paste: the name within the cartouche is not complete, but there are enough hieroglyphs in order to interpret it as *(h)nw(.t)-mj-r^c* (fig. IV.9/B), who was, according to some scholars, a daughter of Sety I and sister and wife of Ramses II,⁴⁸¹ whereas according to others a daughter/wife of Ramses II.⁴⁸² Another fragment of canopic jar (ME S. 05577) preserves the final part of the name of an individual within a cartouche *(mj-r^c)* (fig. IV.9/C). This is made of limestone and the inscription is not carved but is painted in black ink. This canopic jar may belong to the same Queen Henutmira, although the different materials (alabaster/ME S. 05578 and limestone/ME S. 05577) and techniques (carving/ME S. 05578 and painting/ME S. 05577) may suggest that the two fragments belonged to two different canopic jar sets. Nonetheless, a fragment of a third canopic jar of Queen Henutmira may partly solve the question. In 1985, the Franco-Egyptian team found a fragment of alabaster canopic jar (OAE n. 341) in the area between tombs QV 73 and QV 75 (fig. IV.9/D). This fragment belongs to Queen Henutmira, who was identified as the owner of tomb QV 75 by Leblanc's team.⁴⁸³ This tomb might have been investigated by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana*, although no mention of it has been made either in the publications or in the unpublished documents. However, Ballerini and Schiaparelli probably knew the position of tomb QV 75 (which had already been explored also by Hay of Linplum, Wilkinson, Champollion, Rosellini, Lepsius, and Brugsch) and they possibly investigated that area of the northern slope of the main *wadi*. Turning back to the fragmented canopic jar found by the Franco-Egyptian team (fig. IV.9/D), there is a feature that is worthy of a remark: the hieroglyphs of the first two columns (from the right to the left) have been carved and filled with blue paste whilst the hieroglyphs of the third and fourth columns are painted in black ink, upon a surface that has been polished in order to erase the name and titles of the preceding owner.⁴⁸⁴ The Turin fragmented canopic jar ME S. 05577 has a polished surface, thus suggesting that it may deal with a reused canopic jar re-inscribed for the queen in question. In addition, it is very likely that the two fragmented canopic jars of the Museo Egizio of Turin may have been found in

⁴⁸¹ Dodson and Hilton 2004, 170; Tyldesley 2006, 143-144.

⁴⁸² Sourouzian 1983.

⁴⁸³ Leblanc 1988.

⁴⁸⁴ Leblanc 1988, 133-134, pl. VIII/B.

the same area within which Leblanc's team found the fragmented canopic jar of Henutmira.

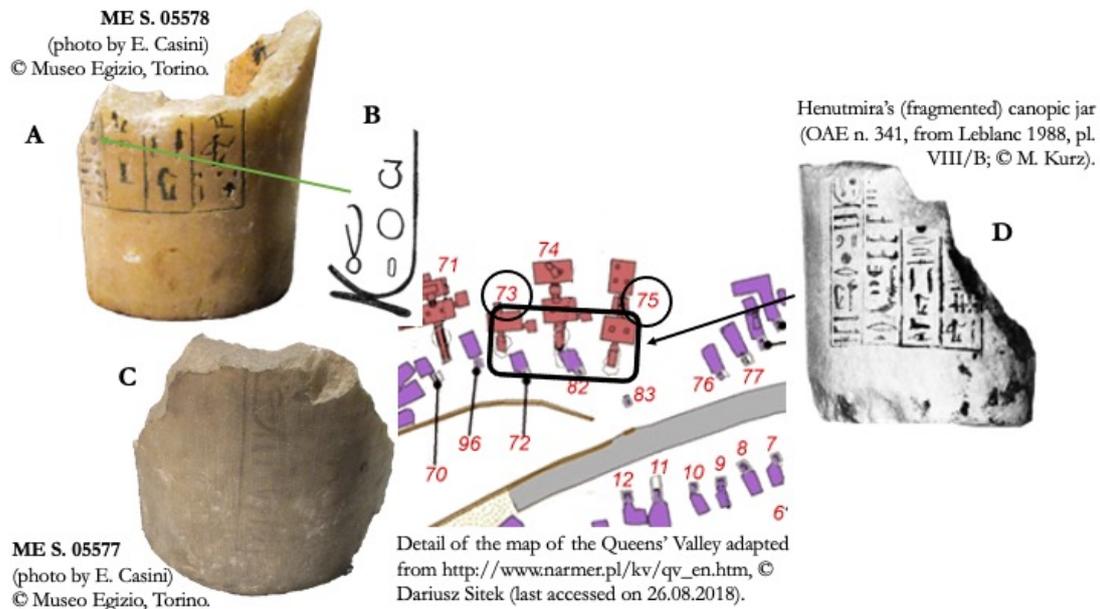


Fig. IV.9. Henutmira's canopic jars.

Among the “dispersed” materials housed at the Museo Egizio, there is also a fragment of the limestone canopic jar of Queen Nebettauy. This was likely found in 1904, when the Italian team explored the northern slope of the main *wadi* (fig. IV.10). It cannot be ruled out that the fragment in question was brought to light from tomb QV 60: indeed, the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* may have investigated Nebettauy's tomb, which is here identified as Ballerini's tomb n. 63 (see *Chapter III.4-a*). Indeed, the Italian team knew the tomb location, as exemplified by the indication of this tomb on one of Ballerini's maps (fig. III.45); furthermore, Schiaparelli mentioned it within his publication.⁴⁸⁵ Considering that QV 60 was used as a chapel during the Coptic Period, it is also possible that this fragmented canopic jar was found outside the tomb: the Christian monks used to throw grave goods and mummies outside the tombs in order to gain more space.

⁴⁸⁵ Schiaparelli 1924, 111.

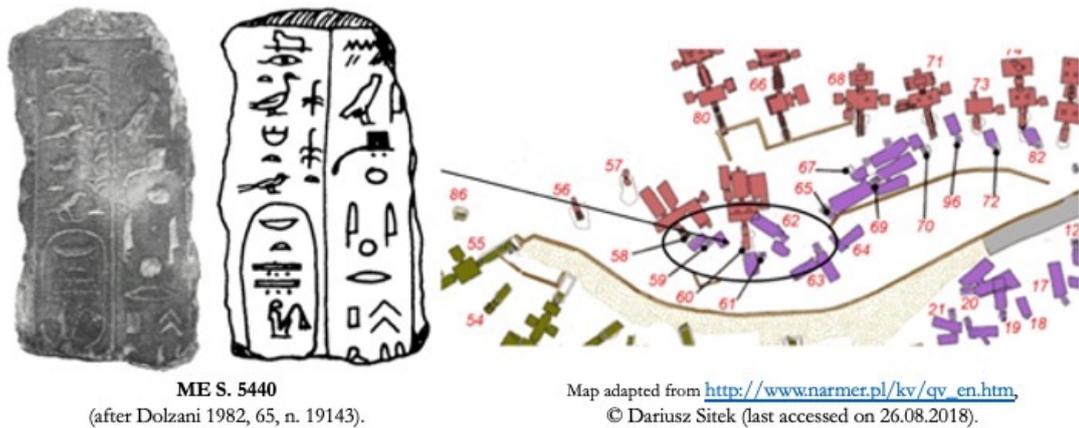


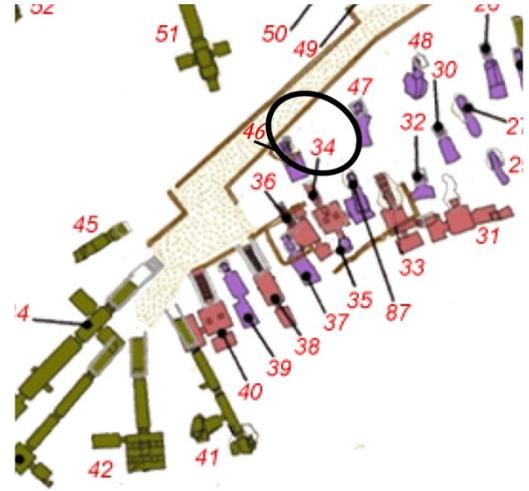
Fig. IV.10. Nebettauy's fragmented canopic jar and its likely find-spot area.

Thanks to the information provided by the unpublished digging diaries, another object that can be re-contextualized is a Hathor's head made of faience (ME S. 05630), which is preserved in a fragmentary state. This head is slightly modelled in relief, in two different shades of blue, and broken off at the height of the eyes (fig. IV.11, on the left). Such an object may be connected with the Grotto-cascade, which was devoted to Hathoric cults during the New Kingdom; however, its original find-spot is not that natural cave. It is known, thanks to the digging diaries, that the Italian mission investigated the sector of the ancient dam. Nevertheless, no mention of the exploration of the natural cave is made: thus, it seems unlikely that this small object was found there. Little but relevant information about this Hathor's head is contained in the unpublished Ballerini's excavation notes. On the 20th of February 1904, Ballerini mentions the finding of a new tomb (QV 46) and indicates its location in the area between the Coptic *dér*, which was to the left of the entrance of tomb QV 40, and "*il luogo della testa di Hathor*" ("*the place of Hathor's head*"). At first, this expression evoked the Grotto-cascade; however, this match was not possible because Schiaparelli and Ballerini never mentioned any connection between the cave and the Hathoric cults. Actually, when the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* investigated the Queens' Valley, the Grotto-cascade was filled with debris, as evident from some pictures taken in 1903 (for instance, see fig. II.2). Therefore, the expression "*il luogo della testa di Hathor*" should be referred to another place. By considering the belonging of this small Hathoric head among the so-called "dispersed materials", the picture of the situation became clear: by the expression "*il luogo della testa di Hathor*", Ballerini intended the place where such an object (the Hathoric head) was actually found. Therefore, thanks to the unpublished documentation, the find-spot of this small faience object can be

located, approximately, north or north-east of tomb QV 46 (fig. IV.11, on the right: the area circled in black on the map).



ME S. 5630 (photo granted by the Museo Egizio, Torino). © Museo Egizio, Torino.



Likely find-spot of the small Hathoric head; detail of the map adapted from http://www.narmer.pl/kv/qv_en.htm, © Dariusz Sitek (last accessed on 26.08.2018).

Fig. IV.11. The small-scaled Hathor's head and its likely find-spot.

Checking the *Giornale d'Entrata* of the Museo Egizio, the author observed that the last object listed among the findings from Queen Nefertari's tomb is a fragment of Coptic vase (ME S. 05214, fig. IV.12). Considering that the tomb of Nefertari (QV 66) was plundered in antiquity, but never reused in the Third Intermediate Period nor in the Roman Period or later,⁴⁸⁶ it is possible that the tomb remained closed and hidden until its discovery in 1904. The finding of a fragment of Coptic vase within the queen's tomb sounds therefore curious. The only remark provided in the *Giornale d'Entrata* is that this Coptic vase is proof of the presence of tomb robbers (*"indizio dei saccheggiatori"*). However, it deals with a single fragment and considering that no other trace of "visits" by the Copts has been recorded, it is likely that this object was not found within tomb QV 66. Thus, it might deal with an (intrusive) fragmented vase found in the excavation area close to the entrance of the queen's tomb. Otherwise, the find-spot of this fragment may be assigned to another tomb. In this regard, it is worth remarking that the following inventory number, S. 05215 marks the start of the group of objects found within QV 43/QV 44 (within which traces of the presence of Copts is well attested). Therefore, it may be possible that this fragment of Coptic vase was found in one of the two princes' tombs

⁴⁸⁶ Lecuyot 2000, 46 (see the figure caption).

and attributed to the queen's tomb by mistake. This is only a hypothesis, which can however find corroboration in the mistakes that occurred during the inventorying of objects (or even before, in the Queens' Valley itself), as demonstrated by the abovementioned case studies of the lotus-shaped pendant and the roughly-made wooden coffin.



Fig. IV.12. Fragment of Coptic vase assigned to QV 66 (photo granted by the Museo Egizio, Torino).
© Museo Egizio, Torino.

Finally, there are three fragments of a sarcophagus (ME S. 05434/01, 02, and 03) that deserve attention (fig. IV.13). Concerning these fragments, the *Giornale d'Entrata* provides the following information: “3 fram. di sarc. in granito di regina (cartelli vuoti)”. The cartouches are empty because the name inside was erased. The identification of the original owner is therefore not an easy task. The catalogue of objects of the Museo Egizio attributes these fragments to Queen Isis' sarcophagus. Such an identification may have been proposed since Schiaparelli informed that some fragments of Isis' stone sarcophagus were brought to Turin.⁴⁸⁷ Among the titles attributed to the deceased on the sarcophagus fragments, there are those of *hm.t nsw wr.t*, *nb.t t3.wj* and *hnw.t šm3w mḥw*, all of them held by Queen Isis.⁴⁸⁸ It is worth remarking that the Franco-Egyptian team found some fragments of Tyti's sarcophagus in QV 52, which show very similar incised handwriting and have erased cartouches as well.⁴⁸⁹ The comparison between the pieces of the Museo Egizio and those found in QV 52 might lead one to assume that ME S. 05434/01, 02, and 03 come from Tyti's tomb. However, these Turin fragments bear blackened traces, which can be associated with fire. Actually, a fire occurred within QV 51, but not in QV 52.⁴⁹⁰ Therefore, it is very likely that such pieces come from the tomb of Queen Isis.

⁴⁸⁷ Schiaparelli 1924, 157.

⁴⁸⁸ Troy 1986, 171 (20.4); Elleithy and Leblanc 2016, 97; Leblanc 2009, 287.

⁴⁸⁹ Mohamed Sayed and Sesana 1995, pl. XL/B.

⁴⁹⁰ Check QV 51 and QV 52 in the *Catalogue of the Tombs* (Volume II).



Fig. IV.13. The three fragments of pink granite sarcophagus; the erased cartouches are circled in black (photo granted by the Museo Egizio, Torino); © Museo Egizio, Torino.

The cases presented above show that it is possible to retrieve information about the original find-spot of the objects found in the Queens' Valley, however, not all the findings can be re-contextualized. In any case, even the de-contextualized objects can be relevant as a source of information, as highlighted by the case of the shabti of the royal consort Nesmut (ME S. 05448), which is placed among the “dispersed materials” in the *Giornale d'Entrata*. The short formula on the shabti reads *shd wsr hm.t nsw ns-mw.t*, *the illuminated one, the Osiris Nesmut* (fig. IV.14, on the left). Very little is known about this queen, except for a brief mention within pap. Mayer A (4.3-4),⁴⁹¹ on which her name occurs next to that of another queen, Baketuernel, who is connected to King Menmaatira/Sety I. It is not clear during which dynasty and reign Nesmut lived.⁴⁹² Without any material evidence at his disposal, Černý hypothesized that the two royal consorts, Baketuernel and Nesmut, may have been buried in the Queens' Valley.⁴⁹³ Thanks to this “forgotten” shabti kept at the Museo Egizio, it is possible to confirm that at least Nesmut had her burial within the Queens' Valley, however, it is not possible to say within which tomb. Her sepulchre is mentioned along with that of Baketuernel, who was linked to King Sety I (likely, she was a minor wife of this pharaoh). It is well known that the tombs built during the reign of Sety I are located on the western sector of the southern slope of the main *wadi*; therefore, Baketuernel may have been buried in one of those tombs. The fact that Nesmut is mentioned close to Baketuernel does not necessarily imply that the tombs of the two

⁴⁹¹ Kitchen 2012, 560.

⁴⁹² Grajetzki 2005, 76.

⁴⁹³ Černý 1973/a, 19.

queens were next to each other. Among the candidates for Nesmut's tomb, in addition to the 19th-dynasty queens' tombs located on the southern slope of the main *wadi* (QV 31, QV 34, and QV 40), there are the 19th-dynasty multi-chambered tomb QV 58, which is located on the northern slope of the main *wadi*, or the 20th-dynasty undecorated tomb QV 41 (fig. IV.14, on the right). However, it cannot be excluded that this queen was buried in one of the other queens' tombs, although the decorative program should have included her name in case of a double burial. Beyond these hypotheses, the shabti in question is an invaluable proof of the existence of this little known queen, and it does not matter if its original find-spot cannot be retraced: the informative potential of the object obviates the impossibility to identify both its original provenance and find-spot.

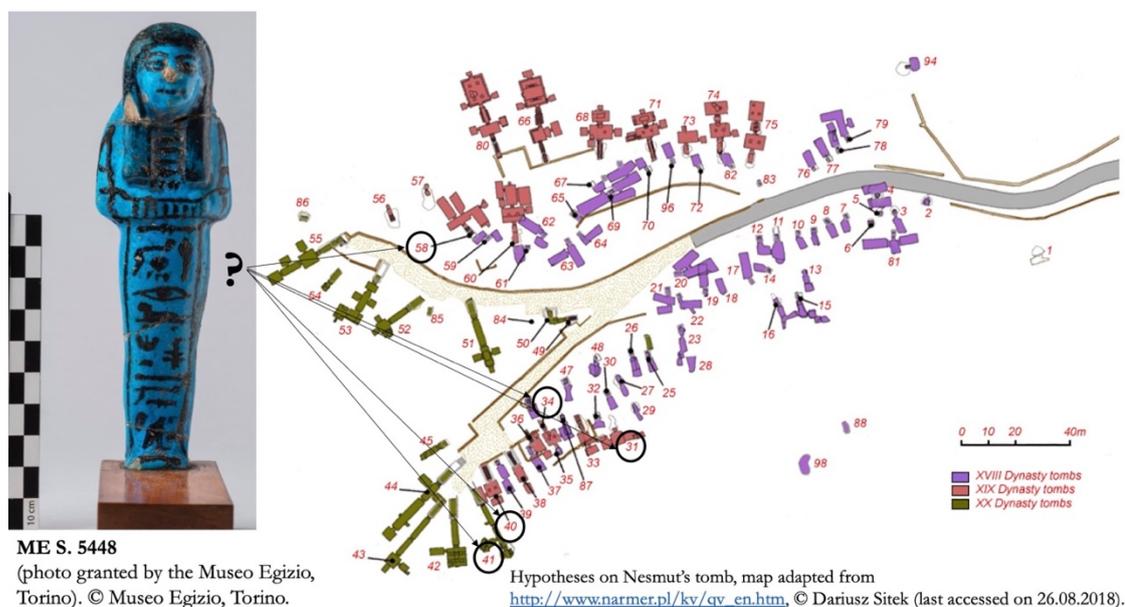


Fig. IV.14. Nesmut's shabti and its likely find-spots.

IV.3. Final Remarks

The aim of this chapter was to present, by means of some case studies, problems, priorities, and potential of this research focused on the study of the archaeological materials from the Queens' Valley. The analysis of the *Giornale d'Entrata* and the examination of the objects kept at the Museo Egizio have pointed out the necessity of working on an overall restudy of the objects found by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana*. Indeed, except for the most renowned objects, such as those of Queen Nefertari's burial

assemblage and the others that have already been published, there are several ones that still await a first, in-depth examination. Priority has been directed not only to the unpublished objects but also to some materials that have already found a place within the publications but still needed further examination.

Thanks to the cross-reference of published works and unpublished documents with the archaeological materials kept at the Museo Egizio, it was possible to unlock the informative potential of some Queens' Valley findings. Some generic definitions concerning find-spots within this necropolis have been clarified ("*la Valletta*" = Valley of Prince Ahmose, "*la valle deserta*" = Valley of the Rope). The case study of QV 39 shows that it is possible to work on the re-contextualization of objects with relevant results. Beyond the lotus-shaped pendant and the roughly-made coffin containing the mummy and a number of grave goods, it is possible that there are other materials, housed at the Museo Egizio, which have been found in the same tomb but are currently labelled as "dispersed materials". One of the main achievements in the framework of this research concerns the re-discovery of the fragmented canopic jar of Queen Satefmira, which perfectly lends itself as a telling example of the potential of the combined textual/material research. Such a piece, which is currently on display in one of the showcases in the Gallery of Material Culture at the Museo Egizio, bears the unique attestation to a yet unknown queen. The faience shabti of Queen Nesmut constitutes the so far unique material attestation of this royal consort, suggesting the location of her burial within the Queens' Valley, although it is not known the king she was married to.

By this chapter, it was attempted to highlight that fragmented materials have a relevant potential and are bearers of information that can be unveiled with the help of the published works and unpublished documents. It is evident that this kind of research has some limitations: indeed, it is not possible to identify the find-spot of all the "dispersed materials" kept at the Museo Egizio. However, some further work in this direction can be done, even in view of the re-evaluation of the objects in the framework of the exhibition program of the Museo Egizio. Finally, after having pieced together all the processed data, it was possible to update the table shown above (table IV.a) and offer a more complete picture of the situation concerning the find-spot of the Queens' Valley objects that are housed at the Museo Egizio (see in particular the grey boxes of table IV.c).

Inventory number of the Queens' Valley objects	Information about the find-spot
From ME S. 05050 to ME S. 05065	QV 47 (Princess Ahmes)
From ME S. 05066 to ME S. 05107	QV 46 (Imhotep)
ME S. 05108 (lotus shaped pendant)	QV 39
From ME S. 05109 to ME S. 05124	QV 30 (Nebiry)
From ME S. 05125 to ME S. 05127	QV 88 (Prince Ahmose)
From ME S. 05128 to ME S. 05133	QV 98 (tomb of unknown <i>s3 nsw</i>)
From ME S. 05134 to ME S. 05141 (linen shrouds)	Valley of Prince Ahmose (from "la Valletta")
ME S. 05142 (wooden box with foetus)	Valley of Prince Ahmose (from "la Valletta")
From ME S. 05143 to ME S. 05146	QV 92, QV 93, and QV 97, in the Valley of the Rope (materials from "la valle deserta")
From ME S. 05147 to ME S. 05152 (coffin and objects)	QV 39
From ME S. 05153 to ME S. 05214	QV 66 (Queen Nefertari)
ME S. 05214 (fragment of Coptic vase)	QV 43/QV 44?
From ME S. 05215 to ME S. 05433	QV 44 (Prince Khaemuset) and QV 43 (Prince Sethherkhepeshef)
ME S. 05434/01-02-03	QV 51?
ME S. 05435 (queen's sarcophagus)	QV 42 (Prince Paraheruenemef)
ME S. 05436 (shabti)	QV 55?
From ME S. 05437 to 05439	QV 55 (Prince Amonherkhepeshef)
From ME S. 05440 to ME S. 05821	<i>Dispersed materials</i>
ME S. 05440 (fragment of canopic jar of Nebettauy)	From QV 60 or the area outside the tomb
ME S. 05446 (fragment of canopic jar of Satefimira)	Area in front of QV 45/QV 44/QV 43
ME S. 05577 (fragment of canopic jar of Henutmira)	Area between QV 73 and QV 75?
ME S. 05578 (fragment of canopic jar of Henutmira)	Area between QV 73 and QV 75?
ME S. 05630 (faience Hathoric head)	North-east of QV 46
From ME S. 05822 to ME S. 05874	Deir er-Rumi
From ME S. 05875 to ME S. 05955	<i>Ostraca</i> from Deir er-Rumi and other sectors of the Queens' Valley
From ME S. 05956 to ME S. 05984	?

Table IV.c. The reassessed distribution of the Queens' Valley findings within the *Giornale d'Entrata*. © E. Casini.

Chapter V. Who? The social background of the Queens' Valley tomb owners during the New Kingdom

V.1. Introduction

During the New Kingdom, the Queens' Valley and Kings' Valley were characterized by a parallel path, since they hosted the burials of selected individuals: kings, queens, royal sons and daughters, and other individuals linked to the royal court. During the Ramesside Period, their use is well-defined and restricted to the entombment of members of the royal family. However, the scenario is more complex with regard to the 18th Dynasty, as recent studies and research projects have highlighted.

The 18th-dynasty tombs of the Kings' Valley hosted the burials of the kings, members of the royal family (queens, princes, and princesses), members of the king's extended family (parents-in-law), and individuals connected to the royal court (people grown up along with the pharaoh, royal ornament-women, wet nurses, *etcetera*).⁴⁹⁴ Close and blood relationship with the king, and not the social status or official tasks, was the criterion in order to have the privilege of a burial within the Kings' Valley.⁴⁹⁵ During the Ramesside Period, only kings and princes were buried there.⁴⁹⁶

With regard to the Queens' Valley, the social background of the tomb owners is a challenging topic due to the fact that all the tombs were massively plundered (and reused) and many relevant data about the people, for whom they were prepared, got therefore lost. A clearer picture of the situation concerns the 19th- and 20th-dynasty period of use, although not all the tomb owners have been identified. In addition, the tombs of some royal consorts, who are expected to have been buried in the Queens' Valley, have not been detected thus far. Conversely, little is known about the 18th-dynasty tomb owners of this necropolis. Attention has been directed to the queens and princes of the Ramesside Period so far, thus contributing to offer an unbalanced picture of the situation concerning the social fabric represented within this necropolis. The most ancient queen's tomb identifiable in the Queens' Valley was that of Satra (QV 38), which was prepared in the

⁴⁹⁴ Bickel 2016/a.

⁴⁹⁵ Bickel 2016/b, 19.

⁴⁹⁶ And likely some queens, although this issue is still debated. In this regard, it is assumed that Queen Takhat^A was buried in the Kings' Valley (see Reeves and Wilkinson 1996, 151).

beginning of the 19th Dynasty. However, the archaeological evidence attests to the likely burial of at least another queen within the same necropolis, in the early 18th Dynasty.

The early explorers of the 19th century discovered and explored queens' tombs mainly and this aspect contributed to create the picture of this burial ground as a necropolis conceived for royal consorts. Nevertheless, even tombs of people other than queens had been discovered, but they did not attract much attention. Only in 1903, after the first Italian archaeological mission, Ballerini realized that the tombs of the Queens' Valley mirrored a wider social background: not only queens, but also princes and other anonymous people had been entombed there.

The identity of a social group can be understood if the individuals are placed within their original context and culture,⁴⁹⁷ in other words if the individuals are re-contextualized. Concerning the 18th-dynasty deceased buried of the Queens' Valley, this kind of re-contextualization is anything but simple because the textual evidence is very scant: the tomb walls are devoid of decoration and archaeological evidence in general is very scarce. A few individuals are known thanks to the inscribed objects that have survived after the tomb robberies and reuse; although no prosopographical study is possible, there are (honorific) titles that allow to have an idea of the social spectrum mirrored within the 18th-dynasty Queens' Valley. The more this author attempted to look for information about the Queens' Valley tomb owners, the more it was evident that there was much to be reassessed. Publications (both monographs and papers) mainly dealt with the tombs of the Ramesside queens and princes. Regarding the 18th Dynasty, little had been published.⁴⁹⁸ Ballerini mentioned a few tombs in his *Notizia Sommaria* since most of the 18th-dynasty tombs were discovered in 1904, after the publication of his work. Schiaparelli dedicated the first part of his publication to the 18th-dynasty tombs, focusing on tombs QV 30, QV 46, QV 47, QV 88, QV 92, QV 93, and QV 97,⁴⁹⁹ too few compared with the high volume of shaft tombs discovered by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana*.

The necessity of a social analysis was evident following the recent discoveries made by the New Kingdom Research Foundation in the south-western *wadis*, under the direction of Litherland. Indeed, slightly before the beginning of the Italian mission in the Queens' Valley, Georges Legrain purchased, on behalf of the Cairo Egyptian Museum, several fragments belonging to circa 40 canopic jars, which had suddenly appeared at the antiquity

⁴⁹⁷ Balbaligo 2006, 3.

⁴⁹⁸ Loyrette 1987; Loyrette and Fekri 1991; Lecuyot 1992/a; Loyrette 1997.

⁴⁹⁹ Schiaparelli 1924, 13-47.

market of Luxor.⁵⁰⁰ This group of fragmented canopic jars were found in the framework of illegal excavations. The fact that the merchants came from Luxor was the only clue suggesting that these materials might have been found in the Theban necropolis. Some features of the canopic jars - like materials (alabaster and limestone), the carved inscriptions filled up with blue paste, their provenance from Luxor, and the names and titles of the deceased - led Legrain to hypothesize the Queens' Valley as their find-spot. Among the attested names there were those of King's Wife Henut, the Great King's Wife Nebetnehet, the King's Son Menkheperra,⁵⁰¹ King's Daughter Tjaa,⁵⁰² and at least fourteen women bearing the *hkr.t nsw*-title ("royal ornament"), which was indicative of eminent women, likely wives of the high officials, who possibly lived at the royal residences.⁵⁰³ Furthermore, Legrain suggested that these individuals lived during the reigns of Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV.⁵⁰⁴ Notwithstanding, the recent investigations led by Litherland have demonstrated that Legrain's fragments did not come from the Queens' Valley but from the south-western *wadis*, in particular from the tomb n. 2 of the WB1 site, within the Wadi Bairiya.⁵⁰⁵

Litherland's recent discoveries stimulated the most relevant research question of the present PhD dissertation: who was buried in the Queens' Valley, in particular during the 18th Dynasty? The first step in order to understand the social fabric of the tomb owners has been made in *Chapter II*: the analysis of the necropolis landscape made it possible to build a first impression about the individuals who were buried within this necropolis. The comparative analysis of the 18th-dynasty Kings' Valley and Queens' Valley demonstrated that the morphological layout of the necropolis landscapes may mirror a specific social background, which includes people close of the pharaoh: individuals were buried within those necropoleis not because of their official/political role in the social environment, rather due to their relationship with the king.⁵⁰⁶ In the following paragraphs, this author will deal with the tomb owners of the Queens' Valley, by considering first the 18th Dynasty period and then the Ramesside Period.

⁵⁰⁰ Legrain 1903, 138-149; Legrain 1904, 139-141.

⁵⁰¹ Legrain 1903, 139 (fragments n. 6 and 7); Legrain 1904, 140 (fragment n. 1936).

⁵⁰² Legrain 1903, 139 (fragments n. 8 and 9); Legrain 1904, 141.

⁵⁰³ Robins 1993, 115-117.

⁵⁰⁴ Legrain 1903, 146.

⁵⁰⁵ Litherland 2015; Litherland 2018, 115-129.

⁵⁰⁶ The Kings' Valley better proves this mechanism thanks to the fact that archaeological record is richer compared to that of the Queens' Valley.

V.2. The 18th Dynasty

Following the chronological order, this author first addresses the social fabric of the tomb owners during the 18th Dynasty. When the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* started the archaeological mission in the Queens' Valley, about 50 tombs had already been explored (see *Chapter III.1*). The majority of these tombs were located within the main *wadi* and dated to the Ramesside Period: they mostly belonged to royal consorts, this being the reason why this burial ground was called "Queens' Valley".

Right after the first campaign, Ballerini remarked that the Queens' Valley actually hosted not only queens' tombs but also some princes' tombs and other undecorated tombs. During the second campaign, the Italian team discovered several undecorated shaft tombs, thus revealing the complexity of the social fabric of the deceased buried therein. These shaft tombs were devoid of any wall decoration and architectural superstructure. Only the owners of a few tombs were identified (these tombs were included within Schiaparelli's publication). However, the majority of the tomb owners remained anonymous, due to the bad state of preservation of the archaeological evidence or its almost complete absence.

Little attention was directed by Ballerini and Schiaparelli to the 18th-dynasty tombs of this necropolis. Later, the Franco-Egyptian team re-investigated the 18th-dynasty burials but not all the tombs were published. According to Leblanc, '*les vestiges de mobiliers funéraires de plusieurs princes et princesses de la XVIIIème dynastie réapparurent au jour, soulignant en l'occurrence que la nécropole avait été surtout, au début, destinée aux enfants royaux*'.⁵⁰⁷ Leblanc's remark is based on the "abundant" attestation of the *s3(.t) nsw*-title, however, there are also individuals, other than princes and princesses, who are attested therein. The recent re-contextualization of Legrain's canopic jar fragments by Litherland made a reassessment of the social identity of the 18th-dynasty tomb owners necessary. In doing so, the author will consider aspects that may provide information about those individuals, like tomb architecture, archaeological evidence, and comparisons with the Kings' Valley. Conclusions will not be much different from the current state of knowledge of the social fabric of the 18th-dynasty tomb owners of this necropolis,⁵⁰⁸ however, the results, which

⁵⁰⁷ Quotation from Leblanc 2012, 28.

⁵⁰⁸ Donadoni Roveri 1988, 146; Leblanc 1989/b, 18-20; Strudwick and Strudwick 1999, 127; McCarthy 2007, 105.

have been achieved through a new a methodological approach, will offer more consistent argumentations.

V.2-a. Tomb Architecture and Chronological Issues

At a first sight, the Queens' Valley undecorated tombs may seem unfinished: walls and ceilings are roughly cut and the shape of the chambers is often not well-defined. However, the remarks concerning the geological structure of the necropolis (*Chapter I.2*) have shown that the current state of preservation and the rough aspect of the walls mainly depend on the quality and characteristics of the rock into which the tombs have been cut.

The 18th-dynasty tombs are characterized by two types of entrances. Most of the tombs have a shaft entrance, which is cut vertically into the rock and displays square- or rectangular-shaped mouth. The current state of preservation of the shaft entrances depends on the type of rock, which ranges from the hard marl to the fragile shale. Shafts cut into marl still preserve their original shape and show well-defined walls; conversely, shafts cut into shale show irregular shape of the mouth and more unstable walls. The depth of the shaft entrance differs from tomb to tomb. A few tombs show a staircase entryway, that was aligned and in axis with the entrance: in tombs QV 65 and QV 97, the steps are part of the original project of the tomb construction. The staircase entryway may be linked to the status of the tomb owners, although the lack of archaeological evidence cannot confirm it: indeed, nothing is said about findings from QV 65, and concerning tomb QV 97, only a large fragment of alabaster jar has been brought to light. In other cases, the staircase entryway is the result of architectural changes that occurred when the tombs were reused at later stages (see tombs QV 11, QV 16, and QV 23 in volume II: *Catalogue of the Tombs*).

With regard to the architectural layout, Leblanc has divided the 18th-dynasty Queens' Valley tombs into three groups, based on their axis:⁵⁰⁹ longitudinal (type A), bent (type B), and combined longitudinal and bent (type AB). Each group has been divided into sub-groups (table V.a).

⁵⁰⁹ Leblanc 1989/a, 233-237.

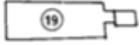
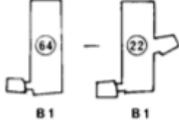
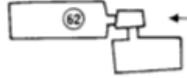
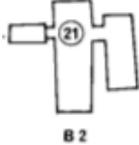
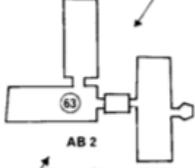
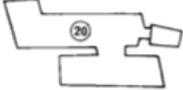
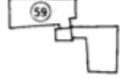
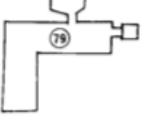
		A The shaft or staircase entryway is aligned with the axis of the burial chamber	B The shaft or staircase entryway leads to the burial chamber after a turn of 90°	AB Combination of the two preceding types
Sub-groups	1	A.1 Single burial chamber (e.g. QV 19) 	B.1 Single burial chamber (e.g. QV 61) 	AB.1 Two chambers open up from two different sides of the bottom of the shaft; one burial chamber with straight axis, the other one with bent axis (e.g. QV 62) 
	2	A.2 Two burial chambers placed in a row (e.g. QV 39) 	B.2 Two chambers placed in a row, both with transversal axis (e.g. QV 21) 	AB.2 Two multi-chambered tombs (one with straight and the other one with bent axis) that open up from two opposite sides of the bottom of the shaft (e.g. QV 63) 
	3	A.3 One burial chamber on the same axis of the entrance; side chamber (e.g. QV 20) 	B.3 Two chambers open up from two sides at the bottom of the shaft (e.g. QV 59) 	
	4	A.4 One L-shaped burial chamber; side chamber (e.g. QV 79) 	B.4 Two chambers open up from two opposite sides at the bottom of the shaft, they are parallel to each other and they constitute two different tombs (e.g. QV 4) 	
	5	A.5 Two chambers open up from two opposite sides at the bottom of the shaft (e.g. QV 69) 		

Table V.a. The typology of QV tomb after Christian Leblanc (Leblanc 1989/a). Tomb plans are adapted from Leblanc 1989/a, 235 (drawing of the tomb plans: © M. Kalos).

The only aspect to be added to Leblanc's typological subdivision concerns tomb QV 97:⁵¹⁰ this tomb is the only one consisting of a staircase entryway and a corridor leading to the burial chamber (fig. V.1). Such a tomb type - steps/corridor/burial chamber(s) – is unique within the Queens' Valley and can be found in the Kings' Valley (for instance, see tomb KV 37, which has been dated to the reign of Thutmosis III/Amenhotep II).

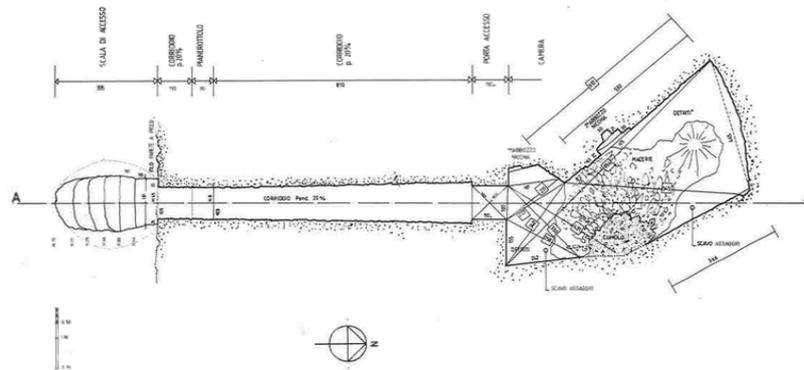


Fig. V.1. Plan of tomb QV 97 (after Côte *et al.* 1996, 149, fig. 2; drawing of the tomb plan: © Eraldo Livio).

Concerning the multi-chambered tombs, it is worth remarking the distribution of the rooms around the shaft: some tomb-types develop from one entrance only and others develop from two different entrances that open at the bottom of the same shaft. Tombs with the bottom of the shaft characterized by two different entrances leading to one or more chambers (*e.g.* QV 59, QV 62, QV 63, and QV 69) are considered as a single tomb, although they are actually two different tombs (fig. V.2). According to Leblanc, the multi-chambered tombs, which develop independently from the same shaft, may have belonged to a family that enlarged the original plan after the first entombment.⁵¹¹ However, this sounds strange: indeed, once the deceased was entombed, the chamber was closed and sealed, and the shaft filled up till the top (or this is at least what is thought to be the normal practice). It is hard to believe that the shaft was emptied and the tomb enlarged in order to bury other members of the same family. Should one assume that the shaft was not filled with debris? Or were all the chambers part of the original plan (this sounds a likely option)? It is difficult to find a definitive solution. However, it is worth observing that

⁵¹⁰ This tomb has been re-discovered after Leblanc's publication (1989), this being the reason why it has not been included within his typologies.

⁵¹¹ Leblanc 1989/a, 237.

such a typology of multi-chambered tombs that develop around the same shaft entrance does not have any comparison with the Kings' Valley tombs. This remark may suggest that there were different architects planning the tombs within the Queens' Valley and the Kings' Valley.

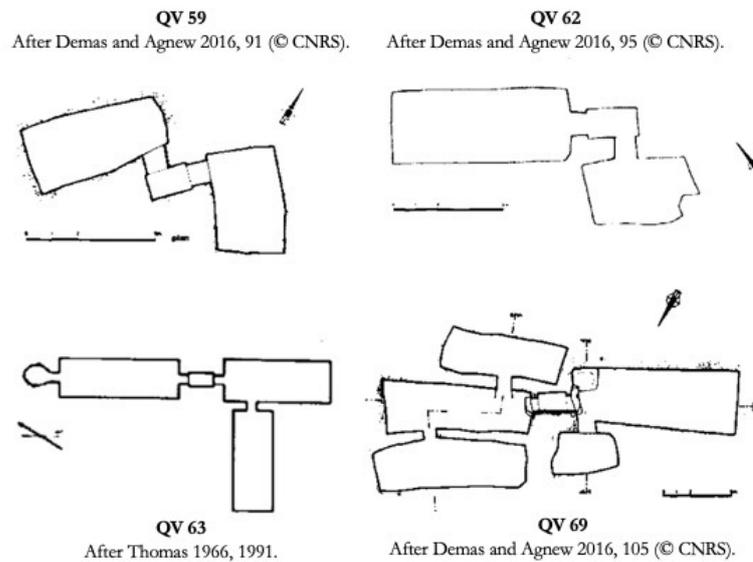


Fig. V.2. Examples of multi-chambered shaft tombs in the Queens' Valley.

With regard to the undecorated tombs of the Kings' Valley, von Lieven interprets the absence of decoration as a restriction limited to non-royal individuals,⁵¹² thus suggesting that it dealt with a rule set forth by *decorum*. However, during the New Kingdom, in the Theban area, the lack of decoration within the burial chambers was almost a rule, with a few exceptions: eight 18th-dynasty tombs⁵¹³ and 26 Ramesside Period tombs⁵¹⁴ had decorated subterranean chambers. Therefore, the lack of painted decoration within the subterranean rooms should not be interpreted as something related to restrictive impositions. On the contrary, decorated burial chambers were actually something exceptional.

A brief *excursus* is here devoted to the Kings' Valley in order to provide a term of comparison with the Queens' Valley tombs. Of the 64 tombs actually known in the Kings' Valley,⁵¹⁵ only 25 were designed for kings;⁵¹⁶ 37 tombs were prepared for

⁵¹² Lieven 2016, 299.

⁵¹³ Dodson and Ikram 2008, 228.

⁵¹⁴ Dodson and Ikram 2008, 268-269.

⁵¹⁵ Possibly 65, considering the last discovery of an embalming pit in the West Valley, which has been announced by Z. Hawass on the 9th of October 2019.

⁵¹⁶ Including the tomb of Tutankhamun (KV 62), which was originally not designed for a king's burial.

commoners (queens, royal sons and daughters, *hkr.t-nsw*-women, wet nurses, children of the royal nursery, and members of the royal court);⁵¹⁷ three tombs contained animal remains (KV 50, KV 51, KV 52),⁵¹⁸ and two tombs served as deposits (KV 54 and KV 63). Looking at the preserved epithets and titles of the deceased, it is apparent that the administrative tasks did not play any role in the selection of the tomb owners: closeness to the king was the most important criterion of choice for a burial spot within the royal necropolis. A humble and undecorated tomb within the Kings' Valley was very likely perceived as a reward and honour and the geographical vicinity to the royal tombs was conceptually relevant: after death, these commoners would have continued their life close to the king they had served, sharing the same afterlife. It was during the reign of Hatshepsut that the Kings' Valley was chosen as a burial ground: KV 20 may be the first royal tomb to have been cut therein.⁵¹⁹ From this moment on, both royal and non-royal tombs were prepared within the Kings' Valley. The non-royal tombs were mostly cut between the reigns of Hatshepsut and Amenhotep III.⁵²⁰ As suggested by René Preys, non-royal tombs are concentrated close to royal tombs, which were therefore the *raison d'être* of the former ones.⁵²¹ By considering such remarks, it results that the shaft tombs within the Queens' Valley pre-date the non-royal tombs cut in the Kings' Valley; furthermore, according to the principle of the vicinity of the non-royal tombs to the royal ones, and considering similarities in the necropolis landscape, it may be possible that even the Queens' Valley non-royal tombs may have been designed as a cluster of tombs around or close to a royal burial, which may have been set there in the early 18th Dynasty (hypothetically, in the reign of Thutmose I: see *Chapter VII.1*).

Concerning the architectural features, the 18th-dynasty non-royal tombs of the Kings' Valley can be divided into two groups, according to the type of entrance (a shaft or a staircase; fig. V.3).⁵²² Most of the tombs are characterized by a straight axis. They are devoid of any tomb superstructure and the burial chambers are undecorated and uninscribed,⁵²³ like the 18th-dynasty Queens' Valley tombs. Several tombs, both with staircase entryway and shaft entrance, have a corridor: this peculiarity finds only a match

⁵¹⁷ Bickel 2016/a.

⁵¹⁸ Reeves 1990, 170-171. According to Thomas, these tombs had been planned for individuals (1966, 166-168).

⁵¹⁹ Gabolde 1987, 79; Reeves and Wilkinson 1996, 91; Polz 1997, 219-220; Preys 2011, 315-318.

⁵²⁰ Bickel 2016/a, 231. Although tombs KV 55 and KV 62 were used after the Amarna Period, for the burial of kings, they can be dated before the Amarna Period (based on the architectural features).

⁵²¹ Preys 2011, 329.

⁵²² Other scholars suggest different grouping system according to the tomb placement (see Preys 2011, 322-329).

⁵²³ KV 55, the supposed tomb of Akhenaten, has plastered walls but it lacks any decoration and KV 62 displays decorated walls only in the burial chamber.

in the Queens' Valley (tomb QV 97). In addition, the multi-chambered tombs have only one access (e.g. KV 30, KV 31, and KV 40) whilst, as seen above, some Queens' Valley a number of multi-chambered tombs develop from two accesses located at the bottom of the same shaft. Finally, another factor of distinction is given by the fact that the burial chambers of non-royal tombs in the Kings' Valley can be provided with pillars (e.g. KV21⁵²⁴), whereas the 18th-dynasty Queens' Valley tomb do not show this architectural feature.

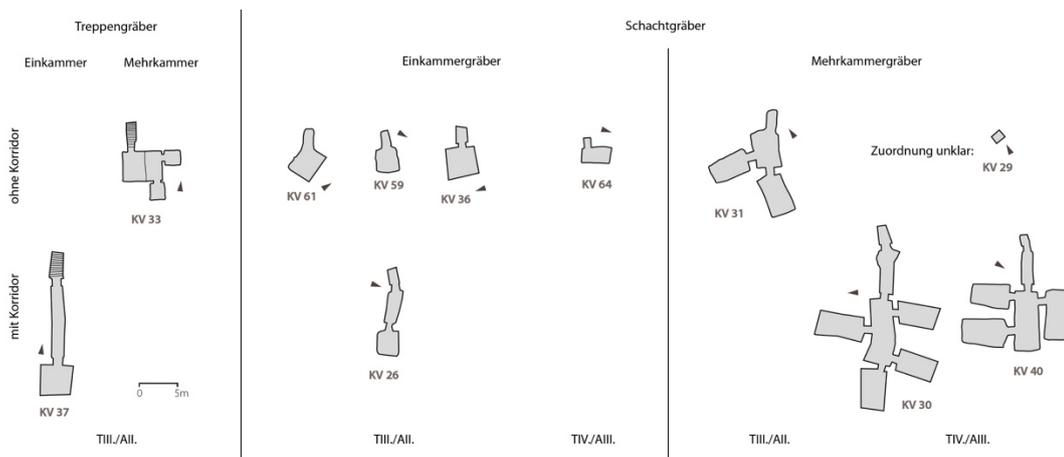


Fig. V.3. Typological subdivision of non-royal tomb in the Kings' Valley; © University of Basel - Kings' Valley Project (drawing by F. Adrom).

The most widespread type of non-royal tomb in the Kings' Valley is the single-chambered tomb provided with shaft entrance (KV 24, KV 28, KV 36, KV 44, KV 45, KV 48, KV 50, KV 51, KV 52, KV 53, KV 56, KV 58, KV 59, KV 61, KV 63, KV 64). Shaft tombs can also be provided with a corridor connecting the entrance with one or more burial chamber⁵²⁵ (e.g. KV 26, KV 30, KV 31, and KV 40): the tombs showing this peculiarity are located in the same sector of the side valley that leads to Thutmosis III's tomb. Such connecting corridor occurs only once within the Queens' Valley shaft tombs (QV 97). Despite the different aspects, there are also some elements that put in close connection the tombs of these two necropoleis: 1) the environment into which the tombs of these two necropoleis are cut, *i.e.* the landscape, as well as the layout of the necropoleis themselves (see *Chapter II.4*); 2) the tomb architecture, which is characterized by undecorated subterranean chambers and absence of decorated superstructures.

⁵²⁴ Aston *et al.* 2000, 14-16; Roehrig 2010, 21. This tomb might have hosted the burial of Queen Mutemuja (Preys 2011, 329-30).

⁵²⁵ Bickel 2016/a, 238.

Turning back to the Queens' Valley tombs, it is worth noting that tomb markers as well as trace of any sort of delineation of the shaft entrances were never detected. However, considering that during the Ramesside Period (19th and 20th Dynasties) several tombs have been cut into the main *wadi* and the collisions with the tombs of the preceding phase are really few (see *Chapter VII.3*), it can be assumed that the mouths of the shaft tombs may have been indicated by means of some kind of markers (even simply stones). In addition, no orientation system has been applied in the project of the tomb plan. The principle of directionality, "*both in the sense of succession of elements and of orientation of single buildings and tombs, plays a relevant role in governing the landscape in accordance with the idea of "cosmic" order*".⁵²⁶ This principle is detectable, for instance, at Abydos, where funerary buildings, processional ways, tombs, valleys, and mountains are allocated according to a north-to-south direction.⁵²⁷ However, as remarked above, there are no buildings within the Queens' Valley,⁵²⁸ and processional paths have never been detected. In addition, tombs do not follow a specific directionality, nor any principle of ritual orientation: these tombs have been cut along the main *wadi*, following the principle of free space, with the entrance more or less perpendicular (but not always) to the main path.

Finally, with regard to the issue of the missing tomb chapels, Leblanc has suggested four likely scenarios:⁵²⁹

1) *Tombs were never provided with visible superstructures; the shafts were filled up once the burial chamber had been sealed and no marker was used in order to detect the tomb entrance.* At present, this scenario seems to be the most probable: considering the fact that even the tombs in the Kings' Valley and in the Wadi Bairiya were not provided with tomb chapels, the absence of such structures in the Queens' Valley as well does not sound curious. However, the hypothesis according to which tomb entrances were completely obliterated is not fully persuasive, otherwise how to explain the few tomb collisions occurred in the Ramesside Period?

2) *Tombs were provided with funerary chapels that had been dismantled at an uncertain period.* This option may be another plausible scenario, although it is inexplicable that no minimal trace or even clue to the presence of any tomb superstructure or chapel has not been identified.

⁵²⁶ Magli 2011, 23.

⁵²⁷ Magli 2011, 25.

⁵²⁸ The Grotto-cascade is a natural cave and the sanctuary of Ptah and Meretseger consists of shrines adapted to the morphology of the hills.

⁵²⁹ Leblanc 1989/a, 230-231.

It might be possible that “temporary” shrines, made of perishable materials such as wood, reeds, and mud-bricks were built in order to perform the rituals on the day of the funerals and then dismantled. In this regard, it is worth noting that textual evidence attests to the presence of temporary structures built within the Queens’ Valley:⁵³⁰ even though it deals with a *wḏ3*-storehouse, it might be assumed that temporary superstructures devoted to funerary rituals as well were built there;

3) *Tomb chapels were built not in the Queens’ Valley but in another place over the Theban necropolis, in the same way as the kings had their House of Millions of Years built at the edge of the fertile plain.*

The hypothesis of “satellite” funerary chapels has not to be completely ruled out, however, there is no archaeological evidence; in this regard, it might be assumed that some of the unattributed Theban tomb chapels have belonged to the Queens’ Valley deceased;

4) *Tomb chapels were never built within the Queens’ Valley since the deceased were mainly princes and princesses.* This hypothesis may be likely with regard to princes and princesses only, but it does not take into account that only a few individuals are known and among these there are also people who were not part of the king’s progeny.

Considering the picture of the situation, finding a solution is anything but simple. As remarked in *Chapter II.2*, temporary structures were built in the Queens’ Valley in order to be used as storehouse. Therefore, it cannot be excluded that temporary funerary chapels were built and then dismantled. It should be also considered that the use of this necropolis lasted from the 18th Dynasty to the Coptic Period, and afterwards the Queens’ Valley continued to be “visited”: it is evident that such an extended use affected the morphology of the necropolis, its tombs, and their content. Therefore, it is plausible to assume that some kind of funerary structures may have existed, but have not preserved.

The scarce archaeological evidence, combined with the absence of wall decoration, makes not only the identification of the tomb owners but also a dating of the tombs a true challenge. According to Leblanc, the single-chambered tombs (Leblanc’s type A1 and B1, see table V.a) belong to the earliest phase of use of this necropolis. These tombs could host the burials of one, up to three, individual(s) and they are datable to the first half of the 18th Dynasty, including the joint reign of Hatshepsut/Thutmose III. Afterwards, there was a change from the single-chambered tombs to multi-chambered burials intended as family sepulchres, during the reign of Amenhotep III.⁵³¹ This hypothesis is likely, although

⁵³⁰ Gabler and Soliman 2018, 7-8.

⁵³¹ Leblanc 1989/a, 236-237; Lecuyot 1992/a, 119, footnote n. 6.

there are at least three exceptions: the material evidence found within the single-chambered tombs QV 17 and QV 22 dates to the reign of King Amenhotep III, that from the single-chambered tomb QV 32 dates to the late 18th Dynasty (or early 19th Dyn.). It may be possible that these tombs had been cut previously and were used at a later stage. In any case, attributing multi-chambered tombs to the mid-18th Dynasty and single-chambered tombs to the time-span between the early 18th Dynasty and the joint reign of Hatshepsut/Thutmose III should not be intended as a fixed rule.

It is also challenging, if not impossible, to ascertain the number of burials within each tomb. Considering the situation concerning the 18th-dynasty intact tombs within the Theban area,⁵³² it is possible to observe that a single-chambered tomb could host one individual,⁵³³ two individuals,⁵³⁴ a family unit,⁵³⁵ or several individuals even without family relationship.⁵³⁶ In the case of the Queens' Valley, the chaotic contexts and scarce archaeological evidence makes the understanding of the number of individual within each tomb rather unclear. In a few cases it has been possible to ascertain the likely number of individuals buried in a tomb thanks to the archaeological evidence: for instance, one individual in QV 46, QV 47, QV 88; two individuals in QV 17, QV 33, QV 82, and QV 98; three individuals within QV 8.

Concerning the tomb construction, there is no textual evidence which may provide information about who planned and cut the Queens' Valley tombs during the 18th Dynasty. The proximity of the village to this necropolis may suggest that the workmen of Deir el-Medina cut the tombs in the Queens' Valley. Otherwise, how to explain the position of this village, considering that the earliest tombs cut in the Kings' Valley are chronologically later than those cut within the Queens' Valley? More detailed information concerns the Ramesside Period, during which the workmen of Deir el-Medina were involved in the construction of the Queens' Valley tombs, as attested by written sources.⁵³⁷

⁵³² In this regard, see Smith 1992.

⁵³³ E.g. KV 36 (Maiherperi).

⁵³⁴ E.g. KV 46 (Yuya and Tuya).

⁵³⁵ E.g. DeM 1159 (Sennefer, Nefertiti, and infant).

⁵³⁶ See for instance the burial of Ramose and Hatnefer (Senenmut's parents); see: Smith 1992, 225-227; Dorman 2003, 32-34; Strudwick 2013, 340.

⁵³⁷ According to Bruyère, the village of Deir el-Medina was divided into two parts, corresponding with two different teams in charge of the works both in the Kings and Queens' Valleys: "*Sans doute deux équipes constituées, distinctes, avec leur chef, leur scribes, dessinateurs, sculpteurs, maçons, etc., se partagent par moitié les maisons du village et les tombes de Deir el Médineh. Les gens préposés à la Vallée des Rois habitent peut-être la partie nord du village et occupant la partie nord du cimetière, et ceux de la Vallée des Reines les parties sud du village et du cimetière*" (quotation from Bruyère 1927, part III, 4). This theory has been rejected by Leblanc (Leblanc 1989/a, 227-228), who supports Černý's hypothesis about the fact that both the teams of the right (*t3 rj.t wnm.j*) and of the left sides (*t3 rj.t smh.j*) worked concomitantly within the same tomb. This is also confirmed, in the case of the Queens' Valley, by a hieratic inscription found within Nefertari's tomb (Leblanc 1989/a, 228, footnote 5. Concerning the subdivision of the equipe into the right and the left sides, see Černý 1973/a, 99-109).

V.2-b. Queens' Burials in the 18th-dynasty Queens' Valley?

As remarked by Reeves, “*the general assumption, among the public at least, is that the pharaohs were buried in the Valley of the Kings and the queens and lesser royal-family members within tombs in the Valley of the Queens*”.⁵³⁸ However, the actual situation was rather different and the 18th Dynasty displays, as will be shown shortly, a variegated spectrum of solutions. In the 18th Dynasty, the Kings' Valley hosted not only the tombs of the pharaohs but also those of some queens, princes, princesses, and commoners.⁵³⁹ With regards to the Queens' Valley during the same epoch, information about the social identity of the deceased remains difficult to unlock. According to Aidan Dodson, “*the pictures which thus emerges of royal family burials during the Eighteenth Dynasty at Thebes appears far less consistent than during earlier periods, with the innovations of communal burial, and the placement of bodies within the area of the burial chamber. From the time of Amenhotep I there seems to have been a general preference for the southern end of the Theban necropolis, focusing on the Valley of the Queens*”.⁵⁴⁰ During the first half of the 18th Dynasty, there was a “shift” of the burial ground destined to the members of the royal family southwards. However, this seems to have happened later than the reign of Amenhotep I. In the present section, the position and architecture of the queens' tombs will be examined, in the time-span between the end of the 17th Dynasty and the first half of the 18th Dynasty.⁵⁴¹ This author's purpose is to suggest that the Queens' Valley might have hosted queens' burials already during the 18th Dynasty, although no specific 18th-dynasty tomb has been assigned to a royal consort to date.

Before Litherland's discoveries within the Wadi Bairiya, it was common opinion that two minor wives of Amenhotep III had been buried in the Queens' Valley,⁵⁴² although their tombs were not identified. The results of the investigations led in the south-western *wadis* by the New Kingdom Research Foundation allowed Litherland to re-contextualize the burials of Queen Henut and Queen Nebenehet within the Wadi Bairiya.⁵⁴³ Therefore, it resulted that the first queen's tomb in the Queens' Valley was that of Satra (QV 38), which was prepared at the beginning of the 19th Dynasty. However, the finding of a fragment of a calcite canopic jar in the right branch of the Valley of the Rope has re-

⁵³⁸ Quotation from Reeves 2003, 69.

⁵³⁹ Bickel 2016/a.

⁵⁴⁰ Quotation from Dodson 2003, 190.

⁵⁴¹ The 18th-dynasty queens' burials have been treated in several recent studies. In this regard, see: Dodson 2003; Reeves 2003; Roehrig 2010; Preys 2011; Aston 2015; Bickel 2016.

⁵⁴² In this regard, see: Legrain 1903; Legrain 1904.

⁵⁴³ Litherland 2015.

opened the question. This fragment (inv. n. DR8/20072011) preserves the name of the *hm.t nsw wr.t [j^h-]ms*, who has been identified as the wife of Thutmose I (1504-1492 BC) and mother of Hatshepsut (fig. V.4).⁵⁴⁴ Although no other object attributable to this queen has been found within any 18th-dynasty tomb, the canopic jar fragment in question may attest to Queen Ahmes' burial within the Valley of the Rope. Actually, there is one tomb (QV 97) which has a peculiar architectural layout that differs from that of the other 18th-dynasty Queens' Valley tombs: considering its position in the Valley of the Rope, it cannot be excluded that it might have hosted the burial of this queen.



Fig. V.4. The inscription on the fragmented canopic jar of Queen Ahmes (after Lecuyot 2011, 175, fig. 2; drawing: © G. Lecuyot).

The idea of the presence of independent queens' burials in the Queens' Valley during the 18th Dynasty is not so revolutionary. Indeed, considering the position of the queens' tombs over the Theban West Bank between the late Second Intermediate Period and the mid-18th Dynasty, it is evident that the Queens' Valley falls within the extended area that hosted the tombs of the royal consorts. From the early stages of the history of ancient Egypt, queens have benefited from special burial settings, almost always near those of their consorts. During the Old Kingdom, royal wives were usually buried east of the pyramid complex of their husbands.⁵⁴⁵ Even in the Middle Kingdom, royal consorts were buried near their husbands' tombs.⁵⁴⁶ And this trend may have been at work during the 17th Dynasty as well: indeed, as reported in the pap. Abbott, King Sobkemsaf I and

⁵⁴⁴ Lecuyot 2011, 178 and pl. XLVI.B/C.

⁵⁴⁵ János 1996, 5-51.

⁵⁴⁶ Dodson 1988.

his consort Nubkhaes were buried within the same tomb in Dra Abu el-Naga.⁵⁴⁷ During the last part of the 17th Dynasty, royal consorts acquired a prominent position, playing an active role in the framework of the reconquest of the Egypt against the Hyksos. These queens had a considerable influence, as it is apparent from the titles they bore (*Lady of the two Lands, Lady of the Upper and Lower Egypt, God's Wife*⁵⁴⁸) and their burial equipment: in 1859, Mariette's workmen discovered at Dra Abu el-Naga the gilded coffin of the Great King's Wife Ahhotep and her grave goods including military weapons and a necklace made of golden flies, which was usually awarded to generals for their value in the battle.⁵⁴⁹ If that of Queen Ahhotep was the original burial, her humble sepulchre may indicate that there was a change at work in the conception of the tombs of the royal family members: the renounce to visible monumentality in favour of an invisible spot may have been the most innovative aspect.

In 1929, Herbert Winlock discovered the coffin of Queen Ahmes-Merytamon (sister-wife of Amenhotep I) within tomb n. 358 at the Deir el-Bahri.⁵⁵⁰ David Aston recently assumed that DB 358 was originally prepared for this queen: it results that the tomb was cut under King Amenhotep I (1525-1504 BC) or later, during the reign of Thutmosis I.⁵⁵¹

Furthermore, Aston suggested that the Deir el-Bahri tomb n. 320 was prepared for Queen Ahmes-Nefertari (wife of King Ahmose),⁵⁵² whose mummy was the only one found within the original coffin.⁵⁵³ This queen died in the regnal year 5/6 of Thutmosis I, however, the DB 320 ensemble pottery seems to be too late to be attributed to the reign of the same king.⁵⁵⁴ Although the majority of the pottery assemblage dates to joint reign

⁵⁴⁷ Tyldesley 2006, 82-85.

⁵⁴⁸ Ahmes-Nefertari was the first queen who bore this title, at the dawn of the 18th Dynasty.

⁵⁴⁹ See: Thomas 1966, 39; Reeves 2000, 50-51. According to H. Carter, the coffin was found within a brick-lined vault: for this information, see Reeves 2000, 50; Reeves 2003, 69. Concerning the issue of the queens' burial (original burial or re-burial?), Galán remarks that "*the fact that the coffins of Kamose and Ahhotep were placed on the ground lying on their side, unprotected and covered only by sand, does not necessarily imply that they were reburied, as this seems to be a common practice in the Theban necropolis in various periods*" (quotation from Galán 2017/a, 216).

⁵⁵⁰ Winlock 1932; Reeves 2003, 69.

⁵⁵¹ The tomb was then restored during regnal year 19 of Pinedjem I, and afterwards reused during the 21st Dynasty for the burial of Nauny: see Aston 2015, 24.

⁵⁵² Aston 2013, 14; Aston 2015, 32-33. Generally, the tomb attributed to Ahmes-Nefertari is AN.B at Dra Abu el-Naga (Carter 1916, 152; Porter and Moss 1964 (PM I²), 559-560), although there are no proofs of this (Aston 2015, 34). According to Romer, tomb AN.B was prepared for Queen Ahmes-Nefertari and later it was modified and reused for the burial of her son Amenhotep I (Romer 1976). According to Reeves, tomb AN.B may belong to the group of the early 18th-dynasty queens' tombs (2003, 71-72). Dodson interprets AN.B as the sepulcher of Amenhotep I, used for the re-burial of Ahmose as well (Dodson 2013).

⁵⁵³ The style and typology of Queen Ahmes-Nefertari's coffin is in line with that one of Queen Ahmes-Merytamon (which was found in DB 358); the coffin of the queen was found stripped off of its original decoration, as the result of the plundering activity carried out by the restorers of the royal mummies (Reeves 1990, 276-278). E. Graefe and G. Belova are of a different opinion: indeed, they claim that tomb DB 320 was prepared during the 21st Dynasty for Pinudjem II, his wives Neskhnos and Isisemkheb, and some of his descendants (Graefe and Belova 2006, 211).

⁵⁵⁴ Graefe and Bickerstaffe 2013.

of Hatshepsut/Thutmose III,⁵⁵⁵ Aston does not exclude that the pottery attributed to the reigns of Hatshepsut/Thutmose III may have appeared a generation earlier.⁵⁵⁶

Tomb KV 39 was the subject of several interpretations. Aston considers it as a product of the early 18th Dynasty,⁵⁵⁷ like the other two *bab*-tombs DB 320 and DB 358. According to Thomas, KV 39 was prepared for King Thutmose II (1492-1479 BC) or one of his half-brothers.⁵⁵⁸ Conversely, John Rose attributed KV 39 to Queen Inhapi (sister-wife of Seqenenra Taa) and suggested that it was reused for the burial of King Amenhotep I.⁵⁵⁹ Aston is of the opinion that the architectural plan of the second stage of construction of KV 39 is very akin to those of tombs DB 358 and DB 320,⁵⁶⁰ whilst the last enlargement stage reminds him of tomb KV 32: due to this reason, he hypothesises that KV 39 might have been enlarged during the reign of King Amenhotep II (1427-1400 BC) or King Amenhotep III for members of the royal family.⁵⁶¹ In any case, the identity of the original owner of tomb KV 39 still remain uncertain.⁵⁶²

King Thutmose I's wife, Ahmes, was likely buried in the Valley of the Rope, as hypothesized above. However, Thutmose I had another wife, Mutneferet (possibly daughter of King Ahmose),⁵⁶³ who bore King Thutmose II. Her burial has not been detected thus far. Thutmose II had two wives, Isis and Hatshepsut. Isis' tomb remains unidentified, whereas the unused tomb of the royal consort Hatshepsut was prepared in the Wadi Sikket Taqa el-Zaid.⁵⁶⁴ Thutmose III had several wives. The burials of this Kings' Wife Nebtu and the Great King's Wife Sitiah have not been detected so far. The three Syrian wives Menui, Menhet, and Merti were buried in a tomb cut in the Wadi Gabbanat el-Qurud.⁵⁶⁵ Neferura, daughter of Hatshepsut and Thutmose II, was a possibly wife of Thutmose III: her tomb was prepared in the *wadi* C, close to the Wadi Gabbanat el-Qurud. Finally, the Great King's Wife Merytra-Hatshepsut had a tomb prepared in the Kings' Valley (KV 42), which likely never hosted her burial;⁵⁶⁶ according

⁵⁵⁵ Aston 2015, 27.

⁵⁵⁶ Aston 2015, 33.

⁵⁵⁷ Aston 2015, 24.

⁵⁵⁸ Thomas 1966, 74.

⁵⁵⁹ Rose 2000, 146.

⁵⁶⁰ Aston 2015, 23 and fig. 5.

⁵⁶¹ Aston 2015, 36. Actually, the finding of dummy grinding stones, some of which bearing the praenomen of King Amenhotep II, and fragments of "black" coffins may confirm such a dating: Dodson 2005-2006, 36.

⁵⁶² Polz as well claims the impossibility to ascertain the tomb owners (Polz 2007, 211).

⁵⁶³ Dodson and Hilton 2004, 139.

⁵⁶⁴ Carter 1917; Thomas 1966, 195-6.

⁵⁶⁵ Winlock 1948; Lilyquist 1998; Lilyquist 2003; Reeves 2003, 69.

⁵⁶⁶ Reeves 2003, 69. Eaton-Krauss assumes that this tomb, due to its plan and decoration, was intended as a royal sepulchre (Eaton-Krauss 2012). This tomb has been attributed to Merytra-Hatshepsut because of the finding of the foundation deposits at the tomb entrance (Aston 2015, 16; Bickel 2016/a, 233); however, it was destined to the burial

to Reeves, she may have been buried with her son Amenhotep II in KV 35.⁵⁶⁷ It has been hypothesized that also tomb KV 38 may have been originally designed for a royal consort,⁵⁶⁸ although no archaeological finding can confirm it. Therefore, the supposed tomb of Merytra-Hatshepsut may represent the first tomb designed for a royal consort within the Kings' Valley. The Great King's Wife of Amenhotep II, Tiaa, was buried within tomb KV 32: this is the only tomb provided with staircase entryway that can be attributed with certainty to a queen.⁵⁶⁹ The tombs of the wives of Thutmosis IV (1400-1390 BC), *i.e.* Nefertari, Mutemuia, and Iaret, have not been detected yet. The identification of the sepulchres of King Amenhotep III's wives is anything but simple. The tombs of two of his foreign wives, Gilukhipa (daughter of Shuttarna II, King of Mitanni) and Tadukhipa⁵⁷⁰ (daughter of Tushratta, King of Mitanni) have not been detected. Finally, concerning the burial of Queen Tiya (mother of Akhenaten), the situation is made complicated by the dispersion of a number of objects of her burial assemblage: pieces of her broken sarcophagus have been found in the royal tomb at Amarna, whereas shabtis in Amenhotep III's tomb WV 22, and her gilded shrine in KV 55.⁵⁷¹ The tomb of Ankhesenamun (Tutankhamon's wife, later probably married to Ay)⁵⁷² is still undetected. Finally, Amenia and Mutnodjmet, both wives of Horemheb, seem to have been buried at Saqqara.⁵⁷³

Some hypothesis about the relation between the tomb typology and the queenly status have been proposed, although it is really challenging to find a fixed rule. With regard to the Kings' Valley, Reeves remarks that the pillar within the burial chamber, in association with the staircase entryway, may be a diagnostic element in order to identify tombs belonging to royal consorts.⁵⁷⁴ Considering the combined presence of stepped entryway and pillared room, KV 21 has been identified as a queen's tomb, although the identity of

of other individuals: indeed, Carter found within it fragments of grave goods bearing attestation of the names of the mayor of Thebes Sennefer (owner of TT 96 at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna) and his wife Senetnay (Roehrig 1990, 143-162; Reeves and Wilkinson 1996, 102). Senetnay was royal wet nurse (*mn^c.t nsw*) of Amenhotep II and bore the epithet "the one who nurtures the god" (*šd.t h^cw ntr*). Upon her canopic jars, she also bears the title of royal ornament (*hkr.t nsw*), another evident clue to her connection with the royal court (Eggebrecht 1987, 304-305, n. 258). Likely, KV 42 was not the original burial of Sennefer (buried in TT 96), nor that of Senetnay and the other *hkr.t nsw* Baketra: the two women may have been originally buried in KV 26 and KV 37 and later, after the tomb robberies of the late New Kingdom, cached within KV 42: see Reeves and Wilkinson 1996, 102-103.

⁵⁶⁷ Reeves 2003, 69.

⁵⁶⁸ Reeves 2003, 72; Preys 2011, 320.

⁵⁶⁹ Aston 2015, 16-17; Bickel 2016/b, 19.

⁵⁷⁰ It has been suggested to identify Tadukhipa as Kiya, Akhenaten's wife (Dodson and Hilton 2004, 155).

⁵⁷¹ Dodson and Hilton 2004, 157.

⁵⁷² Dodson and Hilton 2004, 154.

⁵⁷³ Dodson and Hilton 2004, 154 and 156.

⁵⁷⁴ Reeves 2003, 71-72.

its tomb owners still remains anonymous.⁵⁷⁵ According to Preys, this tomb was prepared during the reign of Amenhotep III and was intended for his mother Mutemuia (consort of Thutmose IV).⁵⁷⁶ Other tombs (KV 46, KV 49, and the unfinished KV 56) have been interpreted as queens' sepulchres.⁵⁷⁷ Tomb KV 46 might predate KV 21 and have been cut during the reign of either King Amenhotep II or King Thutmose IV for one or more queens.⁵⁷⁸ Tomb KV 49 was prepared under the reign of Amenhotep II for a queen, even though this tomb has no pillar in the middle of the burial chamber.⁵⁷⁹ Although KV 56 is unfinished, the original plan should have included a pillar in the burial chamber, this being the reason why Reeves was of the opinion that it may have been planned for an 18th-dynasty royal consort.⁵⁸⁰ Finally, albeit without pillar in the burial chamber, KV 33 may have been planned for a queen, considering its close vicinity to Thutmose III's tomb (KV 34).⁵⁸¹ The table below summarises the issue concerning the queens' tombs and their position, considering the time-span between the late 17th Dynasty and the mid-18th Dynasty (table V.b)

Queen	Husband	Tomb location	Architectural features and dating of the tomb
Nubkhaes	Sobkemsaf I	Dra Abu el-Naga	Pyramid superstructure
Ahhotep	Seqenenra Taa	Dra Abu el-Naga	Coffin found within a brick-lined vault (according to H. Carter). Reign of Thutmose I(?)
Inhapi	Seqenenra Taa	KV 39?	Originally the tomb had a shaft entrance, which was then modified into a staircase entryway; undecorated tomb. Early 18 th Dynasty?
Ahmes-Nefertari	Ahmose	DB 320	<i>Bab</i> -type; undecorated tomb. Reign of Thutmose I(?)
Ahmes-Merytamun	Amenhotep I	DB 358	<i>Bab</i> -type; undecorated tomb. Reign of Amenhotep I/Thutmose I
Ahmes	Thutmose I	Queens' Valley (Valley of the Rope)	Unidentified tomb
Mutneferet	Thutmose I	?	Unidentified tomb
Isis	Thutmose II	?	Unidentified tomb
Hatshepsut	Thutmose II	Wadi Sikket Taqa el-Zaid	Cliff-tomb, undecorated. Reign of Thutmose II
Sitiah	Thutmose III	?	Unidentified tomb
Nebtu	Thutmose III	?	Unidentified tomb
Neferura	Thutmose III?	<i>Wadi</i> C (close to the Wadi Gabbanat el-Qurud)	Cliff-tomb; undecorated

⁵⁷⁵ Ryan 1990; Reeves 2003, 71. The tomb contained pottery datable between the reigns of Hatshepsut/Thutmose III and Thutmose IV (Aston 2015, 17).

⁵⁷⁶ Preys 2011, 329-332.

⁵⁷⁷ Roehrig 2010.

⁵⁷⁸ Aston 2015, 18.

⁵⁷⁹ Aston 2015, 18. The lack of central pillar was interpreted by Thomas as a clue to the dating of KV 49 to the late 18th Dynasty.

⁵⁸⁰ Reeves 2003, 72.

⁵⁸¹ Thomas 1966, 139-140; Bickel 2017, 15-17.

Menuj Menhet Merti	Thutmosis III	Wadi Gabbanat el-Qurud	Rock-cut tomb; undecorated
Merytra-Hatshepsut	Thutmosis III	KV 42?	Staircase entryway; decorated; two pillars in the centre of the burial chamber. Reign of Thutmosis III
Tiaa	Amenhotep II	KV 32	Staircase entryway; undecorated; unfinished; broken pillar in the centre of the burial chamber. Reign of Amenhotep II
Nefertari	Thutmosis IV	?	-
Mutemwia	Thutmosis IV	KV 21	Staircase entryway; undecorated; one pillar in the centre of the burial chamber. Dating: reign of Hatshepsut/Thutmosis III - Thutmosis IV (Aston 2015, 17-18); Thutmosis IV (Aston <i>et al.</i> 2000, 14 Roehrig 2010, 182); Amenhotep III (Preys 2011, 329-332)
Iaret	Thutmosis IV	?	-
-	-	KV 49	Staircase entryway; undecorated; no central pillar in the burial chamber. Reign of Amenhotep II
-	-	KV 46	Staircase entryway; undecorated; no pillar in the burial chamber. Reign of Amenhotep II/Thutmosis IV (originally planned for one or more queens? See Aston 2015, 18)
-	-	KV 33	Undecorated; no pillar in the burial chamber
Tiye and Sitamun	Amenhotep III	WV 22	Two decorated pillared side-chambers
Henut and Nebetnehet	Amenhotep III	Wadi Bairiya	Undecorated shaft tomb

Table V.b. Summary of the queens' tomb during the late 17th Dynasty and first half of the 18th Dynasty. © E. Casini.

Thanks to this overview, it is possible to observe that, in the early 18th Dynasty, the queens' tombs were set at Deir el-Bahri. Afterwards, there was a shift of the location of the queens' tombs southwards, as suggested by the supposed burial of Queen Ahmes in the Queens' Valley. The search of a new location for the burials of queens and members of the royal family continued inwards, within the south-western *wadis*. Tomb QV 42 marks a change of trend, characterized by queens' burials located in the Kings' Valley, from the reign of Thutmosis III onwards. Under King Amenhotep III this trend was still at work, however, some of his consorts were again buried within the south-western *wadis*, more precisely in the Wadi Bairiya, thus suggesting that those faraway and hidden valleys had not been abandoned as burial ground. Considering all the above remarks, it is worth noting that the Queens' Valley is located along this virtual line of shift of the queens' burials southwards and inwards: therefore, such a position makes this necropolis a very likely candidate for a queens' burial ground in the early 18th Dynasty (fig. V.5).

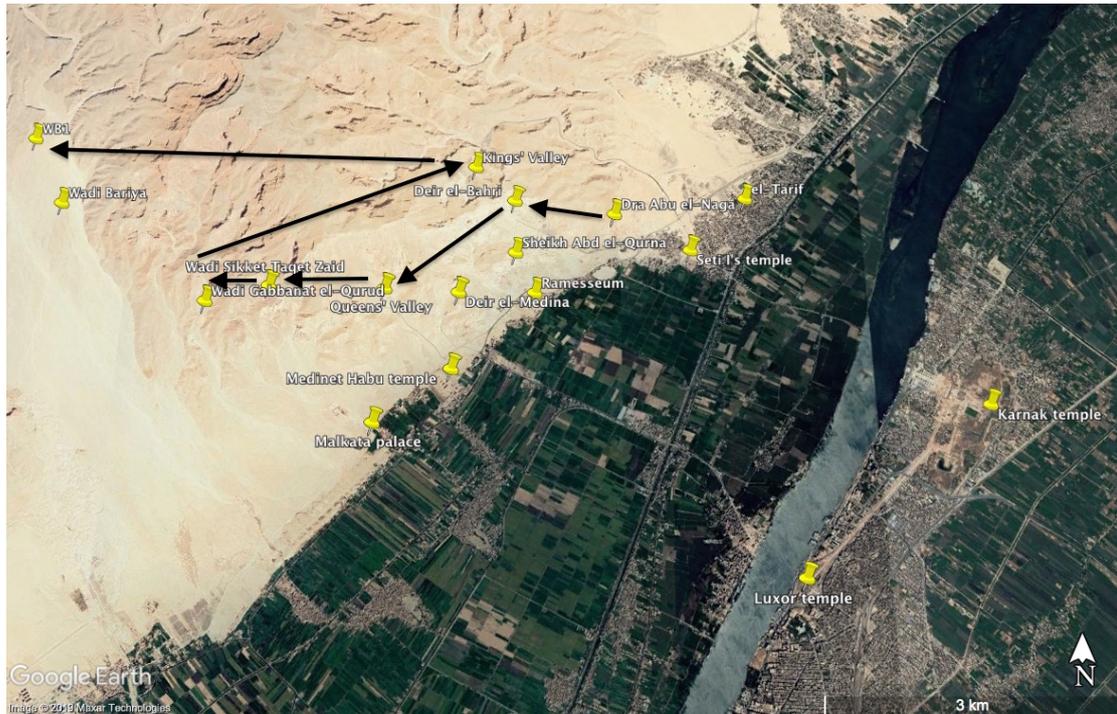


Fig. V.5. Position of the queens' burials in the time-span between the late 17th Dynasty and the reign of Amenhotep III (adapted from Google Earth, last accessed on 4.01.2019). © Google Earth.

V.2-c. A Brief *Excursus* on the *s3(.t) nsw*-(Honorific) Title and the Tombs of the Royal Offspring

Among the 18th-dynasty individuals buried within the Queens' Valley, several bore the honorific title of *s3(.t) nsw* (king's son/daughter), this being the reason why scholars assumed that this was a necropolis intended for the burial of the royal offspring.⁵⁸² However, without any information about the parents of such princes and princesses, one should be careful: indeed, not all the individuals bearing the *s3 nsw*-title were actual king's sons. The present section aims at briefly reassessing this title, as well as the location of the princes and princesses' tombs, in order to better understand the social background of a part of the Queens' Valley tomb owners.

During the 4th Dynasty, the complete titulary *s3 nsw n h.t=f*, "king's son of his body", made its appearance in order to indicate the princes with real royal blood,⁵⁸³ thus suggesting that the simple version of the *s3 nsw*-title may have been granted to individuals who were not sons of the king. In the Middle Kingdom, until the mid-13th Dynasty, the

⁵⁸² Leblanc 1989/b, 18-19; Dodson 2003, 188.

⁵⁸³ Beckerath 1965, 100.

s3 nsw-title was assigned to princes who had a direct kinship with the king or, in any case, who had blood ties to the royal family.⁵⁸⁴ The *s3 nsw*-honorific title could also be associated with the titles of *jrj-p^c.t* (“prince”, in the sense of member of the elite) and *h3tj-^c* (“count”), although it is quite challenging to say whether these royal sons had an active role within the administrative system.

The case of Horsekher in the Second Intermediate Period shows one of the mechanisms behind the appointment of individuals as *s3 nsw*, without being king’s sons.⁵⁸⁵ Part of the text of his funerary stela⁵⁸⁶ refers that he was the son of the *s3 nsw* Sobekhotep and of the revered [...]Seneb: therefore, Horsekher might have been the grand-son of the king, although it is not clear whether his father was a true king’s son. A passage of text reads: *dd=f jnk rh m hrj-jb snw.t*, “He says: I know (what happens) within the royal court”: this suggests that Horsekher was a person who lived within the royal court and was likely involved in the court life. The reason why Horsekher was appointed as *s3 nsw* is explained by the sentence *s³ nsw jw=f m nhn*, “(the one whom) the king magnifies, when he [the king] was [still] a child”: it seems that Horsekher grew up next to the future king, who may have granted him such an honorific title once he ascended the throne.

The Second Intermediate Period is characterized by the proliferation of the *s3 nsw*-honorific title. Some are true king’s sons, such as, for instance, Sobekemsaf, who was son of the 17th-dynasty King Sobekemsaf I and also a *hm ntr* associated with the cult of Sobek.⁵⁸⁷ Others were non-royal *s3 nsw*, like Seneb and Khakau: these two individuals were brothers of the 13th-dynasty King Sobekhotep III,⁵⁸⁸ who likely might have appointed them as “king’s sons” in order to secure a blood lineage, due to a missing hereditary prince (or maybe, as a tactical move, in order to assure the king himself his brothers’ loyalty).⁵⁸⁹ Even a king’s grandson could be appointed as *s3 nsw*: for instance, the *s3 nsw* Jajb⁵⁹⁰ was the son of Princess Sobeknakht and a high official; Jajb might have received this title since he grew up within the royal court, along with the king’s progeny.

The ambivalent value of the *s3 nsw*-title had already been highlighted by Winlock, with particular regard to the 17th Dynasty, stressing the impossibility to discern between *s3 nsw*-

⁵⁸⁴ Minciari 2010, 103-104.

⁵⁸⁵ Schmitz 1976, 228-229 (1); Beckerath 1997, 138 (n. 37).

⁵⁸⁶ Stela Cairo JE 46998, from Edfu. See Engelbach 1921, 189-190 (2). The plate with the picture of the stela is not numbered.

⁵⁸⁷ Schmitz 1976, 217 (n. 1).

⁵⁸⁸ Schmitz 1976, 208-211.

⁵⁸⁹ Schmitz 1976, 248-249.

⁵⁹⁰ Schmitz 1976, 230-231.

individuals who were true king's sons and others who were courtiers granted with such an honorific title.⁵⁹¹ Jürgen von Beckerath as well, taking into account the manifold attestations of *s3(.t) nsw*-individuals on private stelae of the period between the 13th and the 17th Dynasties, asserted “*daß es sich hier wirklich um Söhne oder Töchter eines Pharaos handelt, ist also ziemlich unwahrscheinlich*”.⁵⁹²

Marcel Marée examined the sources about the elite of Edfu between the 13th and the 17th Dynasties and stated that the individuals bearing the *s3 nsw*-title were officials appointed by the king. For instance, Ramessu shows up as commander of the crew of the ruler on his stela⁵⁹³ but bears the *s3 nsw*-title on the Clère stela,⁵⁹⁴ thus suggesting that he may have received the *s3 nsw*-honorific title at a later stage. In addition, it is worth noting that the *s3 nsw*-title is inheritable:⁵⁹⁵ the king may have promoted this expedient in order to control the distant districts and secure the loyalty of the officials. Finally, another noteworthy aspect is that, during the Second Intermediate Period, the *s3.t nsw*-title was bore by true king's princesses only:⁵⁹⁶ this trend seems to continue during the New Kingdom as well.

During the 18th Dynasty, the *s3 nsw*-title still designated two different categories of people: on the one hand, true king's sons,⁵⁹⁷ on the other hand, individuals who were not king's sons and whose family relationship with the king is not demonstrable. The true king's sons could bear the titles *s3 nsw* (*king's son*), *s3 nsw smsw* (*eldest king's son*), *s3 nsw n h.t=f* (*king's son of his body*), and *s3 nsw (m3^c) mrj=f* (*true king's son, his beloved*).⁵⁹⁸ The expressions *m3^c* (*true*) and *n h.t=f* (*of his body*) indicated a blood tie with the king.⁵⁹⁹ Besides the actual royal sons, a number of known commoners bore such a honorific title, without having any blood tie to the king.⁶⁰⁰ Furthermore, individuals involved in the framework of ritual and cultic ceremonies may have played the role of the king's son: for instance, the *w^cb*-priest Amenhotep (buried in TT 345)⁶⁰¹ bore the title of *s3 nsw tpj n 3-hpr-k3-*

⁵⁹¹ Winlock 1924, 267.

⁵⁹² Reference and quotation from Beckerath 1965, 100.

⁵⁹³ Marée 2009, 17 (fig. 3). The title is *3tw n tt hk3* (see Quirke 2004, 99).

⁵⁹⁴ Marée 2009, 15 (fig. 2).

⁵⁹⁵ Miniaci 2010, n. 37 and 38; Marée 2009, p. 18.

⁵⁹⁶ Schmitz 1976, 252.

⁵⁹⁷ Beckerath 1964, 100.

⁵⁹⁸ Schmitz 1976, 253.

⁵⁹⁹ Robins 1987, 15.

⁶⁰⁰ Schmitz 1976, 255.

⁶⁰¹ Porter and Moss 1960 (PM I¹), 413-414; Kampp 1996, 584-585. The tomb had been dated to the reign of Thutmose I; however, stylistically, it is closer to the reign of Thutmose III (Beckerath 1965, 100).

r^{c602} (*the eldest King's Son of Thutmosis I*), although his parents were Senidjehuty and Takhred; the location of his tomb at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, as well as the architecture itself of the tomb, which is provided with decorated tomb chapel, do not speak in favour of any blood affinity with the royal family. Another reason behind the appointment of a commoner as *s3 nsw* may be suggested by the case of the *s3 nsw* Tetiky. His parents were two commoners, Rahotep and Senseneb; he was buried in tomb TT 15 at Dra Abu el-Naga, during the reign of Thutmosis IV-Amenhotep III.⁶⁰³ Likely, Tetiky held such an honorific title by virtue of his supposed kinship to the royal wet nurse Tetihemet:⁶⁰⁴ therefore, it may be possible that Tetiky grew up next to the king's sons, although he might have not been part of the royal court once he was an adult (as suggested by his tomb located outside the concealed necropoleis).

True king's sons could bear other titles: for instance, Amenemesu (son of King Thutmosis I) was a general in chief of his father (*jmy-r3 mš^c wr n jt=f*),⁶⁰⁵ Uebensenu (son of King Amenhotep II) was an overseer of the horses (*jmy-r3 ssm.wt*),⁶⁰⁶ Djehutjmes (son of King Amenhotep III) was sem-priest (*sm*), great master of craftsmen (*wr hrpw hmwt*), and overseer of the Priests (*jmy-r3 hm.w-ntr*).⁶⁰⁷ These titles may have been honorary, considering that in some cases the princes were too young in order to exercise those offices.⁶⁰⁸

Concerning the female counterpart of this title, it is reasonable to assume that the trend of the preceding period was still at work: the *s3.t nsw*-title indicated only a king's daughter or the daughter of a king's sons. The king's daughter could bear the title *s3.t nsw* (*king's daughter*), that of *s3.t nsw wr.t* (*great king's daughter*),⁶⁰⁹ and finally that of *s3.t nsw n h.t=f*⁶¹⁰ (*king's daughter of his body*). For instance, the *s3.t nsw* Nebtia, who is attested by one of the wooden labels found within the Rhind cache, was a king's granddaughter: she was indeed the daughter of the Prince Siatom.⁶¹¹ Apparently, there is no reason why a female

⁶⁰² Sethe 1961, IV/107 (42).

⁶⁰³ Porter and Moss 1964 (PM I²), 26-27; Kampp 1996, 630-631; Hofmann 2010.

⁶⁰⁴ Although no family relationship is attested between Tetiky and Tetihemet, the same initial part of the name "Teti-" might suggest that Tetihemet was a sister or a daughter of Tetiky: in this regard, see Roehrig 1990, 12-3. One of Tetiky's granddaughters bears the name of Tetihemet, which is another clue in this direction: see Davies 1925, 14 (n.1).

⁶⁰⁵ Schmitz 1976, 290.

⁶⁰⁶ Schmitz 1976, 293.

⁶⁰⁷ Schmitz 1976, 295.

⁶⁰⁸ Robins 1987, 16.

⁶⁰⁹ Schmitz 1976, 254.

⁶¹⁰ Attributed to Princess Tiaa, daughter of Thutmosis IV; it is attested in the tomb of the overseer of the treasury Sobekhotep (TT 63, see Porter and Moss 1964 (PM I²)). See: Helck 1961, 163 (Urk. IV, 1583); Al-Ayedi 2006, 481.

⁶¹¹ Bouvier 2009, 62.

individual may have been appointed with the honorary title of *s3.t nsw* without being a true king's daughter (or granddaughter). Princesses were allowed to attend ritual ceremonies, as attested in the case of Neferura (daughter of Hatshepsut), two daughters of Thutmosis III, and some daughters of Amenhotep III. Conversely, king's sons are never depicted while taking part in offering or ritual scenes.⁶¹²

King's sons and daughters constituted together the *msw-nsw*.⁶¹³ It is worth remarking that the institution responsible for the upbringing and education of the royal progeny, the *pr n msw-nsw*,⁶¹⁴ seemingly occurs, in the course of the 18th Dynasty, in connection with princesses only. It is not easy task to clarify this aspect, since the textual evidence in this regard is scarce. In fact, differently from the Old Kingdom, when officials connected to the *pr msw-nsw* are attested, such attestations are absent in the New Kingdom. Upon the wooden labels found by Rhind in 1857 within the Sheikh Abd el-Qurna cache, only female individuals are connected with the *pr n msw-nsw*: Nesukhat and Tatau, whose role is unclear, and T'jaa, possibly a daughter of King Thutmosis IV (on the label she is mentioned as 'tj-3 n mn-hpr.w-r').⁶¹⁵ Therefore, it may be possible that the *pr n msw-nsw* was specialized in the upbringing of female royal children only, although the scarce written documentation on this regard leaves the issue open.

By means of this brief overview on the *s3(.t) nsw*-honorific title, the author aimed to show the different scenarios one may be confronted with in the case of the Queens' Valley tomb owners. Without information about the parents of the individuals bearing this (honorific) title, it is not possible to ascertain with certainty whether a *s3 nsw/s3.t nsw* was true king's son/daughter. The Queens' Valley provides both cases: the *s3.t nsw* Ahmes (QV 47) was a daughter of King Seqenenra; the *s3 nsw* Ahmose (QV 88) was not a king's son, as evident by the fact that his parents were non-royal individuals. Therefore, what should one think about all the other individuals who are provided with this (honorific) title and whose parents are unknown (table V.c)? Considering what said above, very likely, the princesses were true king's daughters; conversely, the same cannot be said with regard to the male counterpart.

⁶¹² Robins 1987, 16.

⁶¹³ Robins 1987, 15.

⁶¹⁴ Erman 1893, 125.

⁶¹⁵ With regard to the Old Kingdom, the titles connected with the *msw-nsw* are that of *jmy-r jh.t msw-nsw m sp3.wt sm'w* (*overseer of the possessions of the royal children in the southern nomos*) and that of *jmy-r pr.w msw-nsw* (*steward of the properties of the royal children*): see Baud 1999 (vol. I), 347-348. With regard to the New Kingdom, see Bouvier 2009, 62.

Name	Tomb	Parents	Royal blood
<i>s3 nsw</i> Hori	QV 8	?	?
Anonymous <i>s3.t nsw</i>	QV 8	?	Likely yes
<i>s3 nsw</i> ? ?-ms-?	QV 12	?	?
<i>s3.t nsw</i> Urmerutes	QV 17	?	Likely yes
<i>s3.t nsw</i> Merytra (?)	QV 17	?	Likely yes
<i>s3.t nsw</i> Ahmes	QV 47	Seqenenra Taa and Satdjehuty	Yes
<i>s3.t nsw</i> Hatnefer	QV 72	?	Likely yes
<i>s3 nsw</i> Baki	QV 72	?	?
<i>s3.t nsw</i> Merytra	QV 76	?	Likely yes
<i>s3 nsw</i> Minemhat	QV 82	?	?
<i>s3 nsw</i> Ahmose	QV 88	Nebsu and Ian	No
Anonymous <i>s3 nsw</i>	QV 98	?	?

Table V.c. Individuals holding the *s3 nsw*- and *s3.t nsw*-titles, who are buried in the Queens' Valley. © E. Casini.

The presence of several burials of individuals provided with the *s3(.t) nsw*-title within the Queens' Valley requested a further examination concerning the location of the tombs of the royal offspring located during the first half of the 18th dynasty. Princes and princesses were buried over a rather extended area, including Dra Abu el-Naga, Deir el-Bahri, the Queens' Valley, the Kings' Valley, and the south-western *wadis*, actually the same places where the royal consorts were buried. Most of the family members of King Ahmose has been found within DB 320.⁶¹⁶ Princess Ahmes,⁶¹⁷ daughter of King Seqenenra Taa (c. 1560) and Queen Satdjehuty (and half-sister of King Ahmose), was buried in the Queens' Valley (QV 47).⁶¹⁸ Her half-brother Ahmose-Sapair was entombed at Dra Abu el-Naga,⁶¹⁹ which was the seat of the royal necropolis during the 17th Dynasty. The reason why these brother and sister were buried in different necropoleis likely depended on their age at death: probably, Prince Ahmose-Sapair died at the end of the 17th Dynasty, whilst Princess Ahmes died in the early 18th Dynasty. Princess Ahmes-Tumerisi, another daughter of King Seqenenra Taa and Queen Ahhotep, was buried in the concealed valley south of Deir el-Bahri, behind Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (pit 1019).⁶²⁰ The burial of Prince Amenemhet (son of Amenhotep I) was discovered by the Metropolitan Museum expedition in the Asasif (MMA 1021):⁶²¹ this burial close to Deir el-Bahri confirms that the royal family members of the early 18th Dynasty (around the

⁶¹⁶ The individuals in question are: King Ahmose, his sister-wife Ahmes-Nefertari, their son and king Amenhotep I, Siamun (King Ahmose' son), Sitamun (King Ahmose's daughter), Ahmes-Henut-Tamehu (King Seqenenra Taa's daughter and thus sister of Ahmes). In this regard, see: Porter and Moss 1964 (PM I²), 658-660; Dodson 2003, 187.

⁶¹⁷ Dodson and Hilton 2004, 128.

⁶¹⁸ Dodson 2003, 187-188.

⁶¹⁹ Dodson and Hilton 2004, 129; Galán 2017/a; Galán 2017/b.

⁶²⁰ Winlock 1926, 8; Porter and Moss 1964 (PM I²), 668; Dodson 2003, 188.

⁶²¹ Lansing 1920; Hayes 1959, 52. This prince is named Amenemhet Q in Dodson and Hilton 2004, 141.

reigns of Kings Ahmose and Amenhotep I) may have been buried within that area. The Kings' Valley started to host the burials of kings' sons and daughters from the reign of Amenhotep II onwards: Prince Uebensenu (son of Amenhotep II) was buried within tomb KV 35,⁶²² Prince Amenemhet and Princess Tintamun (son and daughter of Thutmose IV) were entombed within KV 43.⁶²³ During the reign of Amenhotep III, several princes and princesses were buried within KV 40.⁶²⁴ Two daughters (Princess Pyhia and Princess Tiaa) and one granddaughter (Princess Nebetia) of King Thutmose IV have been found in the Rhind cache at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna,⁶²⁵ which, according to the recent hypotheses, may not be a 21st-dynasty burial ensemble⁶²⁶ but a communal burial urgently arranged during the reign of Amenhotep III.⁶²⁷ However, it is worth remarking that Princess Tiaa is also attested from the inscribed materials found by Litherland within tomb n. 2 in the WB1:⁶²⁸ this may suggest that the original burial of Princess Tiaa was in the south-western *wadis*, and not in Sheikh Abd el-Qurna. In the same tomb n. 2 of the WB1, prince Menkheperra had his burial.⁶²⁹ Therefore, it seems apparent that the burials of the royal progeny followed the same trend as those of the royal consorts: princes and princesses were buried in the area of Deir el-Bahri during the early 18th Dynasty, within the Queens' Valley during the reign of Thutmose I (and possibly Thutmose II), within the Kings' Valley from Amenhotep II onwards, and in the south-western *wadis* during the reigns of Thutmose IV/Amenhotep III.

V.2-d. The 18th-dynasty Tomb Owners of the Queens' Valley

In the preceding paragraphs, as well as in *Chapter II*, relevant topics were considered in order to offer a solid basis for the understanding of the social *facies* represented within the 18th-dynasty Queens' Valley. In the absence of direct information regarding the identity of the tomb owners, the abovementioned investigated aspects allow one to indirectly draw information about the individuals buried in the Queens' Valley. It has been highlighted that: 1) this necropolis was set within concealed valleys, invisible to the human eye and

⁶²² Reeves and Wilkinson 1996, 100.

⁶²³ Dodson and Hilton 2004, 137 and 140.

⁶²⁴ Bickel 2014.

⁶²⁵ Dodson 2005-2006, 37; Bouvier 2009, 62. The location of the tomb has been lost.

⁶²⁶ In this regard, see Dodson and Janssen 1989.

⁶²⁷ Bouvier 2009, 66-69.

⁶²⁸ Litherland 2015.

⁶²⁹ Litherland 2015.

characterized by a rocky landscape that is imbued with sacred and funerary beliefs; 2) tombs were devoid of any superstructure; 3) tombs hosted the burials of several princes and princesses, at least possibly one queen, and several non-royal individuals likely linked to the king. The type of connection between these individuals and the king is invisible, however, as the comparison of the necropolis landscape and tomb architecture between the Kings and Queens' Valleys has highlighted, the individuals buried within the Queens' Valley were not ordinary people, rather, they belonged to the royal court. In the following sections, data concerning the tomb owners were collected in order to provide a thorough picture of the situation.⁶³⁰

- *s3 nsw* Hori (QV 8)

The *s3 nsw* Hori⁶³¹ is known from textual evidence found within tomb QV 8. His name is attested by two fragments of a linen shroud, which preserves part of chapter BD 149.⁶³² Thanks to the palaeographic examination, this text was dated to the early 18th Dynasty. The names of this prince's parents are not preserved: therefore, it cannot be ascertained whether he was a true king's son or a non-royal individual appointed with the *s3 nsw*-title. Other findings related to this prince are not known since the materials brought to light from this tomb have not been published to date.

- Anonymous *s3.t nsw* (QV 8)

Tomb QV 8 hosted also the burial of an anonymous *s3.t nsw*, as attested by the fragments of a linen shroud that bears chapters BD 68 and BD 69.⁶³³ Not only the name of this princess but also information about her parents are not preserved. Like in the case of Prince Hori, other findings related to this individual are not known since the materials brought to light from this tomb have not been published thus far. However, considering what has been said in *section V.2-c*, it is likely that this princess was a true king's daughter.

- Amonemusekhet (QV 8)

A third individual was buried within QV 8, along with Prince Hori and the anonymous

⁶³⁰ People are listed here following the sequence of the current QV-numbering system. See also Demas and Agnew 2012, 233.

⁶³¹ This name is attested in the New Kingdom (Ranke 1935, 245).

⁶³² Franco 1988, 72-74.

⁶³³ Franco 1988, 74-76.

princess: it deals with a woman called Amonemusekhet.⁶³⁴ Her name is preserved on a fragmented linen shroud, which bears part of spell BD 17 (written in cursive hieroglyph), with some additional hieratic signs. The palaeographical analysis has dated this document to the early 18th Dynasty.⁶³⁵ Nothing can be said about this woman, except that she was the daughter of the mistress of the house Ah-², whose name is not completely preserved (*ms.n nb.t pr j^ch...*).⁶³⁶ Isabelle Franco excludes that Amonemusekhet and the anonymous princess may be the same person, since there is no attestation of a *s3.t nsw*-individual being the daughter of a *nb.t pr*.⁶³⁷ Conversely, there are *s3 nsw*-individuals who were born from a mistress of the house (*e.g.* Hori⁶³⁸ and Ahmose, the prince who was buried in QV 88); for this reason, it cannot be ruled out that Amonemusekhet was the princess buried in QV 8. Therefore, two are the likely scenarios:⁶³⁹ 1) the anonymous *s3.t nsw* and Amonemusekhet are the same person: thus, Amonemusekhet was a princess and daughter of a royal family member (possibly a king's son) and a *nb.t pr*; otherwise 2) the anonymous *s3.t nsw* and Amonemusekhet are two distinct persons. By accepting Franco's hypothesis, Amonemusekhet might have been buried in tomb QV 8 due to a connection with the prince and/or the princess: in this regard, she might have been a person in charge of their upbringing, such as a wet nurse.

- (Prince[?])[?]-mes-[?] (QV 12)

Among the archaeological findings from tomb QV 12, there are fragments of three arrows, which may suggest that the tomb owner was involved in military activities. In addition, there is another relevant object: a small fragment of wooden coffin bears part of a cartouche that includes the hieroglyph *ms*,⁶⁴⁰ thus suggesting that the tomb owner may have been a prince (also considering the presence of the arrows). This prince may have lived during the reign of Thutmose II,⁶⁴¹ as indicated by the knob of a sceptre inscribed with the cartouche of that king (the inscription reads: *ntr nfr 3-hpr-n-r^c mrj jmn-r^c, the perfect god, Aakhepernra, beloved by Amon-Ra*).⁶⁴²

⁶³⁴ This theophoric name is usually masculine but there are attested cases of its use for female individuals during the New Kingdom (Ranke 1935, 28 [2]; Franco 1988, 80).

⁶³⁵ A time-span including the early 18th Dynasty, by the reign of Thutmose III (Franco 1988, 82).

⁶³⁶ Franco 1988, 77-80.

⁶³⁷ Franco 1988, 80.

⁶³⁸ He was a prince who lived during Second Intermediate Period at Edfu: see Schmitz 1976, 231-232.

⁶³⁹ Franco 1988, 80-81.

⁶⁴⁰ Gardiner's sign-list F 31.

⁶⁴¹ Lecuyot 1996, 148 (footnote 9).

⁶⁴² Lecuyot 1992/a, 108-109.

- *s3.t nsw* Urmerutes (QV 17)

Close to tomb QV 14 and next to the entrance of tomb QV 17, the Franco-Egyptian mission discovered the fragments of the limestone canopic jars belonging to the *s3.t nsw mr.t=f wr-mrw.t=s*. Leblanc's team managed to re-contextualize the original provenance of this canopic jar set, asserting that this Princess Urmerutes was buried within QV 17.⁶⁴³ Considering the shape of the canopic jars, the stylistic features of the facial lineaments, the type of formula engraved on the jars, as well as the tomb architecture, Loyrette proposed to date this burial to the mid-18th Dynasty, in the reign of Amenhotep III.⁶⁴⁴

- (Princess[?]) Merytra (QV 17)

Inside tomb QV 17, the Franco-Egyptian team found the fragments of three limestone canopic jars and a human-headed lid clearly belonging to a set different from that of Urmerutes. Part of a badly preserved inscription, engraved onto the jar and filled with blue paste, mentions a woman called Merytra. No epithet or title has preserved. According to Loyrette the canopic jar set of Merytra looks like more elegant and more finely executed than that of Princess Urmerutes,⁶⁴⁵ this suggesting that she might have been a woman of similar (or higher) social background. Concerning the chronology, the remarks made for Princess Urmerutes are valid for Merytra as well: this individual may have lived during the reign of King Amenhotep III.

- Nebiry (QV 30)

In 1904, the *MAI* discovered the tomb of Nebiry (*nb-jry*), a stable master (*hry jh.w*) who lived during the reign of Thutmose III. Part of his burial assemblage has preserved in a fragmentary state and is currently housed at the Museo Egizio of Turin (the objects bear inv.-n. from S. 05109 to S. 05124). Among the pottery, the fragmented pitcher with dark red-brownish decoration applied on a yellow-greyish coating (Turin ME S. 05124, fig. V.6/A) helps to date this burial: the combination of the shape with the geometric decoration consisting of painted stripes around the neck and down the body and stylized foliage pattern,⁶⁴⁶ or a row of dots, is typical of the reign of Thutmose III. Similar items

⁶⁴³ The author checked Ranke's *Die ägyptischen Personennamen* but there are no comparisons.

⁶⁴⁴ Loyrette 1987, 41-42.

⁶⁴⁵ Reference and quotation from Loyrette 1987, 41.

⁶⁴⁶ The foliage decorative pattern showed up on jars during the Second Intermediate Period (Bourriau 1981, 79; see the jug n. 150 in her catalogue, pp. 78-79). See also the online collection of the Museum of Fine Arts (Boston), inv. n. 19.1550.

are housed in several Egyptian collections (fig. V.6/B-C-D): they date to the same time-span and have been found both in Egypt⁶⁴⁷ and in Nubia (fig. V.6/E).⁶⁴⁸



Fig. V.6. Pitchers with geometric, foliage, and dotted pattern (reign of Thutmosis III).

The recent forensic investigation carried out on Nebiry's head (Turin ME S. 05109) and his canopic bundles (in particular that from the fragmented canopic jar S. 05111/02) highlighted that he was a middle-aged man (from 45 to 60 years old), who was affected by periodontal disease and died because of “*acute decompensation complicating chronic cardiac insufficiency*”.⁶⁴⁹ Nebiry's head and organs were wrapped within linen textiles soaked into non-native resins (coniferous and other resin-based substance identified as *Pistacia*) with anti-bacterial and anti-insecticidal properties. Considering that imported resins were used (1), additional packing was placed into the oral cavity in order to fill the cheeks and give the deceased his life-like facial appearance (2), evisceration (as suggested by the presence of bundles within the canopic jars) and excerebration⁶⁵⁰ were carried out (3), and linen packing was inserted into the cranial cavity (4),⁶⁵¹ it seems likely that Nebiry underwent a

⁶⁴⁷ For instance, the jug New York MMA 35.3.98 found in the tomb of Neferkhauet in the Asasif necropolis (MMA 729): see the Metropolitan Museum of Art online collection.

⁶⁴⁸ Jug found in the Firth cemetery 110, Nubia (Boston MFA 19.1550): see the Museum of Fine Arts online collection (<https://collections.mfa.org/objects/231593/pitcher?ctx=698692c2-5fb3-4b4a-95ad-e6a0ef7caca7&idx=0>).

⁶⁴⁹ Quotation from Bianucci *et al.* 2016, 1380.

⁶⁵⁰ Part of the brain is still inside the cranium.

⁶⁵¹ Loynes *et al.* 2017, 307.

high-quality and thorough mummification process, like that observed in the mummies of kings, queens, and royal progeny from the late 18th Dynasty to the 20th Dynasty.⁶⁵² This aspect is noteworthy and seems to confirm the privileged status of Nebiry: as a member of the royal court, his undecorated tomb and burial assemblage may have been prepared by specific institutions connected to the royal palace and the mummification process may have taken place in the same embalming hall where kings and members of the royal family were mummified.

At this point, the question is: who was this stable master named Nebiry? Even though nothing is known about his origin, some hypothesis can be made since there are attestations of individuals bearing the same name, who lived in the same epoch.⁶⁵³ The Brooklyn Museum possesses the limestone statue of Amenhotep, son of Nebiry (Brooklyn Museum 37.29E),⁶⁵⁴ who is depicted as a sitting scribe. By means of the analysis of the mouth and eyes, Bernard V. Bothmer suggested to date it to the reign of Amenhotep II.⁶⁵⁵ Amenhotep was appointed as mayor of Thisis and overseer of prophets of Onuris. If Amenhotep lived during the reign of Amenhotep II, this means that his father Nebiry lived before, likely during the reign of Thutmose III, a date that is in line with the chronology of the Nebiry buried in the Queens' Valley. However, the text of the statue in question mentions Nebiry not as a stable master but as *s3b* (*dignitary*), a title that is not assigned to the Nebiry of QV 30. This aspect does not constitute a real problem concerning the overlapping of the two Nebiry, since an individual could bear more than one title, but sometimes only one was listed on objects bearing small formulas: thus, the Nebiry of the Queens' Valley might have held other titles that have not preserved.

Another Nebiry, who was appointed as scribe, is known from archaeological evidence found within his tomb at Naga ed-Deir. This Nebiry may be connected with the Nebiry father-of-Amenhotep mentioned above, as suggested by an inscription on his scribal palette: there, Nebiry is said to be deputy in Thisis (*jd.n.w m tnj*), scribe (*sš*), and true confident of his lord (*mh-jb n nb=f*).⁶⁵⁶ The object dates to the reign of Thutmose III, as evident from the cartouche on it. Therefore, this Nebiry was connected with the city of Thisis, of which Amenhotep was mayor.⁶⁵⁷ Van Siclen III suggests that Nebiry was buried

⁶⁵² Loynes *et al.* 2017, 303-309.

⁶⁵³ Siclen 1985-1986, 88-89 (footnote 12).

⁶⁵⁴ See the Brooklyn Museum online collection (66 x 33,5 x 37,6 cm.). See also Bothmer 1966-67, 70-74.

⁶⁵⁵ Bothmer 1966-1967, 72-73.

⁶⁵⁶ Brovarski *et al.* 1982, 284 (n. 390) and 310.

⁶⁵⁷ Siclen 1985-1986, 88.

at Thinis, and not at Naga ed-Deir.⁶⁵⁸ However, how to explain the finding of the palette in Naga ed-Deir? If no other object clearly belonging to him was found inside the Naga ed-Deir tomb, it can be hypothesized that such a palette might have been a gift from the same Nebiry to a colleague.⁶⁵⁹ Moreover, according to Van Siclen III, the Nebiry of the scribal palette not only was the father of Amenhotep (the owner of the Brooklyn statue), but he also married the royal nurse Amenemopet, mother of Kenamun (IT 93)⁶⁶⁰ and Kaemheribsen (IT 98).⁶⁶¹ This hypothesis is noteworthy because it indicates that Nebiry would be very close to the royal court.

There are other attestations of individuals named Nebiry: 1) one, without title, is mentioned on two 18th-dynasty *ostraca* from Deir el-Medina, in the framework of a partly overlapping list of individuals (Cairo CG 25662⁶⁶² and O. Gardiner 10⁶⁶³); 2) another one, still without titles, is mentioned on another *ostrakon*, in association with a boat (Cairo CG 25664),⁶⁶⁴ 3) another one was a skipper (*nfw*) of Senenmut, as attested on the handle of a whip found at Deir el-Bahari (New York MMA 23.3.46⁶⁶⁵); this Nebiry lived during the joint reign of Hatshepsut/Thutmose III; 4) another one (without title) was the owner of a limestone statuette kept at the British Museum of London (EA48033),⁶⁶⁶ which is stylistically datable to the reign of Thutmose III;⁶⁶⁷ 5) another one is mentioned on a stela from Serabit el-Khadim, dating to the 18th Dynasty (Glasgow Kelvingrove Museum inv. n. 05.143a),⁶⁶⁸ but no title is associated with him; 6) finally, another one, overseer of the storehouse, is attested on a small 18th-dynasty votive stela (unknown provenance, New York MMA 89.2.661⁶⁶⁹). It is challenging to identify one of the abovementioned individuals with the Nebiry of the Queens' Valley since the titles do not match. The Nebiry father-of-Amenhotep might hypothetically be the owner of tomb QV 30: indeed, although the titles of the two Nebiry are not the same, one has to consider that often only one title is attested in short formulas (like those incised on the canopic jars). Therefore,

⁶⁵⁸ Siclen 1985-1986, 87.

⁶⁵⁹ For a similar case, see the scribal palette found in the tomb of Kha (IT 8), which is a gift from one of his colleagues (ME S. 08388; see Russo 2012, 32-40).

⁶⁶⁰ Roehrig 1996, 17-18.

⁶⁶¹ Siclen 1985-1986, 89-91. There is no certainty about the fact that Kenamun's mother and Kaemheribsen's mother are the same person (Roehrig 1990, 135-137).

⁶⁶² Černý 1933, 53, 73, and pl. LXX.

⁶⁶³ Černý and Gardiner 1957, 7 and pl. XX.

⁶⁶⁴ Černý 1933, 53, 74, and pl. LXXI.

⁶⁶⁵ See the Metropolitan Museum of Art online collection.

⁶⁶⁶ From the Karnak cachette, see Porter and Moss 1972, 162.

⁶⁶⁷ H. 14 cm, W. 8 cm. See Edwards 1939, 36 and pl. XXXI.

⁶⁶⁸ Černý 1955, 172 (n. 236) and pl. LXVII.

⁶⁶⁹ See the online collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Nebiry might have been a chief stable and scribe who came from the city of Thinis and was married to a royal nurse,⁶⁷⁰ a circumstance that would explain his inclusion within the royal court, the appointment as *s3b*/dignitary,⁶⁷¹ and his burial within the Queens' Valley.

Furthermore, concerning the duties and activities connected with the title *hrj jh.w*, it seems likely that stable masters were not military officers.⁶⁷² During the 19th Dynasty, this title is usually accompanied by the supplement *n hnw* ("of the residence"/"in the residence"),⁶⁷³ thus suggesting that the stable master may have served at the royal court, or in any case, in that sector of the royal palace, where horses were kept and chariots were stored. In this regard, it is noteworthy that within a list inscribed on the walls of the Medinet Habu temple, stable masters are mentioned along with some viziers, princes, and high dignitaries, individuals who belonged to the royal entourage: this clue may suggest that stable masters were given quite a lot of consideration.⁶⁷⁴

- Anonymous Individual (QV 30)

Nebiry was not the only individual entombed within QV 30. Fragments of another mummy were found in this tomb and Schiaparelli hypothesized that it may have dealt with one of Nebiry's servants.⁶⁷⁵ Such a conclusion resulted from the examination of another incomplete set of fragmented terracotta canopic jars, characterized by human-headed lids (Turin ME S. 05116(?), Provv. 6061, Provv. 1266, Provv. 1267, S. 05177) and absence of inscriptions; these were also coated with a black substance (fig. V.7). Actually, the material of which the canopic jars are made is not a synonym of humble condition: for instance, the canopic jars of Amenhotep, overseer of the builders of Amun, are made of terracotta, however, the decoration and inscriptions are executed in a high-quality manner.⁶⁷⁶ Moreover, it can be excluded that dignitaries were buried along with their servants. Considering the exterior coating made of black substance, it may be possible that the canopic jar set in question was reused at a later stage: indeed, it is worth remarking that under the black coating, there are traces of white-wash and yellow paint, thus suggesting that the original decorative surface looked like differently. However, among

⁶⁷⁰ Siclen 1985-1986, 91.

⁶⁷¹ As attested on the Brooklyn Museum statue (inv. n. 37.29E).

⁶⁷² Schulman 1964, 51-53.

⁶⁷³ Stela BM EA154; see Kitchen 1982, IV, 123; Kitchen 2003, 93-94.

⁶⁷⁴ Schulman 1964, 52.

⁶⁷⁵ Schiaparelli 1924, 35 and 39.

⁶⁷⁶ Chicago 1892.37a-b: see the online website of the Art Institute Chicago.

the objects found within QV 30 and housed at the Museo Egizio, none seems to be attributable to a phase of reuse of that tomb. The Franco-Egyptian mission may have discovered other materials concerning the tomb reuse, which have not been published yet.⁶⁷⁷



Fig. V.7. One of the terracotta canopic jars from QV 30.

- Imhotep (QV 46)

Imhotep (*jj-m-ḥtp*) was a governor of the city (*jmy-r3 njw.t*), vizier (*t3tj*), and chief judge (*s3b t3yty*). Next to these official tasks, Imhotep held another important appointment, which puts him in close connection with the royal court and may explain the reason of the location of his burial within the Queens' Valley. With regard to his family, Claudia Dolzani hypothesized that Imhotep was son of Khonsuemheb, first prophet of Amun, who was an ancestor of the first prophet of Amun Hepuseneb (IT 67⁶⁷⁸).⁶⁷⁹ Nothing is known about his wife and progeny.

During the excavation works carried out in the small temple of Prince Uadjmes, son of King Thutmosis I, Daressy found a limestone fragment bearing an inscription (fig. V.8); the text reads:⁶⁸⁰ *s3 nsw js[t] jr jmy-r3 njw.t t3ty jj-m-ḥtp jw jr=f jt mn*⁶⁸¹ *n msw-nsw n nsw-bjty 3-ḥpr-k3-r n 3.t ḥs.wt[=f]*, *the royal son Uadjmes, when the governor of the City*

⁶⁷⁷ Demas and Agnew report on a reuse of this tomb in the Roman Period (2016, 11).

⁶⁷⁸ Porter and Moss 1960 (PM I), 133.

⁶⁷⁹ Dolzani 1982, 17.

⁶⁸⁰ Daressy 1900, 107; Sethe 1906, 108 (n. 43); Schiaparelli 1924, 33.

⁶⁸¹ WB II, 78(13); Hannig 2006, 123.

[Thebes] and vizier was Imhotep, he was appointed as father of nursing⁶⁸² of the children of the king of the Upper and Lower Egypt, Aakheperra, because of the greatness of his praises.



Fig. V.8. Inscription mentioning Imhotep, from the chapel of Prince Uadjmes (after Daressy 1900, 107).

Schiaparelli identified the Imhotep of the Queens' Valley with the Imhotep of the inscription from Uadjmes' temple since there is a match of titles (those of *jmy-r3 njw.t* and *t3ty*).⁶⁸³ The tutoring of the royal children certainly entailed additional responsibilities and may have increased Imhotep's presence at the royal court, thus implying the creation of personal bonds and closeness to the king. Leblanc read this passage of text in a different way, by interpreting *jt mn^c n msw-nsw* as *jt mn^c[.t] n msw-nsw*, *père de la nourrice (royale) des enfants royaux*.⁶⁸⁴ thus, according to him, Imhotep was the father of a nurse. According to Brunner, the title *jt mn^c* was composed of two different titles, which he translated as "Vater und Amme",⁶⁸⁵ interpreting *jt* as an abbreviation for *jt ntr*.⁶⁸⁶ Roehrig interpreted *jt mn^c* as "foster father/father of nursing".⁶⁸⁷

Imhotep is the only vizier buried in the Queens' Valley, an aspect that may confirm, once again, that official tasks were not a likely criterion in order to be buried within these concealed necropoleis.⁶⁸⁸ There is also some interesting archaeological evidence that may help to understand Imhotep's privileged position in the framework of the royal court. Within his tomb, the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* found about 21 wooden boxes that

⁶⁸² Roehrig 1990, 23.

⁶⁸³ Schiaparelli 1924, 33.

⁶⁸⁴ Leblanc 1989/b, 18.

⁶⁸⁵ Brunner 1961, 92-93.

⁶⁸⁶ Roehrig 1990, 355.

⁶⁸⁷ Roehrig 1990, 23.

⁶⁸⁸ It is worth mentioning that another individual, Amenemope, who was appointed with similar titles (*h3tj-^c n njw.t* and *t3ty*), was buried in the Kings' Valley, within tomb KV 48 (Thomas 1966, 162; Dorman 1995, 142; Reeves and Wilkinson 1996, 184-185). Amenemope may have received such a privilege by virtue of his marriage to the *hkr.t nsw* Uretmaatet (See: Porter and Moss 1964 (PM I²), 45; Bickel 2017, 17).

contained mummified meat. These meat boxes are different from each other: they are carved in the shape of fowls, some are ellipsoidal-shaped, others are joint-shaped. The inside is coated with black substance and the outer surface is plastered. The two halves of the boxes were secured by means of wooden tenons placed at the short sides. No inscriptions or marks have been detected over them (fig. V.9).



Fig. V.9. Meat boxes from QV 46 (photo by E. Casini); © Museo Egizio, Torino.

The practice of providing the deceased with mummified joints of meat or fowls is attested starting from the Predynastic Period: such food offerings were intended for the nourishment of the deceased's *ka*, along with bread, fruits and vegetables. The meat offerings are considered as “victual mummies”,⁶⁸⁹ consisting of bandaged joints of meat or bandaged fowls, or animal bones bearing traces of butchery marks, put inside pottery receptacles or simply placed over the tomb floor. The first occurrence of meat boxes dates back to the Old Kingdom: it dealt with containers made of limestone, left empty or filled with untreated offerings.⁶⁹⁰ The Old Kingdom samples come from the Memphite area and, unlike the meat cases of the Middle Kingdom, have not been found within royal burials only.⁶⁹¹ The Middle Kingdom meat boxes were mainly made of Egyptian alabaster and they have never been found in association with mummified meat.⁶⁹² Starting from the late Second Intermediate Period/more likely the early 18th Dynasty, wooden boxes containing mummified meat were part of the burial equipment of wealthy people. These

⁶⁸⁹ For such a definition, see Ikram 2012, 119.

⁶⁹⁰ Ikram 2012, 121.

⁶⁹¹ Ikram 1995, 231.

⁶⁹² Ikram 2012, 121.

wooden meat boxes imitated the shape of their content (in the form of joints of meat or fowls)⁶⁹³ and they contained food offerings.⁶⁹⁴ They were coated with white plaster on the outside surface (rarely left uncoated or coated with black substance⁶⁹⁵) and black substance on the interior side (or even left uncoated). The coating by means of the black resinous substance served to preserve the meat from deteriorating and bad smelling.⁶⁹⁶ Such 18th-dynasty meat boxes have been discovered only within the Theban necropolis:

- 15 wooden coffinets for mummified meat, along with 81 pieces of mummified meat, were found inside and outside cliff-tomb MMA 1021 (at Deir el-Bahri), which hosted the burial of Prince Amenemhet Q (son of King Amenhotep I),⁶⁹⁷
- one wooden meat box, along with more than 25 victual mummies, were found within tomb DB 358 (Queen Ahmes-Merytamon),⁶⁹⁸
- 18 wooden coffinets were found within the tomb of Yuya (divine father) and Tuya (chief of the harem of Amon) in the Kings' Valley (KV 46),⁶⁹⁹
- 11 meat boxes, along with unwrapped pieces of meat, were found within the tomb of the child of the *kap* Maiherperi (KV 36);
- 48 meat boxes were found in Tutankhamon's tomb (KV 62), placed under the Hathor-shaped couch.

This brief overview points out the fact that, during the 18th Dynasty,⁷⁰⁰ meat offerings within wooden boxes were a prerogative of the burial assemblages of kings, queens, princes, royal parents-in-law, and courtiers.⁷⁰¹ Therefore, the finding of wooden boxes for mummified meat within Imhotep's tomb (QV 46) confirms that this individual benefited from a privileged position within the royal court.

⁶⁹³ Even though this was not the rule. A number of meat boxes found in Maiherperi's tomb were square-shaped (see Ikram 1995, 257-259).

⁶⁹⁴ Ikram 1995, 232.

⁶⁹⁵ Like the meat boxes found in KV 46.

⁶⁹⁶ Ikram 1995, 237.

⁶⁹⁷ Ikram 2012, 121.

⁶⁹⁸ Ikram 1995, 278-281.

⁶⁹⁹ Wiese and Brodbeck 2004, 114; Quibell 1908, 46-47 (51084-51101).

⁷⁰⁰ After the 18th Dynasty, only a few, sporadic traces of these objects have been detected. For instance, the burial assemblage of the 19th-dynasty priestess Henutmehyt included a single rectangular wooden box, which was completely painted black both inside and outside and contained four mummified ducks and joints of meat: see Taylor 1999, 63; Taylor 2010, 128-129.

⁷⁰¹ Smith 1992, 211.

- *s3.t nsw* Ahmes (QV 47)

Ahmes (*j^ch-ms*), whose tomb was discovered in 1904 by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana*, was identified thanks to some fragments of inscribed linen shrouds preserving some chapters of the Book of the Dead. She was the daughter of King Seqenenra Taa and Queen Satdjehuty:⁷⁰² therefore, Ahmes was a princess of royal blood. She may be one of the first individuals who were buried in the Queens' Valley. Although her origin is rooted in the 17th Dynasty, she likely died in the early 18th Dynasty:⁷⁰³ actually, the examination of her mummy revealed that she was an old-aged woman.⁷⁰⁴

Not only was her tomb plundered, but it was also invaded by rainwater: as a result, the materials were found within a layer of compact mud, which reached halfway up the height of her tomb.⁷⁰⁵ Despite this, part of her burial equipment has preserved (fig. V.10). The fragmented linen shrouds offer a likely solution concerning the dating of her burial: according to Claude Vandersleyen, “*le nom de la princesse est écrit avec le type IIP*”,⁷⁰⁶ thus indicating a dating to the 18th Dynasty, between the reigns of Ahmose and Thutmosis III. As a confirmation of this dating, Paolo Ronsecco, who reconstructed part of the sequence of the chapters of the Book of the Dead of Princess Ahmes, noted that the same sequence of BD spells has been detected on other funerary linen shrouds found within the Theban necropolis and dating to the early 18th Dynasty:⁷⁰⁷ these belong to the *hkr.t nsw* Ipu (Cairo JE 96807),⁷⁰⁸ the *h3tj-^c* Montuhotep (Cairo JE 96806),⁷⁰⁹ the *mw.t nsw* Tetisheru (Cairo JE 96805),⁷¹⁰ and an anonymous individual (Cairo JE 96804).⁷¹¹

⁷⁰² Ronsecco 1996, 30.

⁷⁰³ Roehrig 1990, 25.

⁷⁰⁴ Schiaparelli 1924, 13.

⁷⁰⁵ Schiaparelli 1924, 13.

⁷⁰⁶ Quotation from Vandersleyen 1971, 214 and 228.

⁷⁰⁷ This also suggests that they belonged to the same tradition and may have been produced in the same workshop as well. See Ronsecco 1996, 11.

⁷⁰⁸ Munro 1994 (Textband), 13-18.

⁷⁰⁹ Munro 1994 (Textband), 19-29.

⁷¹⁰ Munro 1994 (Textband), 37-39.

⁷¹¹ Munro 1994 (Textband), 47-48.

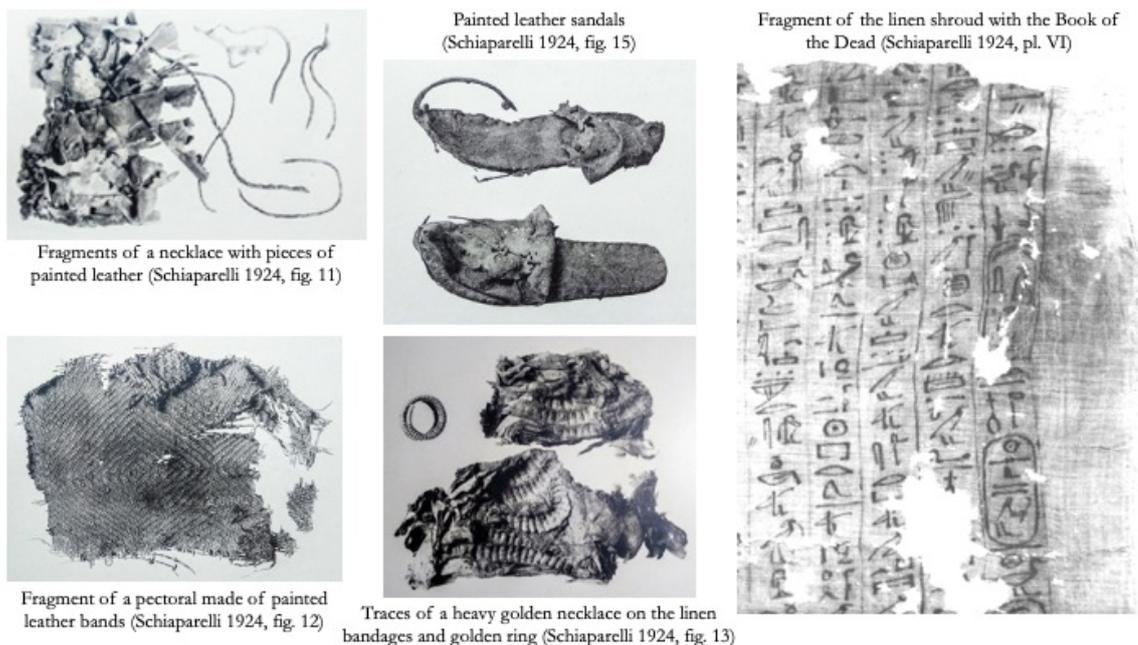


Fig. V.10. Selected fragmented objects of the burial equipment of Princess Ahmes (after Schiaparelli 1924;).

- Nehesy (QV 70?)

Between tombs QV 73 and QV 74, Lepsius found a fragment of limestone canopic jar belonging to the commander of troop (*jmy-r3 mšc*) Nehesy (*nhs*). Tomb QV 70 has been identified as his burial spot.⁷¹² The name “Nehesy” suggests that this individual may have had a foreign origin. It is not an easy task to identify him, due to the scarce archaeological evidence. There are attestations of some individuals bearing the same name, who lived during the 18th Dynasty. One is the Nehesy who organized Hatshepsut’s expedition to Punt: in this regard, it is worth noting that, in the framework of the figurative program of the “Punt colonnade” of Hatshepsut’s temple at Deir el-Bahri, the text next to Nehesy’s depiction informs that he received the royal command “to lead a troupe to Punt” (*r sb.t mšc r pwn.t*).⁷¹³ This Nehesy was prince (*r-p^c.t*), count (*h3ty-9*), royal sealer of Lower Egypt (*htmw bjty*), sole friend (*smr w^c.ty*), and chief of the treasure (*jmy-r3 htm.t*);⁷¹⁴ however, the title *jmy-r3 mšc* is not attested. Actually, he was a *jmy-r3 mšc*, considering that he is said to have led a troupe to Punt. Furthermore, another Nehesy, whose tomb was discovered at the Bubasteion of Saqqara (the reign of Thutmose III is a very likely dating), held the title of chief of the treasure (*jmy-r3 htm.t*);⁷¹⁵ the decorative program of

⁷¹² Leblanc 1989/b, 69 (endnote 98), 80 (endnote 226).

⁷¹³ Zivie 1984, 246.

⁷¹⁴ Zivie 1984, 247.

⁷¹⁵ Zivie 1984, 246-247.

this tomb assigns a number of titles to Nehesy, but not that of *jmy-r3 mš^c*. In addition, a *jmy-r3 ḥtm.t nḥs wḥm ḥnh* is mentioned within a rock chapel in the Gebel Silsileh (n. 14) and although Ricardo A. Caminos and Thomas G. H. James were sceptical with regard to the identification of this Nehesy with that of the Puntite expedition,⁷¹⁶ the title “chief of the treasure” was anything but common: therefore, the Nehesy of the Deir el-Bahri temple and the Nehesy of the Gebel el-Silsileh rock chapel may be the same person.⁷¹⁷ Finally, there is a shabti kept at the Museo Egizio of Florence (inv. n. 1809) which belongs to a Nehesy who was overseer of the army (*jmy-r3 mš^c*) and royal scribe (*sš nsw*). The provenance of this shabti is unknown and stylistically seems to belong to the 19th Dynasty.⁷¹⁸

To sum up, the Nehesy of Hatshepsut’s expedition, that of the Bubasteion, and that of the Gebel Silsileh may be the same person: however, the identification of this Nehesy with the Nehesy of the Queens’ Valley is challenging, considering that the three Nehesy mentioned above do not explicitly bear the title of *jmy-r3 mš^c*, which is the only one attested with regard to the Nehesy of QV 70. The Nehesy of the Florence shabti may offer a match, although it stylistically dates to the 19th Dynasty. Likely, Nehesy was buried within the Queens’ Valley not because of his appointment as commander of the troop, but rather due to other tasks that very likely put him in close connection with the royal court. The Nehesy of Hatshepsut’s expedition, that of the Bubasteion, and that of the Gebel el-Silsila rock chapel have in common the *jmy-r3 ḥtm.t*-title, which was sometimes held by individuals who also acted as royal tutors (see *Chapter IV.2*). By assuming such an identification, this scenario (a commander of the troop who was also an overseer of the treasury and acted as a royal tutor) would explain why Nehesy may have been buried in the Queens’ Valley. Notwithstanding, due to the absence of archaeological evidence, this identification remains a pure conjecture.

- *s3.t nsw* Hatnefer (QV 72)

The existence of the *s3.t nsw ḥ3t-nfr* was ascertained by Lepsius, who found the princess’ tomb between QV 74 (tomb n. 2) and QV 73 (tomb n. 3).⁷¹⁹ Two limestone

⁷¹⁶ Caminos and James 1963, 40-41.

⁷¹⁷ Zivie 1984, 248.

⁷¹⁸ Cavillier 2009, 11-13. This shabti was found by the Franco-Tuscan mission (1828/1829) in the Theban necropolis and brought to Florence.

⁷¹⁹ Lepsius 1900, 226.

canopic jars were found within it, one outside the tomb.⁷²⁰ Two fragmented canopic jars were brought to Berlin (n. 2076/*alpha* and n. 2075; fig. V.11/A and B), whilst another piece (*beta*) was held by the tradesman Triantophyllos (fig. V.11/C). The latter piece is listed in the *Beschreibung der Ägyptischen Sammlung des Niederländischen Reichsmuseums der Altertümer in Leiden* (inv. n. R. A. 54, fig. V.11/D).⁷²¹ Nothing is said about the acquisition of this object; however, it is evident that it deals with Triantophyllos' canopic jar, by comparing Lepsius' drawing with the object. It is worth noting that the lid of this canopic jar depicts the jackal-shaped head of Duamutef. During the 18th Dynasty the canopic jar lids usually depicted the human-like heads of the Sons of Horus, although there are attestations of canopic jar lids shaped as animal heads already in that epoch.⁷²² The Leiden piece can therefore be re-contextualized as an object coming from the Queens' Valley, exactly from tomb QV 72. Furthermore, a shabti of the princess has been found within the tomb, although neither a picture nor additional information are available.⁷²³

This Hatnefer is the only 18th-dynasty king's daughter with such a name known thus far.⁷²⁴ A dating based on the canopic jar only is anything but simple since there are not many samples of this type to compare. Some help may come from a future publication of the findings brought to light from tomb QV 72 by the Franco-Egyptian team. In any case, as remarked above (*section 2-c* of this chapter), it is likely that Hatnefer was a true king's daughter with royal blood.

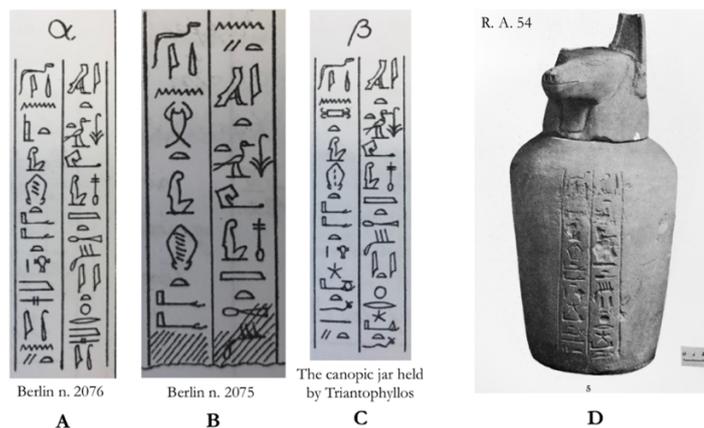


Fig. V.11. Drawings of the inscribed formulas on Princess Hatnefer's canopic jars (A, B, and C: after Lepsius 1900, 226-227) and the Leiden canopic jar (D: after Wijngaarden 1926, pl. II/5).

⁷²⁰ Lepsius 1900, 226 (alpha and beta), 307.

⁷²¹ Wijngaarden 1926, 1-2 and pl. II/5.

⁷²² Taylor 2001, 68.

⁷²³ Leblanc 1993, 25.

⁷²⁴ Ranke 1935, 232 (n. 17).

- s3 nsw Baki (QV 72)

During the excavation works of tomb QV 72, the Franco-Egyptian team found also some fragments of jars, one of which attesting to the *s3 nsw b3kj*.⁷²⁵ Nothing more can be said concerning this individual, due to missing published data about the findings from this tomb. No 18th-dynasty king's son named Baki is known thus far.⁷²⁶ The presence of a prince and a princess within the same tomb might lead one to hypothesize that Baki and Hatnefer were brother and sister.

- s3.t nsw Merytra (QV 76)

This princess is mentioned in Demas and Agnew's assessment of the Queens' Valley⁷²⁷ but more specific information is lacking. Actually, this tomb was investigated in 1904 by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana*, however, no finding belonging to this princess is mentioned within Ballerini's notes. It may be possible that the Italian team quickly investigated this tomb. It is worth remarking that no other 18th-dynasty king's daughter named Merytra and buried within the Theban necropolis is known so far.⁷²⁸

- Heka(?) (QV 81)

The incomplete name and absence of any title do not allow to make an attempt of identification of this individual.⁷²⁹

- s3 nsw Minemhat (QV 82)

Two potsherds bear part of an inscription that mentions the *s3 nsw mnw-m-ḥ3t*.⁷³⁰ Among the 18th-dynasty king's son known thus far, no one bears this name.⁷³¹

- Amenhotep (QV 82)

Two fragments of pottery bear the name of a certain *jmn-ḥtp*, without providing any additional information about title or epithet.⁷³² No hypothesis of identification can be therefore suggested.

⁷²⁵ Koenig 1988, 128 (document XVIII).

⁷²⁶ Ranke 1935, 90 (n. 13).

⁷²⁷ Demas and Agnew 2012, 26.

⁷²⁸ Ranke 1935, 159 (n. 7).

⁷²⁹ Demas and Agnew 2016, 116-117.

⁷³⁰ Koenig 1988, 122 (document VIII) and 123 (document IX).

⁷³¹ Ranke 1935, 151 (n. 19).

⁷³² Koenig 1988, 129 (document XX and XXI). Demas and Agnew assign the *s3 nsw*-title to him (2012, 26, table 1).

- *s3 nsw* Ahmose (QV 88)

In 1903, the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* found some materials within the small lateral valley (later named Valley of Prince Ahmose), close to the entrance of a tomb:⁷³³ an incomplete limestone shabti (ME S. 05126), a fragmented alabaster canopic jar⁷³⁴ (ME S. 05127), fragments of linen shrouds bearing the name of Ahmose's parents (ME S. 05125),⁷³⁵ and parts of a mummy. Other objects belonging to the burial assemblage of the this individual are mentioned within the *Esplorazione della Valle delle Regine*: fragments of small alabaster and glass pots and a net likely used to carry vases.⁷³⁶

As remarked by Schiaparelli within his report for King Vittorio Emanuele III, in the beginning of the 1904 the Italian team discovered this prince's tomb (QV 88).⁷³⁷ The burial was dated to the end of the 17th Dynasty.⁷³⁸ The figure of Ahmose remains nebulous, even though it is certain that he was not the son of a king: indeed, his parents were Nebsu (*nb-sw*), whose title is not specified, and the lady of the house Ian (*nb.t pr j'n*).⁷³⁹ The *s3 nsw*-honorific title suggests that Ahmose had a close link with the king's court, however, it is impossible to determine which kind of connection.

With regard to the dating of this prince's burial, Ronsecco remarks that the paleographical analysis of Ahmose's linen shrouds has highlighted similarities with those of Princess Ahmes (QV 47) and suggests the end of the 17th Dynasty as likely dating.⁷⁴⁰ However, according to Vandersleyen, the handwriting speaks in favour of a dating to the beginning of the 18th Dynasty, around the reign of King Ahmose or even later, in any case by the reign Thutmose III.⁷⁴¹ The archaeological evidence does not help to find a definitive solution. Ahmose's shabti is made of limestone and displays an inscription on horizontal lines that are divided into sections by means of engraved lines: similar shabtis are attested both in the late 17th Dynasty⁷⁴² and in the 18th Dynasty,⁷⁴³ within royal and non-royal contexts (fig. V.12).

⁷³³ Ballerini 1903, 33.

⁷³⁴ Ballerini says fragments "*di vasi canopi*" (1903, 33), but only one canopic jar is house in the Turin Egyptian Museum.

⁷³⁵ Ronsecco 1996.

⁷³⁶ Schiaparelli 1924, 23, fig. 19.

⁷³⁷ Schiaparelli 1904, *Relazione*.

⁷³⁸ Schiaparelli 1924, 24. See also Porter and Moss 1927, 769.

⁷³⁹ Both names are attested so far.

⁷⁴⁰ Ronsecco 1996, XXIX.

⁷⁴¹ Vandersleyen 1971, 214-215.

⁷⁴² *E.g.* BM EA13329 (see the British Museum online collection).

⁷⁴³ For instance: BM EA32191(King Ahmose's shabti: see Russmann 2005, 33-34, n. 12); Boston MFA 11.1495 (Puyemra's shabti: see Keller 2005, 103, n. 51). The 19th-dynasty shabti of Paser shows similar features (Manchester MM 4348: see Janes 2012, 33-35).



Fig. V.12. Limestone shabtis dating to the 17th and 18th Dynasties.

There is however another element of the prince's burial assemblage that is more telling. The fragmented alabaster canopic jar (Turin ME S.05127) has no comparison in the 17th Dynasty: indeed, during this period, canopic jars were rarely used, the viscera being wrapped in linen and placed within canopic chests.⁷⁴⁴ Therefore, the presence of the canopic jar may speak in favor of a dating of Ahmose's burial to the 18th Dynasty.

- Anonymous *s3 nsw* (QV 98)

In 1904, not far from QV 88, the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* found another shaft tomb assigned to an anonymous 18th-dynasty prince, whose name has not preserved. The identification of such tomb as QV 98, which has been proposed in *Chapter III.4-d*, makes it possible to re-contextualize some of the objects that have been found by the Italian team (see *Chapter IV.2* and fig. IV.1).

- Qenatum (QV 98)

Two potsherds, which have been found in tomb QV 98, bear the same hieratic inscription, but in one case only is the jar label complete (ME S. 05129). The text reads: *jmy-r3 htm.t tm-kn*, the overseer of the treasury, Qenatum. The holder of this relevant appointment, Qenatum, is unknown and the name has not any comparison in the New Kingdom or in other periods.⁷⁴⁵ The presence of this name on potsherds suggests that this individual may

⁷⁴⁴ Taylor 2001, 68.

⁷⁴⁵ The author checked Ranke's *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen* and the Deir el-Medina online database.

have been buried along with the anonymous prince. It is worth remarking that the title of *jmy-r3 htm.t* was one of the most important ones after that of vizier. Indeed, the overseer of the treasury had access to the innermost areas of the palace (where the treasure was stored):⁷⁴⁶ therefore, it is apparent that the *jmy-r3 htm.t* was a position of great trust and this would explain why some individuals appointed with such a title were also tutors of the royal children. Considering all these aspects, it might be possible that Qenamun was a foster father of the anonymous prince buried within tomb QV 98: this hypothesis might explain the reason of a double burial within the same tomb.

- Min(mes) (QV A)

The “private cemetery” set within the Valley of the Three Pits and designed during the reign of Thutmose III included several shaft tombs, which likely hosted individuals connected with this king’s court. Tomb QV A was the sepulcher of two individuals at least. One of these is Minmes (*mnw-ms*),⁷⁴⁷ whose name is attested onto two fragmented canopic jars. No title has preserved and the identification of this individual is challenging. An individual named Minmes was overseer of the treasury (*jmy-r3 pr-hd*) and scribe, as attested on the Serabit el-Khadim stela n. 233, and lived during the reign of Hatshepsut.⁷⁴⁸ Other individuals with the same name are attested during the joint reign of Hatshepsut/Thutmose III.⁷⁴⁹ Notwithstanding, it is not possible to identify these Minmes as the owner of the Queens’ Valley tomb: the absence of any epithet/title does not help to explain which kind of link with the court Minmes had. However, in this regard, it is worth remarking that a certain Minmes was the tutor of Princes Uebensenu and Nedjmi, both sons of Thutmose III. The tomb of this tutor has not been identified thus far, although funerary cones bearing his name and titles suggest that his tomb chapel was set at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna:⁷⁵⁰ therefore, it cannot be excluded that the Minmes buried in the Queens’ Valley was the tutor of Thutmose III’s sons.

- Anonymous Royal Butler (QV A)

The other individuals buried within tomb QV A remains anonymous, but his title has

⁷⁴⁶ Vernus 1994, 251 and 258.

⁷⁴⁷ Ranke 1935, 152, n. 4.

⁷⁴⁸ Roehrig 1990, 89-95; Mizrachi 2017, 184.

⁷⁴⁹ Mizrachi 2017, 185.

⁷⁵⁰ Roehrig 1990, 89-94.

preserved: he was a royal butler (*wb3 n nsw*), born of an anonymous lady of the house (*nb.t pr*). The burial of a royal butler within the Queens' Valley should not be surprising. In fact, it should be considered that royal butlers lived within the royal palace and were trusted men of the king.⁷⁵¹

- Kari and an Anonymous Individual (QV G)

The findings from tomb QV G attest to the burial of two individuals: *k3rj*,⁷⁵² whose title is not preserved, and another anonymous individual.⁷⁵³

- Queen Ahmes (Valley of the Rope)

As already remarked above (see *section 2-b* of the present chapter), the finding of the fragment of alabaster canopic jar of Queen Ahmes, consort of Thutmosis I, is a concrete clue in favour of her burial within the Queens' Valley, very likely in the Valley of the Rope.

- Archers?

Fragments of wooden arrows and leather cases have been found in tombs QV 9 (unknown ownership), QV 12 (a prince?), QV 72 (Prince Baki), and QV 82 (Prince Minemhat).⁷⁵⁴ Detailed information is available about the fragments of arrows found in tomb QV 9, which are said to be made of reed and provided with wooden tip, and are dated to the 18th Dynasty.⁷⁵⁵ Furthermore, fragments of three arrows have been found in QV 12.⁷⁵⁶ These findings are significant since they suggest that the individuals buried within those tombs were involved in the military sphere. It is worth noting that three of them were princes.

V.2-e. Some Conclusive Remarks

The aim of the first part of this chapter was to investigate the social background of the individuals buried within the Queens' Valley during the 18th Dynasty, a topic which has been so far little investigated. Ballerini did not provide much information about the 18th-

⁷⁵¹ With regard to the tasks of the royal butlers, see Shirley 2011.

⁷⁵² The name is not attested in Ranke's *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*.

⁷⁵³ Loyrette 1997, 180-181.

⁷⁵⁴ Lecuyot 1992/a, 123, footnote n. 42.

⁷⁵⁵ Lecuyot 1992/a, 97.

⁷⁵⁶ Lecuyot 1992/a, 108.

dynasty tombs: this depended on the fact that most of them were discovered in 1904, but he published only the results of the first archaeological mission that took place in 1903. Schiaparelli dedicated the first section of his volume to the most relevant shaft tombs (QV 30, QV 46, QV 47, and QV 88), without dealing with the other several 18th-dynasty tombs located on the northern and southern slopes of the main *wadi*. Information in this regard has been integrated thanks to the use of the unpublished documents (see *Chapter III*). In the second half of the 20th century, the Franco-Egyptian team cleared almost all the 18th-dynasty shaft tombs;⁷⁵⁷ however, only few of them have been the subject of publications.

Considering the abovementioned *status quaestionis*, it was evident that a reassessment and new investigation of the social background of the 18th-dynasty tomb owners was necessary. This was possible thanks to the combination of the data published by Ballerini and Schiaparelli, unpublished archival documents, and data published by the members of the Franco-Egyptian team. The available data were gathered together in order to provide an up-to-date picture of the situation. The results were not much different from what previous scholars had already stated, although their assumptions were based on incomplete⁷⁵⁸ and wrong⁷⁵⁹ information. The examination of the unpublished excavation notes of the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* made it possible to reassess the discoveries carried out by the Italian team and to draw new information. For instance, two burials could be identified within tomb QV 98, those of an anonymous prince and the overseer of the treasury Qenatum. The reassessment of the discoveries made by the Franco-Egyptian team has highlighted a relevant aspect that has not been stressed enough thus far: the finding of the fragmented canopic jar of Queen Ahmes seems to confirm that this necropolis may have hosted queens' burials (at least one) in the early 18th Dynasty. The comparative analysis between the Queens' Valley and the Kings' Valley - with focus on landscape, tomb architecture, and tomb owners - confirms that the Queens' Valley was conceived as a necropolis for individuals close to the kings.

The table below lists the individuals whose name and/or epithet(s)/title(s) have preserved (table V.d).

⁷⁵⁷ Tombs QV 89, QV 90, and QV 91 in the Valley of the Three Pits were likely not investigated.

⁷⁵⁸ Schiaparelli and Ballerini did not published all the results gathered in the field and their excavation notes were inaccessible to the members of the Franco-Egyptian team.

⁷⁵⁹ For instance, the supposed burials of Queen Henut, Queen Nebetnehet, Prince Menkheperra, Princess Tiaa, and several *hkr.t nsw*-women within the Queens' Valley (see Legrain 1903 and 1904).

Category	Name	Tomb	Dating	Titles, Epithets
Queens	Ahmes	Valley of the Rope?	Thutmose I	<i>hm.t nsw wr.t</i>
Princes	Hori	QV 8	Early 18 th Dynasty (before Thutmose III)	<i>s3 nsw</i>
	?-ms-?	QV 12	Reign of Thutmose II	<i>s3 nsw?</i>
	Baki	QV 72	?	<i>s3 nsw</i>
	Minemhat	QV 82	?	<i>s3 nsw</i>
	Ahmose	QV 88	Early 18 th Dynasty	<i>s3 nsw</i>
	Anonymous	QV 98	?	<i>s3 nsw</i>
Princesses	Anonymous	QV 8	Early 18 th Dynasty (before Thutmose III)	<i>s3.t nsw</i>
	Urmerutes	QV 17	Mid-18 th Dynasty	<i>s3.t nsw</i>
	Merytra	QV 17	Mid-18 th Dynasty	<i>s3.t nsw?</i>
	Ahmes	QV 47	Early 18 th Dynasty	<i>s3.t nsw</i> <i>sn.t nsw</i>
	Hatnefer	QV 72	?	<i>s3.t nsw</i>
	Merytra	QV 76	?	<i>s3.t nsw</i>
	Anonymous	QV 22	Reign of Amenhotep III	?
Court individuals	Amonemusekhet	QV 8	Early 18 th Dynasty (before Thutmose III)	Wet nurse?
	Nebiry	QV 30	Thutmose III (or even before)	Stable master (<i>hrj jh.w</i>)
	Imhotep	QV 46	Thutmose I	Governor of the City (<i>jmy-r3 njw.t</i>), vizier (<i>t3tj</i>), judge and vizier (<i>s3b-t'tj</i>)
	Nehesy	QV 70?	Hatshepsut?	Commander of the troupe (<i>jmy-r3 ms'</i>)
	Hega	QV 81	?	?
	Amenhotep	QV 82	?	?
	Qenatum	QV 98?	Early 18 th Dynasty	Overseer of the treasury (<i>jmy-r3 htm.t</i>)
	Minmes	QV A	?	?
	Anonymous	QV A	?	Royal butler (<i>wb3 n nsw</i>)
	Kari	QV G	?	?

Table V.d. The 18th-dynasty tomb owners. © E. Casini.

V.3. The Ramesside Period

Starting from the late 18th/beginning of the 19th Dynasty onwards, until the end of the 20th Dynasty, the Kings' Valley was used as a necropolis for kings mainly.⁷⁶⁰ Conversely, from the beginning of the 19th Dynasty onwards, the Queens' Valley was chosen as a burial place for the royal consorts. The selection of a specific burial ground for the queens' tombs was certainly an innovative aspect, considering that during the 18th Dynasty

⁷⁶⁰ Bickel 2016/a, 232. Exceptions are: KV 56 (Reeves and Wilkinson 1996, 153: a shaft tomb cut in the 18th Dynasty and likely used as a cache for materials moved from KV 14, when Tauseret's tomb was usurped); KV 14 (Reeves and Wilkinson 1996, 157-159: the construction of the tomb started during the reign of Tauseret and it was later usurped by Sethnakht); KV 13 (Reeves and Wilkinson 1996, 154: it is the only Ramesside Period private tomb, which was commenced for the royal scribe and chancellor of King Sety II, Bay, but it was used for the burial of two 20th-dynasty princes); KV 5 (Reeves and Wilkinson 1996, 144-146: the tomb of Ramses II's sons); KV 3 (Reeves and Wilkinson 1996, 161: the tomb was built for a son of Ramses III); KV 19 (Reeves and Wilkinson 1996, 170-171: the tomb was prepared for a son of Ramses IX).

there was not a fixed rule, as shown above (*Section V.2-b*). Satra was the first royal consort to have a tomb prepared within the Queens' Valley (QV 38), in the 19th Dynasty.⁷⁶¹ She was the wife of Ramses I, a general from the Delta (Avaris) who climbed the ladder becoming vizier and afterwards king, after Horemheb's death.⁷⁶² Satra's tomb is chronologically placed in an epoch of innovation, characterized by the beginning of a new royal lineage and dynasty: QV 38 clearly mirrors a turning point since it is the first New Kingdom independent queen's tomb provided with wall decoration and located in a necropolis intended only for the burials of queens. In addition, the Ramesside Period tombs of the Queens' Valley show another innovation, consisting of "*the creation of a specifically "queenly" netherworld landscape*".⁷⁶³

The placement of the queens' tombs within the Queens' Valley has not to be interpreted as an exclusion from the Kings' Valley: on the contrary, the gender separation can be interpreted as a sign of the emergence of a new ideology of queenship.⁷⁶⁴ The separation of female and male component of the royal family has indeed a theological explanation. Royal consorts and princess played an important role next to the pharaoh, they were an indispensable element for the completion of the kingship dogma.⁷⁶⁵ The great king's wife was usually (but not always) a woman of royal blood, daughter of the previous king and sister of half-sister of the current king. This kind of union was actually an important practice in order to repeat the sacred marriage between Osiris and his sister Isis: therefore, the king and the queen would have personified their mythological counterparts on earth. In addition, royal wives had an important role: they gave birth to the king's heir, who would have personified the earthly God Horus.

V.3-a. Tomb Architecture of the Ramesside Period

The Ramesside Period tombs are located within the main *wadi*. They were built by the Deir el-Medina workmen, who were charged with the cutting and decoration of the royal tombs as well. Some architectural similarities between the Queens' Valley and the Kings' Valley tombs are apparent; however, the content of the decorative programs on the tomb wall of these two necropoleis are different: the funerary texts decorating the

⁷⁶¹ Franco and El-Fikri 1990, 30.

⁷⁶² Dijk 2000, 285-286.

⁷⁶³ Reference and quotation from McCarthy 2007, 105.

⁷⁶⁴ McCarthy 2007, 105.

⁷⁶⁵ Hawass 2008, 46-48; Troy 2008, 158.

tombs of the kings were taken from several funerary books, whilst the decorative program shown in the queens' tombs is more schematic and takes inspiration only from the Book of the Dead.

Following Leblanc's typologies,⁷⁶⁶ the Ramesside Period tombs of the Queens' Valley can be divided into three groups, which are based on the architectural features and tomb location within the main *wadi*:

- Type I includes the tombs cut during the reigns of Ramses I (1295-1294 BC) and Sety I (1294-1279 BC), which are located on the southern slope of the main *wadi*. Their architectural layout consists of a staircase leading to the burial chamber, which can be provided with pillars (QV 34, QV 40) or not (QV 31, QV 33, QV 36, QV 38). The main chamber is flanked by one or two side chambers/annexes. These tombs were prepared in a limited time-span, considering that Ramses I's reign was very short and Sety I reigned for about 15 years. From the architectural viewpoint, tomb QV 73 belongs to type I; however, it is located on the northern slope of the main *wadi*, where the tombs prepared during the reign of Ramses II are set: therefore, it might have been designed in a transitional phase.⁷⁶⁷ It is worth remarking that the male consort never shows up in the figurative program of the queens' tombs. According to Leblanc, tombs QV 31, QV 34, and QV 36 were never used since no attestation of the name of the tomb owners has been detected on the tomb walls.⁷⁶⁸ Currently, these three tombs are in a bad state of preservation and their wall paintings are destroyed. However, considering that the architectural layout is completed and that they were decorated, it is very likely that they were used to host the individuals for whom they had been designed (fig. V.13).

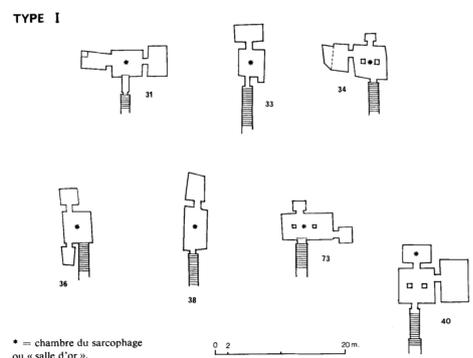


Fig. V.13. Ramesside Period tombs: type I (after Leblanc 1989/a, 240; drawing of the tomb plans: © M. Kalos).

⁷⁶⁶ Leblanc 1989/a, 240-247.

⁷⁶⁷ McCarthy 2007, 107.

⁷⁶⁸ Leblanc 1989/a, 238.

- Type II includes the tombs prepared during the reign of Ramses II (1279-1213 BC), which are located on the northern slope of the main *wadi*. They resemble underground apartments due to their complex architecture and large chambers. They consist of a stairway that leads to the antechamber, then some steps (QV 66, QV 71, QV 75, QV 80) or a vestibule (QV 60, QV 68, QV 74), and finally the burial chamber. The burial chamber is usually provided with annexes for the placement of the grave goods. There can be pillars within the burial chamber, the antechamber, or within both of them. The tomb of Henutmira (QV 75) is the only one that is not provided with side chambers/annexes. Tomb QV 73 is dated to the reign of Ramses II, however, its architectural layout resembles that of tomb QV 34 and QV 40: thus, it may be possible that it was prepared in a transitional phase. Like in type I, the king never shows up in the figurative program of the queens' tombs. Leblanc includes tomb QV 58 in this typology (fig. V.14).

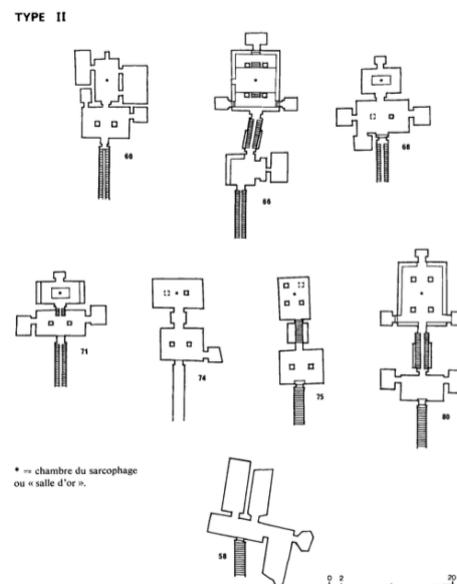


Fig. V.14. Ramesside Period tombs: type II (after Leblanc 1989/a, 242; drawing of the tomb plans: © M. Kalos).

- Type III includes the 20th-dynasty tombs that are located on the south-western and western sector of the main *wadi*. They have been prepared during the reign of Ramses III (1184-1153 BC), although the tomb of Queen Isis was likely completed during her son's reign. The architectural plan of these tombs is peculiar: indeed, they show a longitudinal development, so that they have been defined "syringe-tombs". This peculiarity makes them very similar to the coeval royal tombs of the Kings' Valley, even though the architecture of the queens' tombs is simpler. The 20th-dynasty tombs have an entrance ramp, with the only exception of QV 53, which is provided with a staircase; then, there is

a corridor/antechamber, which can be provided with side chambers/annexes (QV 41, QV 44, and QV 55) and finally there is the burial chamber, which is pillared only in one case (QV 42). The burial chamber is always provided with side chambers/annexes. There are no two tombs alike at all, but some peculiarities make each tomb different from the others (fig. V.15).

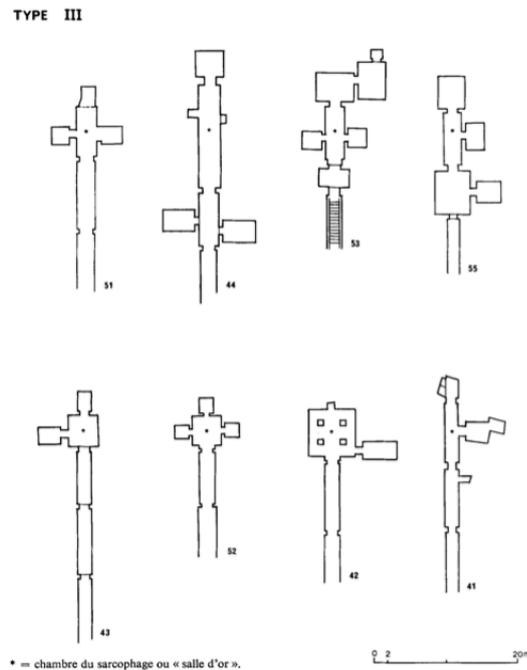


Fig. V.15. Ramesside Period tombs: type III (after Leblanc 1989/a, 243; drawing of the tomb plans: © M. Kalos).

With regard to the tomb construction, information can be drawn from some textual evidence as well as from the tombs that have been left unfinished. Among the written sources, the recto of the *ostrakon* BM EA8505⁷⁶⁹ suggests that the construction of the tombs in the Queens' Valley followed the same procedures as in the Kings' Valley. The tomb mentioned within this text was indentified by Černý as Ramses I's burial (KV 16).⁷⁷⁰ However, thanks to precise calculations, Corinna Rossi recently suggested that the tomb described on the *ostrakon* is that of Queen Isis (QV 51).⁷⁷¹ Another textual evidence concerning the tomb construction in the Queens' Valley is preserved on an *ostrakon* that has been found by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana*⁷⁷² and is housed at the Museo Egizio of Turin (ME S. 05681). This text reports that during the regnal year 22 of Ramses III,

⁷⁶⁹ Check the online catalogue of the British Museum. See Černý and Gardiner 1957, 23-24 and pl. LXXXVII/3.

⁷⁷⁰ Černý 1973/b, 25-26; Demarée 2002, 21, pls. 48 and 49.

⁷⁷¹ Rossi 2002, 97-99.

⁷⁷² Schiaparelli 1924, 172-173.

the Vizier To visited the *t3 wh.t(n) p3 hr*, that is the small cluster of huts built on the northern slope of the main *wadi*, likely in order to examine the progress of the works concerning one or more tombs within the Queens' Valley.⁷⁷³ Ostrakon OIC n. 16991 (housed at the Oriental Institute of Chicago) is a copy of a letter of complaint sent by the scribe Neferhotep to the same Vizier To, likely during the regnal year 29 of King Ramses III.⁷⁷⁴ Within the text, Neferhotep stresses that he is working on the construction of the princes' tombs very excellently and then expresses the reason why he is sending the letter (the supplies for the workmen are scarce). Beyond the subject of the letter, it is interesting to remark the mention of the construction of the princes' tombs. It is impossible to say which tombs Neferhotep refers to, however, the plural form *n3 hr.w n msw-nsu* indicates that it deals with more than one tomb: this suggests that the place in question is the Queens's Valley and not the Kings' Valley, within which only one tomb was designed for a son of Ramses III (KV 3). By assuming that the necropolis in question is the Queens' Valley, the tombs that are under construction may be QV 43 (Prince Sethherkhepeshef), QV 44 (Prince Khaemuset), QV 53 (Prince Ramses-Meryamon), and QV 55 (Prince Amonherkhepeshef). Tomb QV 42 can be excluded since it had been prepared for another individual, Queen Minefer, and was reused for the burial of Paraheruenemef at a later stage: as a proof of this, it is worth noting that the tomb architecture of QV 42 can be placed in a phase of transition between the 19th Dynasty (characterized by tombs with pillared chambers) and the 20th Dynasty (characterized by the so-called "syringe-tombs"). The *n3 hr.w n msw-nsu* mentioned by Neferhotep may have been prepared in advance by order of Ramses III for his sons or commissioned by the necropolis administration due to the simultaneous death of these princes, as Eduard F. Wente suggested.⁷⁷⁵ With this regard, it is worth noting that QV 43 and QV 44 were likely not prepared simultaneously, since both Sethherkhepeshef and Khaemuset are labelled as elder sons of Ramses III.

The unfinished Queens' Valley tombs function as three-dimensional documents that provide one with information about the diachronic stages that characterized the preparation of a tomb.⁷⁷⁶ The construction process was realized by an assembly line that included several individuals charged with different tasks: the architect who planned the

⁷⁷³ López 1978, 32, pls. 30 and 30a; Davies 2018, 333-334.

⁷⁷⁴ This *ostrakon* was found in Deir el-Medina.

⁷⁷⁵ Wente 1961, 252 and 254.

⁷⁷⁶ Leblanc and Siliotti 1997, 42-46.

layout of the tomb, a team chief, skilled craftsmen specialized in cutting the rock, people specialized in plastering the walls, drawing, painting, and sculpturing; finally, there were also common workmen who had to execute humbler works, such as clearing the rubble and the debris resulting from the cutting of the tombs or the maintain the lightening inside the tombs.⁷⁷⁷

The unfinished state of the tomb of Satra, likely due to her unexpected death, allows to examine the different stages of the wall decoration: they were first plastered and then the preliminary drawing was sketched out in red pigment and corrected through black pigment; there is no trace of relief, nor pigments have been applied. Tomb QV 36 is in a more incomplete status and better shows how the assembly line functioned: the walls of the first room are plastered and painted (the lower part of such decoration has been ripped out of the wall by the rainwaters); the walls of the southern side room are plastered, the decoration has been carved but left unpainted; finally, the northern side room has been cut into the rock but the walls are not coated with plaster. The case of QV 36 indicates that the wall decoration was executed while the workmen were still cutting the rock. It is therefore possible to distinguish the different stages of the work: the main, larger room was cut into the rock; then, while the carvers were cutting the second room (the southern one), the craftsmen coated the walls with *muna*⁷⁷⁸ (which was necessary in order to make the surface flat and correct the defects of the rock), a clay-based plaster known as *hiba*, and finally a layer of gesso;⁷⁷⁹ upon this layer of coating, the draughtsmen prepared the preliminary sketches so that the raised relief could be carried out; concomitantly, the workmen finished to cut the second room and started to plaster its walls. Finally, they started to cut the third, northern side room. The reason of the interruption of the construction process likely depended on the necessity to use the tomb for the burial of a princess, who prematurely died.

Concerning the time that was necessary in order to complete the construction of a tomb, Leblanc and Siliotti resort to an index borrowed from the tomb construction in the Kings' Valley and they estimate that a tomb could be built up to 1,80 m. in one month. Therefore, they assume that tombs like those of Ramses III's sons (even about 30 m. long) could be completed in a time-span between 12 to 18 months.⁷⁸⁰ It is apparent that

⁷⁷⁷ Leblanc 1989/a, 228.

⁷⁷⁸ It is a paste consisting of plaster mixed with chopped straw and earth.

⁷⁷⁹ See the definition of *hiba* provided by Demas and Agnew (2016, 6).

⁷⁸⁰ Leblanc and Siliotti 1997, 45.

there could be several variables affecting the duration of the construction works, among which can be listed:

- 1) the architectural features of the tombs themselves (for instance, the 19th-dynasty tombs display large chambers, staircases, and pillars, the construction of which may have required much time);
- 2) the geological composition and the quality of the rock, which considerably varies within the main *wadi* (if the rock was too friable, the tomb construction could be interrupted;⁷⁸¹ some interventions could be performed in order to compensate the poor quality of the rock⁷⁸²);
- 3) the number of workmen employed in the tomb construction (it has to be considered that the workmen involved in the construction of the tombs of the Queens' Valley were the same that worked in the Kings' Valley, and certainly the preparation of the royal tombs had the priority: therefore, it is possible that the workmen were concentrated in the Kings' Valley and likely, in times of less work, they were employed in the construction of the Queens' Valley tombs, even in order to prepare tombs in advance).⁷⁸³

V.3-b. The 19th Dynasty

That of Satra (QV 38) is the first 19th-dynasty tomb prepared in the Queens' Valley. The title of *hm.t nsw*, which occurs in the decorative program of her tomb, might suggest that she died when her husband, King Ramses I, was alive and she was still a full-fledged royal consort. However, within the decorative program of her son Sety I's tomb (KV 17), Satra bears the title *hm.t nsw wr.t*, instead of that of *mw.t nsw*.⁷⁸⁴ Therefore, it is not an easy task to date the burial of this queen.⁷⁸⁵ She also held the titles of God's Wife and God's Mother.⁷⁸⁶ Tomb QV 38 is located on the southern branch of the main *wadi*, where other coeval tombs were designed during the reign of Sety I (QV 31, 33, 34, 36 and 40). Some of these tombs were likely prepared in advance, as suggested by the cartouches that have been left blank. However, despite the missing names within the cartouches and the

⁷⁸¹ As it may have happened with regard to tombs QV 56 and QV 57.

⁷⁸² For instance, pillars were erected in tomb QV 42 in order to avoid the collapse of the ceiling (Leblanc and Siliotti 1997, 46). Other types of intervention consisted of stone masonry elements erected in order to strengthen the walls (as attested in the main chamber of tomb QV 31: see Demas and Agnew 2016, 170).

⁷⁸³ Leblanc and Siliotti 1997, 46.

⁷⁸⁴ Schiaparelli 1924, 106-107.

⁷⁸⁵ Leblanc 2009, 171.

⁷⁸⁶ Leblanc 2009, 168.

unfinished state of the decoration of the sepulchres, one may assume that those tombs were used in order to host burials of members of the royal family.

Concerning the social background of the individuals buried in the Queens' Valley during the reigns of Ramses I and Sety I, it is clear that the requirement for a burial in that necropolis was the status of "great king's wife", "king's wife", and "king's mother". Only in one case, the tomb owner bears the sole title of "king's daughter" (QV 36). During the reign of Ramses II, the same trend was at work. Tombs were prepared only for female members of the royal family. The first tomb cut during the reign of Ramses II may be that of his mother Mut-Tuy (QV 80): the plan of her tomb, developing along a straight axis,⁷⁸⁷ as well as the presence of pillared rooms, are architectural features that will be proposed again for the construction projects of the following tombs.⁷⁸⁸ Nefertari (QV 66), Bentanta (QV 71), Merytamon (QV 68), Nebettauy (QV 60), and Henutmira (QV 75) were Ramses II's great wives (*hm.t nsw wr.t*); Bentanta (QV 71), Merytamon (QV 68), and Nebettauy (QV 60) were also king's daughters (*s3.t nsw*). With regard to Henutmira (QV 75), the situation about her relationship to Ramses II is not clear: a number of scholars assume that she was a daughter of Sety I, thus sister of Ramses II,⁷⁸⁹ whereas according to others, she was a daughter of Ramses II.⁷⁹⁰ Finally, Henuttauy (QV 73) bore only the *s3.t nsw*-title, without being married to her father.

Therefore, during the 19th Dynasty, the Queens' Valley was exclusively used as necropolis for women of the royal family. Each queen had her own tomb, without sharing it with other relatives. Moreover, the queens' tombs were richly decorated and architecturally more complex than the tombs that have been so far attributed to 18th-dynasty queens. The necessary prerequisite in order to have the privilege to receive a burial in the Queens' Valley was the connection with the king as a mother, wife, and/or daughter. Considering the most important title of each 19th-dynasty royal woman, there are seven great wives (*hm.t nsw wr.t*), four wives (*hm.t nsw*), three king's daughters (*s3.t nsw*), and one king's mother (*mw.t nsw*) (table V.e). It is apparent that the titles of *hm.t nsw wr.t* and *hm.t nsw* are the most attested and relevant, thus suggesting that this burial ground had been conceived as a necropolis for royal wives mainly: therefore, it is in this stage that the Queens' Valley can be defined as female counterpart to the "male" Kings'

⁷⁸⁷ Except for Queen Nefertari's tomb (QV 66).

⁷⁸⁸ Davies 2018, 356.

⁷⁸⁹ Dodson and Hilton 2004, 170; Tyldesley 2006, 143-144.

⁷⁹⁰ Sourouzian 1983.

Valley.

Mut-Tuy does not bear the title of *hm.t nsw* within her tomb, however, she had played the role of king's consort while her husband Sety I was alive. Once Ramses II ascended the throne, Mut-Tuy "lost" the title of royal consort and assumed that of "king's mother", this being the likely reason why she does not bear such a title on the wall decoration of her tomb.

Concerning the issue of the three princesses, finding a solution is anything but simple. QV 36 was prepared for a *s3.t nsw* whose name has never been added. Henuttauy is the only daughter of Ramses II who does not bear the title of *hm.t nsw (wr.t)* and is buried in the Queens' Valley (QV 73). Likely, such a privilege was reserved to her by virtue of a special link with his father. Indeed, the other princesses did not have the same privilege: Ramses II had 29 daughters, who show up in the figurative program of his main temples,⁷⁹¹ but nothing is known about the location of their burials. Finally, QV 74 was originally designed for a *s3.t nsw*, likely a daughter of Ramses II; however, her name has not preserved, therefore, she cannot be identified.

Tomb	Deceased's name	Dating of the tomb	Main titles			
			<i>hm.t nsw wr.t</i>	<i>hm.t nsw</i>	<i>s3.t nsw</i>	<i>mw.t nsw (wr.t)</i>
QV 31	Anonymous	Sety I	X		X	
QV 33	Tanedjemy	Sety I		X	X	
QV 34	Anonymous	Sety I		X		
QV 36	Anonymous	Sety I			X	
QV 38	Satra	Ramses I/ Sety I		X		X
QV 40	Anonymous	Sety I/Ramses II?	X		X	
QV 49	Commenced tomb	Sety I?	-	-	-	-
QV 56	Commenced tomb	Ramses II?	-	-	-	-
QV 58	Satefmira?	?		X		
QV 60	Nebettauy	Ramses II	X	X	X	
QV 66	Nefertari	Ramses II	X	X		
QV 68	Merytamon	Ramses II	X		X	
QV 71	Bentanta	Ramses II	X	X	X	
QV 73	Henuttauy	Ramses II			X	
QV 74	Anonymous	Ramses II?			X	
QV 75	Henutmira	Ramses II	X	X	X	
QV 80	(Mut-)Tuy	Ramses II		(X)		X

Table V.e. The 19th-dynasty tomb owners. © E. Casini.

V.3-c. The 20th Dynasty

After the reign of Ramses II, the Queens' Valley was temporarily abandoned. It is

⁷⁹¹ Sourouzian 1983, 365 (footnote n. 1) and 366.

unknown where the burials of Isisneferet (Merenptah's wife), Amenmesse and Siptah's wives, and Tiy-Merenese⁷⁹² (Sethnakhte's wife) were located. Indeed, there is no tomb within the Queens' Valley that may be assigned to them (basing on the sole decorative program), nor any archaeological evidence that may attest to their burial within this necropolis. It might be possible that such queens of the late 19th and early 20th Dynasties were buried elsewhere, allegedly in the Kings' Valley, within their consorts' tombs. This hypothesis may be validated by the case of Queen Takhat^A (Sety II's wife),⁷⁹³ who might have been entombed within tomb KV 10.⁷⁹⁴

During the reign of Ramses III, new tombs were prepared within the Queens' Valley, however, something changed, not so much with regard to the social background (the deceased were still individuals belonging to the royal family) as to the gender of the tomb owners: indeed, whereas during the 19th Dynasty this necropolis was used as a burial ground for female individuals only, who were mainly royal consorts, during the 20th Dynasty both royal wives and king's sons had their sepulchres built in that necropolis. In addition, there was a change concerning the tomb architecture: from tombs composed of large pillared-chambers, the architectural layout changed into the so-called "syringe"-tombs, which displayed a longitudinal development similar to that of the Kings' Valley tombs. However, with regard to the tomb size, the Queens' Valley tombs were smaller compared to the coeval ones built in the Kings' Valley⁷⁹⁵ and they displayed a different decorative program.⁷⁹⁶ From a topographical point of view, the QV-tombs are located in the western sector of the main *wadi*, with two exceptions: the commenced tombs QV 24 (located in the mid of the southern slope of the main *wadi*) and QV 95 (in the area of Deir er-Rumi).

Three royal consorts have been buried in the Queens' Valley: Isis (QV 51), Tity (QV 52), and Duatentipet (QV 74). Queen Isis was a great wife of Ramses III and mother of King Ramses IV.⁷⁹⁷ She had an Asiatic origin, as suggested by her title *s3.t ḥbldnt*, "daughter of the Colchicum", attested within her tomb (QV 51).⁷⁹⁸ Lepsius interpreted *ḥbldnt* as a male name, due to the presence of the determinative of the seated man at the

⁷⁹² Dodson and Hilton 2004, 194; Tyldesley 2006, 167.

⁷⁹³ Dodson and Hilton 2004, 175.

⁷⁹⁴ Dodson and Hilton 2004, 183.

⁷⁹⁵ Leblanc 1993, 22.

⁷⁹⁶ McCarthy 2007.

⁷⁹⁷ In this regard, see: Leblanc 1999, 834; Dodson and Hilton 2004, 194; Leblanc 2009, 281. According to Tyldesley (2006, 168) and Grajetzki (2005, 73), she was the mother of Ramses VI.

⁷⁹⁸ Černý 1958; Mahmoud Soliman and Tosi 1996, 214.

end of the name (fig. V.16).⁷⁹⁹ However, the same male determinative follows the name of the queen in the account on pap. BM EA10052⁸⁰⁰ and recent studies have shown that it could be associated to a queen's name as well,⁸⁰¹ in order to highlight the noble (and not the royal) origin of the individual in question. Černý explored QV 51 and did not detect any male determinative but part of a determinative suggesting that *hblḏnt* was a female name.⁸⁰² Černý interpreted this *hblḏnt* as the *hmdrt* mentioned on a statue of King Ramses III found in Karnak:⁸⁰³ there, the depiction of Queen Isis is flanked by her name within the cartouche (*3s.t-t3-hmdrt*, Isis that of Hemdjeret),⁸⁰⁴ thus suggesting that *hmdrt* is part of the name of the queen, like an epithet given to her. It is also worth remarking that the account of pap. BM EA10052 reports that Habadjilat had the title of *hm.t nsw*: this means that she was married to a king. Finding a solution concerning the identity of *hblḏnt/hmdrt* is anything but simple and there are two likely scenarios:

- 1) Habadjilat may have been the mother of Queen Isis, as suggested by the title “*s3.t hblḏnt*” attributed to Isis herself within her tomb;
- 2) otherwise, Habadjilat may be Queen Isis herself, as suggested by the name *3s.t-t3-hmdrt* attested on the above-mentioned Ramses III's Karnak statue.



Fig. V.16. Drawing by Lepsius of the inscription mentioning the title *s3.t hblḏnt*, from tomb QV 51 (after Lepsius 1900, 134).

The position of Queen Tyti within the 20th Dynasty is debated and a number of hypotheses have been suggested. She might have been a daughter of Ramses IX, wife and sister of Ramses X, and mother of Ramses XI.⁸⁰⁵ Conversely, according to Schiaparelli, Tyti was a daughter of Ramses III and she received the honorific title of *hm.t nsw* of the

⁷⁹⁹ Lepsius 1900, 234.

⁸⁰⁰ Kitchen 1983, 768.

⁸⁰¹ See Collier *et. al* 2010, 244.

⁸⁰² Černý 1958, 31.

⁸⁰³ As remarked by Černý, the interchange of *m/b* and the metathesis of *d/l* (or *r*) are well attested and do not constitute a problem in the framework of such an identification.

⁸⁰⁴ Černý 1958, 31.

⁸⁰⁵ Tyldesley 2006, 171; Kitchen 1984; Dodson and Hilton 2004, 186-187.

same king.⁸⁰⁶ A link with this pharaoh is confirmed by the fact that the queen received her tomb as a gift from king Ramses III.⁸⁰⁷ Leblanc suggested that Queen Tyti was the mother of Ramses III's sons Khaemuset, Amonherkhepeshef, and Ramses-Meryamon.⁸⁰⁸ Thus, given that she bore the titles of *s3.t nsw* and *sn.t nsw*, Tyti might have been daughter of King Sethnakht (1), wife of Ramses III (2), and mother of Ramses IV (3).⁸⁰⁹ Such a hypothesis complicates the picture of the situation since it is usually assumed that the king's children were born by the Great King's Wife Isis and another minor consort.⁸¹⁰

Finally, Queen Duatentipet was a daughter of Ramses III, wife of Ramses IV, and mother of Ramses V;⁸¹¹ she was buried in a tomb that had been already prepared for one of the Ramses II's daughters. She also played the role of divine adoratrice.⁸¹²

Among the sons of Ramses III, Paraheruenemef (QV 42), Sethherkhepeshef (QV 43), Khaemuset (QV 44), Amonherkhepeshef (QV 55), and Ramses-Meryamon (QV 53) were buried in the Queens' Valley. Prince Paraheruenemef is attested from the wall decoration of his tomb and inscriptions on the wall decoration of the Medinet Habu temple.⁸¹³ He bore the title of first king's son of his majesty (*s3 nsw tpj n hm=f*), but he did not ascend the throne since he predeceased his father. Although the mother of this prince is unknown,⁸¹⁴ it may be possible that Paraheruenemef was son of the Queen Minefer, who was the original owner of tomb QV 42.⁸¹⁵ Like Paraheruenemef, even Sethherkhepeshef is defined as a *s3 nsw tpj n hm=f* in the decorative program of his tomb. Some scholars have assumed that he ascended the throne as King Ramses VIII, thus implying that he had not been buried in the Queens' Valley.⁸¹⁶ However, according to Leblanc, this prince (whom he labels as Sethherkhepeshef I) and King Ramses VIII (= Sethherkhepeshef II) were two different individuals.⁸¹⁷ Therefore, tomb QV 43 may have been used for the burial of the original owner for whom it had been designed. Khaemuset was first king's son as well, but he did not ascend the throne: his sarcophagus was a gift

⁸⁰⁶ Schiaparelli 1924, 156; Grist 1985, 81. See also Donadoni Roveri 1988, 155.

⁸⁰⁷ Thomas 1966, 223-224.

⁸⁰⁸ Leblanc 1999, 834-835; Leblanc 2001-2002, 210-211.

⁸⁰⁹ Gosselin 2007, 182-183; Leblanc 2009, 246-253; Collier *et al.* 2010, 246.

⁸¹⁰ In this regard, see Collier *et al.* 2010, 246.

⁸¹¹ Dodson and Hilton 2004, 192; McCarthy 2007, 107.

⁸¹² Dodson and Hilton 2004, 192. She is mentioned within the tomb of Amenhotep (TT 346), who was the overseer of the royal harem of the adoratrice Duatentipet (Gosselin 2007, 189).

⁸¹³ Leblanc 2001-2002, 199-200.

⁸¹⁴ Dodson and Hilton 2004, 186-187.

⁸¹⁵ Leblanc 2001-2002, 209.

⁸¹⁶ Schiaparelli 1924, 130; Dodson and Hilton 2004, 194.

⁸¹⁷ Leblanc 2001-2002, 196-199.

by his half-brother Ramses IV, who took the power after Ramses III's death. Ramses-Meryamon was a son of Ramses III and Queen Tyti and was buried within QV 53.⁸¹⁸ Amonherkhepeshef, another son of Ramses III and Queen Tyti, held several titles (*sš nsw*, king's scribe; *jmy-r3 ssm.t*, overseer of cavalry; *jmy-r3 ssm.t wr*, chief commander of the cavalry; *hrj tp t3.wj*, administrator of the Two Lands). Although tomb QV 55 was prepared for him, this prince might not have been buried in the Queens' Valley: tomb KV 13 contained the sarcophagus of Tauseret, which was reinscribed for him, thus suggesting that he may have been entombed within the Kings' Valley (table V.f).⁸¹⁹

During the 20th Dynasty, the tomb construction was mostly concentrated in the reign of Ramses III. After his death, the construction works within the Queens' Valley were limited. As confirmed by an inscription within QV 51, the tomb of Queens Isis was completed during the reign of Ramses IV.⁸²⁰ Tomb QV 74 hosted the burial of Queen Duatentipet, but it was not prepared during the reign of Ramses IV: actually, it was a 19th-dynasty tomb designed for a princess and converted into a queen's burial.⁸²¹ In any case, by accepting Tyti's connection to Ramses III, QV 74 may have hosted the last 20th-dynasty burial within the Queens' Valley.

Tomb	Owner	Dating	Titles/Epithets
QV 24	Commenced tomb	?	-
QV 41	Anonymous	Ramses III	?
QV 42	Paraheruenemef	Ramses III	<i>s3 nsw</i> , king's son <i>s3 nsw tpj n hm=f</i> , first king's son of his majesty
QV 43	Sethherkhepeshef	Ramses III	<i>s3 nsw</i> , king's son <i>s3 nsw tpj n hm=f</i> , first king's son of his majesty <i>s3 nsw smsw</i> , eldest king's son
QV 44	Khaemuaset	Ramses III	<i>s3 nsw</i> , king's son <i>s3 nsw tpj n h.t=f</i> , first king's son of his body
QV 45	Commenced tomb	Ramses III	-
QV 51	Isis	Ramses III Ramses VI	<i>hm.t nsw wr.t</i> , great king's wife <i>hm.t nsw</i> , king's wife <i>mw.t nsw wr.t</i> , great king's mother
QV 52	Tity	Ramses III?	<i>hm.t nsw wr.t</i> , great king's wife <i>hm.t nsw</i> , king's wife <i>s3.t nsw h.t=f mr.t=f</i> , king's daughter of his body <i>sn.t nsw</i> , king's sister <i>mw.t nsw</i> , king's mother
QV 53	Ramses-Meryamon	Ramses III	<i>s3 nsw</i> , king's son <i>wr m3w n r' tm</i> , greatest of seers of Ra-Atum
QV 54	Commenced tomb	?	-
QV 55	Amonherkhepeshef	Ramses III	<i>s3 nsw</i> , king's son <i>sš nsw</i> , king's scribe <i>jmy-r3 ssm.t</i> , overseer of the cavalry

⁸¹⁸ Leblanc 2001-2002, 205-206.

⁸¹⁹ Leblanc 2011-2002, 202-205.

⁸²⁰ Davies 2018, 358.

⁸²¹ Leblanc and Abdel-Rahman 1991.

			<i>jmy-r3 ssm.t wr</i> , chief commander of the cavalry <i>hrj tp t3.wj</i> , administrator of the Two Lands
QV 74	Duatentipet	Ramses IV	<i>hm.t nsw wr.t</i> , great king's wife <i>hm.t nsw</i> , king's wife <i>s3.t nsw</i> , king's daughter <i>mw.t nsw wr.t</i> , great king's mother <i>dw^c.t ntr</i> , divine adoratrice
QV 84	Commenced tomb	?	-
QV 85	Commenced tomb	?	-
QV 86	Commenced tomb	?	-
QV 95	Commenced tomb	?	-

Table V.f. The 20th-dynasty tomb owners. © E. Casini.

V.3-d. Lost Queens of the Ramesside Period

It is given for granted that all the Ramesside royal consorts were buried within the Queens' Valley, however, archaeological evidence does not provide a confirmation of it. Indeed, the location of the tombs of a number of queens (both *hm.t nsw* and *hm.t nsw wr.t*) remains unknown still to date.

With regard to the 19th Dynasty, the position of the tombs of two consorts of Ramses II, Isisneferet⁸²² and Maatneferura⁸²³ (the latter was a daughter of the Hittite King Hattushili III), is unknown. In addition, nothing is known about the sepulchres of Isisneferet II (wife of Merenptah),⁸²⁴ Baketuernel (wife of Sety I⁸²⁵ or Amenmesse⁸²⁶), and Suterity⁸²⁷ (wife of Sety II). Ramses II's wife Isisneferet was the mother of Khaemuset, priest of Ptah at Memphis, and since she often occurs in depictions next to her son, it might be possible that she was buried at Saqqara.⁸²⁸ Textual evidence confirms that the Hittite wife Maatneferura lived at the palace of Gurob,⁸²⁹ but nothing is known about her burial: was she buried within the Queens' Valley, or at Saqqara,⁸³⁰ or in Anatolia?⁸³¹ Nothing more precise can be said about the other abovementioned queens. Tombs QV 34 and QV 40 were prepared for an anonymous *hm.t nsw* and an anonymous *hm.t nsw wr.t* respectively. They both have been dated to the reign of Sety I. However, taking into account that the two tombs have pillared burial chambers (a feature typical of the

⁸²² Troy 1986, 169 (19.6); Grajetzki 2005, 67.

⁸²³ Troy 1986, 169 (19.7); Grajetzki 2005, 67.

⁸²⁴ Troy 1986, 170 (19.12); Grajetzki 2005, 70.

⁸²⁵ Kitchen 1983, vol. VI, 811 (4.4). See also *Chapter VII.4*.

⁸²⁶ Troy 1986, 171 (19.16); Grajetzki 2005, 70.

⁸²⁷ Grajetzki 2005, 71. According to Troy, she may have been a wife of Sethnakht (1986, 171 (20.1)).

⁸²⁸ Grajetzki 2005, 67.

⁸²⁹ Grajetzki 2005, 67.

⁸³⁰ Leblanc 2009, 288.

⁸³¹ There is no attestation of queens buried outside Egypt.

queens' tombs of the northern slope of the main *wadi*), it cannot be excluded that they were prepared at the very beginning of Ramses II's reign, in order to host the burials of a number of his consorts. Conversely, Queen Takhat^A (wife of Sety II) might have been buried in her son's tomb, within the Kings' Valley.⁸³²

With regard to the 20th Dynasty, other queens' burials still remain unidentified, like those of Satra-Tameri (wife of Sethnakht),⁸³³ Tiye Merenisis (likely wife of Sethnakht and mother of Ramses III),⁸³⁴ Hemdjeret (if it is admitted that she is not the same person as Queen Isis),⁸³⁵ Henuttauy⁸³⁶ and Tauertenro (both were wives of Ramses V),⁸³⁷ Nubkhesbed⁸³⁸ and Nefertera (both married to Ramses VI),⁸³⁹ Baketuernel II, and Taiay.⁸⁴⁰

The identity of Queens Satefmira and Nesmut⁸⁴¹ still remains nebulous since they cannot be related to any king. The *hm.t nsw* Satefmira is not even mentioned within written sources and the only material evidence that attests to her existence is the fragmented canopic jar (ME S. 05446) found by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* in the Queens' Valley.⁸⁴² The same archaeological mission found a faience shabti of Queen Nesmut (ME S. 05448), who is also attested on pap. Mayer A.⁸⁴³ The archaeological evidence is a telling clue to the entombment of these two queens within the Queens' Valley, even though it is not possible to determine which tombs hosted their burials.

Another queen who was possibly buried in the Queens' Valley is Hemdjeret/Habadjilat. Papyrus BM EA10052 (rto. 1.14-19) records that the tomb of this *hm.t nsw* was set within the "great and noble places" (*n3 s.wt 3.wt šps.wt*).⁸⁴⁴ If the queen in question is Isis, there is no actual issue concerning the location of her tomb (which is QV 51). However, if one assume that Hemdjeret and Isis are two different individuals,

⁸³² The lid of her sarcophagus, which was found in Amenmesse's tomb KV 10, was originally prepared for a likely daughter of Ramses II, Anuketemheb, and reused for this queen. See Brock 2003.

⁸³³ She is mentioned within Sethnakht's tomb KV 14, but she does not bear any title; therefore, it is not certain whether she was his wife. In this regard, see: Troy 1986, 171 (20.1); Grajetzki 2005, 72.

⁸³⁴ Dodson and Hilton 2004, 194; Grajetzki 2005, 72.

⁸³⁵ Dodson and Hilton 2004, 192; Grajetzki 2005, 72-73. Unless this Hemdjeret is not to be identified as Queen Isis herself.

⁸³⁶ Troy 1986, 171 (20.6); Grajetzki 2005, 75.

⁸³⁷ Troy 1986, 171 (20.7); Grajetzki 2005, 75.

⁸³⁸ Dodson and Hilton 2004, 193; Grajetzki 2005, 74.

⁸³⁹ Troy 1986, 172 (20.10); Grajetzki 2005, 74.

⁸⁴⁰ Grajetzki 2005, 76

⁸⁴¹ Grajetzki 2005, 76.

⁸⁴² Ballerini 1903, 31.

⁸⁴³ Kitchen 2012, 560.

⁸⁴⁴ Peet 1930 (text), 139, 142-143; Kitchen 2012, 540.

the location of Hemdjeret’s tomb still remains unknown. According to Černý, the tomb of this latter queen “*could hardly have been situated elsewhere than in the Valley of the Queens*”.⁸⁴⁵

To conclude, it is worth observing that a number of royal wives may have been buried in the Kings’ Valley, along with their consorts or sons. The fragment of sarcophagus lid bearing the name of Queen Takhat^A, which was found within tomb KV 10, provides a relatively concrete proof to this hypothesis.⁸⁴⁶ Considering the number of architecturally completed tombs within this necropolis, it seems apparent that the Queens’ Valley did not have enough sepulchres for all the known royal consorts, unless one considers the practice of double queenly burials (which is not attested thus far). The table below points out that only five completed tombs are likely candidate for queens’ burials (see the tombs highlighted in grey: table V.g), which is little compared with the number of the abovementioned lost queens: that is five queens in the 19th Dynasty, nine queens in the 20th Dynasty, and two queens (Nesmut and Satefmira) who are chronologically indeterminable. This means around 16 queens for five tombs only. The case of QV 42 attests to the reuse of the tomb, which was originally designed for Queen Minefer: this does not seem to have been an intentional double burial. Some queens’ tombs may be still unidentified, under the debris. Furthermore, a number of queens might have been buried outside the Theban area (for instance, at Saqqara). This issue still merits further research.

Ramesside Period		
Tomb	Dating	Tomb owner
QV 24	20 th Dyn.	Commenced tomb
QV 31	19 th Dyn.	Anonymous queen
QV 33	19 th Dyn.	Queen Tanedjemy
QV 34	19 th Dyn.	Anonymous queen
QV 36	19 th Dyn.	Anonymous princess
QV 38	19 th Dyn.	Queen Satra
QV 40	19 th Dyn.	Anonymous queen
QV 41	20 th Dyn.	?
QV 42	20 th Dyn.	Queen Minefer and Prince Paraheruenemef
QV 43	20 th Dyn.	Prince Sethherkhepeshef
QV 44	20 th Dyn.	Prince Khaemaset
QV 45	20 th Dyn.	Commenced tomb
QV 51	20 th Dyn.	Queen Isis
QV 52	20 th Dyn.	Queen Tyti
QV 53	20 th Dyn.	Prince Ramses-Meryamon
QV 54	20 th Dyn.	Commenced tomb
QV 55	20 th Dyn.	Prince Amonherkhepeshef
QV 58	19 th Dyn.	?

⁸⁴⁵ Quotation from Černý 1958, 32.

⁸⁴⁶ Troy 1986, 171 (19.14); Dodson and Hilton 2004, 183; Grajetzki 2005, 70.

QV 60	19 th Dyn.	Queen Nebettauy
QV 66	19 th Dyn.	Queen Nefertari
QV 71	19 th Dyn.	Queen Bentanta
QV 73	19 th Dyn.	Princess Henuttauy
QV 74	19 th Dyn.	Queen Duatentipet
QV 75	19 th Dyn.	Queen Henutmira
QV 80	19 th Dyn.	King's Mother Mut-Tuy
QV 84	20 th Dyn.	Commenced tomb
QV 85	20 th Dyn.	Commenced tomb
QV 86	20 th Dyn.	Commenced tomb
QV 95	20 th Dyn.	Commenced tomb

Table V.g. Queens' Valley tombs that may have hosted the burials of some of the lost queens (highlighted in grey).
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Chapter VI. Tombs without Chapels: Hypotheses on the Funerary Cult Places

VI.1. Preliminary Remarks

Textual evidence, intact or pilfered burial assemblages, anthropological remains, and tomb decoration provide the means to reconstruct the ancient Egyptian funerary beliefs. The preparation of the tomb during life, the preservation of the body, and the correct execution of funerary rituals were necessary elements in order to achieve a new existence into the afterlife, as profusely attested by the Egyptian legacy. When the landscape of the Queens' Valley (*Chapter II*) and the social identity of the tomb owners (*Chapter V*) were investigated, even the issue concerning the lack of tomb chapels within this necropolis was considered. Such a peculiar feature, which the Queens' Valley has in common with the Kings' Valley and burial grounds spread over the south-western *wadis*, brings up a thought-provoking question, which constitutes the *fil rouge* of the present chapter.

The wall decorations of the chapels of the New Kingdom tombs, which are located in Theban elite cemeteries, provide information about the events that occurred after death, from the embalming process of the deceased, through the performance of the funerals, until the final entombment. Such information lacks in the decorative programs of the Queens' Valley tombs. On the one hand the 18th-dynasty tombs of the Queens' Valley are undecorated; on the other hand the tombs of the Ramesside Period have decorated walls but the content of the figurative scenes does not give any information about funerals and mortuary rituals: indeed, the decorative motifs include scenes of adoration in front of the deities, funerary offerings to the gods, consecration of libations and fumigations, music and games, and the deceased welcomed by gods.⁸⁴⁷

In the absence of textual and figurative information, archaeological evidence may provide an alternative data source; however, this is not the case of the Queens' Valley. Over time, all the Queens' Valley tombs were plundered and reused, from the late New Kingdom up to the very beginning of the 20th century,⁸⁴⁸ and clues referring to funerals and mortuary rituals have not survived. Ballerini and Schiaparelli never mentioned the finding of either objects or structures relating to the burial and funerary rituals.

⁸⁴⁷ Leblanc and Siliotti 1997, 58.

⁸⁴⁸ As remarked by Schiaparelli within the report written for King Vittorio Emanuele III (Schiaparelli 1903, *Relazione*).

Additionally, the Franco-Egyptian team did not discover any type of architectural elements or objects that could provide information about the funerals of the New Kingdom tomb owners and the performance of the funerary cults on their behalf. Due to the abovementioned absence of textual and figurative evidence, along with the scarce archaeological materials, little is known about the funerary rituals before and during the burial and the mortuary services after the interment. What kind of rituals were performed on behalf of the Queens' Valley tomb owners? Likely, the same that were performed for members of the elite: the Opening of the Mouth ritual in front of the tomb on the day of the funeral, offerings of food provisions, censings, libations, and recitation of funerary formulas.⁸⁴⁹ However, there is no evidence of all of this.

According to Assmann, secrecy, cult, memory, and passage were the main functions performed by the ancient Egyptian tombs.⁸⁵⁰ The secrecy function consists of the preservation, protection, and seclusion of the corpse of the deceased. The cult function encompasses the performance of funerary offerings, libations, and prayers, all necessary practices in order to ensure the survival of the deceased in the afterlife, while the memory function transmitted the name, actions, and achievements of the deceased to the living. Finally, the passage function provided the deceased with a means to move between the earth and the netherworld. Every function corresponded with a part of the tomb:⁸⁵¹ the burial chamber (secrecy function), the tomb chapel (cult and memory functions), and the vertical shaft (passage function). The Queens' Valley tombs performed the secrecy and passage functions, but not the cult and memory ones, as can be inferred from the lack of funerary chapels and other elements such as deceased's statues, stelae, pyramidia, *etcetera*. As a result, the question that arises concerns where the cult and memory functions were performed. It is worth pointing out that, due to the fact that material and textual evidence in this regard is nearly absent, only a hypothetical reconstruction of the cult places can be suggested.

With regard to the close-by Kings' Valley, the situation is not much different. Indeed, little is known about the exact sequence of the events at the funerals of the king: neither textual evidence nor two-dimensional representations in this regard are known so far.⁸⁵² One exception, however, is provided by the remains of the funeral of Tutankhamon,

⁸⁴⁹ Hays 2010, 7-9.

⁸⁵⁰ Assmann 2003, 46-47.

⁸⁵¹ Salvador 2014, 157-158.

⁸⁵² Theis 2015, 217.

thanks to the discovery of KV 54. The objects found in KV 54 are interpreted as the “*physical evidence of some of the practical and ritual activities with which the pharaoh’s people accompanied his transcendence into the realm of the gods*”.⁸⁵³ KV 54⁸⁵⁴ was a cache used to store mummification materials, sacks of natron, remains of the funeral ceremonies, and other items (such as coffins, jars, *etcetera*). The underlying idea to have such caches is that all the materials that came in contact with the deceased, during the embalming process and the last rituals before the closing of the tomb, needed to be buried as well. Dorothea Arnold states that when these materials were found in KV 54, their significance was not understood and “*they were an embarrassment to their finders*.”⁸⁵⁵ Therefore, there is the chance that if any embalming cache was previously discovered in the Queens’ Valley, it was not recognized as such a find, leading to a misinterpretation of the materials. In this regard, it is worth mentioning that Thomas assumed that tomb QV 57 might have been used as an embalming pit,⁸⁵⁶ although any reason for such a hypothesis was unfortunately not provided.

Conversely nothing is known about the funerals of the queens, princes, princesses, and court individuals. Therefore, only hypotheses can be formed in order to reconstruct the process of their funerals,⁸⁵⁷ drawing from what is known of elite funerals.⁸⁵⁸ With regards to the Kings’ Valley, Alexandra von Lieven suggests that the funerals for non-royal individuals should not have been so different from those performed for the people buried in the elite tombs placed all over the Theban necropolis, with the sole difference that there were likely more restrictions regarding the access to necropolis.⁸⁵⁹ Such a hypothesis seems very probable and would be applicable to the case of the funerals of the Queens’ Valley non-royal individuals as well.

Even in the case of the Queens’ Valley, funerary rituals such as the Opening of the Mouth ceremony should have been performed in close proximity to the tomb. On the day of interment, the funeral cortege accompanied the corpse of the deceased to the tomb and performed rituals therein, and once the corpse was placed within the burial chamber and the tomb was sealed, the mourners and the funeral cortege participated in the funerary

⁸⁵³ Quotation from Arnold 2010, 9.

⁸⁵⁴ Allen 2003. Even KV 63 was a cache (Eaton-Krauss 2009, 66-72).

⁸⁵⁵ Reference and quotation from Arnold 2010, 9.

⁸⁵⁶ Thomas 1966, 188.

⁸⁵⁷ Arnold 2010.

⁸⁵⁸ Harrington 2013, 103-112.

⁸⁵⁹ Lieven 2016, 299.

banquet.⁸⁶⁰ Where these funerary banquets took place is not known, but one may suggest that on the day of the funeral, temporary structures were erected close to the tomb in order to host such an event. With regard to the royal necropolis, von Lieven remarks that “it is almost certain that the Valley of the Kings was a place of intense ritual activity, both before and after the burial of a king”.⁸⁶¹ Such a conjectural statement is fascinating, however, traces of mortuary services “after” the burials of the king, of his relatives, and of courtiers are difficult to detect within the archaeological record. With regard to the Queens’ Valley, it is reasonable to propose that funerary rituals were performed inside the necropolis before and during the burial. Yet, it is difficult to postulate concerning the place where mortuary services were performed on behalf of the deceased “after” their interment.

In the framework of modern archaeological excavations, Egyptologists tend to study every trace of the material evidence, even the smallest fragments, in order to unlock information about the past events. For instance, the finding of storage vessels, persea branches, and other floral bouquets at the bottom of the shafts and/or near the entrance to the burial chambers may suggest that some last funerary rites took place before the sealing of the tomb.⁸⁶² However, during the reuse of the tombs, the traces of such burial rites were likely destroyed, or if such materials did survive, the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* possibly did not detect them, since they did not pursue a meticulous stratigraphic excavation (as it is evident from the examination of the unpublished excavation notebooks). Whether the Franco-Egyptian team found any evidence in this regard, this is unknown: indeed, as already remarked, the volume of the *Ta Set Neferou* concerning the findings from the Queens’ Valley has not been published yet.⁸⁶³ The few findings that attest to funerary rituals do not concern the New Kingdom but they are datable to the Third Intermediate Period/Late Period.⁸⁶⁴ It deals with ovoid jars, provided with small handles, which were discovered close to the shaft entrance of tombs QV 7, QV 13, and QV 22; their content is not specified (fig. VI.1).

⁸⁶⁰ Harrington 2013, 108.

⁸⁶¹ Quotation from Lieven 2016, 293.

⁸⁶² Näser 2103, 656.

⁸⁶³ Leblanc 1989/b, 2.

⁸⁶⁴ Lecuyot 1996, 155.



Fig. VI.1. Jars found *in situ* outside tombs QV 7 (on the left: Leblanc 1989/b, pl. XLII; photo: © Ch. Leblanc) and QV 22 (on the right: Leblanc 1989/b, pl. LIII; photo: © Ch. Leblanc).

The placement of the four magical bricks within the burial chamber is another of the rituals that were performed during the entombment of the deceased.⁸⁶⁵ These bricks, associated with amuletic figures, supported the deceased during the rebirth into the afterlife and protected the tomb itself. A few traces of such objects have been found within the Queens' Valley tombs (*e.g.* the *dd*-pillar amulet from QV 66⁸⁶⁶); in addition, niches cut into the walls of some tombs strongly suggest their presence: these tombs date to the Ramesside Period and hosted the burials of Satra (QV 38), Nefertari (QV 66), Bentanta (QV 71), Mut-tuy (QV 80), Nebettauy (QV 60), Merytamun (QV 68), and Henutmira (QV 75).⁸⁶⁷ No niches connected to such objects were found within the 18th-dynasty tombs, but it cannot be excluded that magical bricks were placed on the floor of the burial chamber as well.

It is also challenging to postulate about the mortuary services performed after the day of the burial, either the daily ones or those carried out on the occasion of the several Theban festivals. In this regard, the lack of tomb chapels makes the understanding of the phenomenon of tomb visits difficult. During the Ramesside Period, the tomb entrances

⁸⁶⁵ Roth and Roehrig 2002, 125.

⁸⁶⁶ ME S. 05163.

⁸⁶⁷ Thomas 1964, 72.

in the Queens' Valley were possibly visible, or at least identifiable. From the reign of Ramses II onwards, wooden doors were installed at the entrance of the Kings' Valley tombs, implying that they were accessible and could be opened and closed.⁸⁶⁸ Von Lieven asserts that the presence of such doors at the tomb entrances may reflect a change in the performance of funerary rituals: during specific festivals, in particular the Beautiful Feast of the Valley, some royal funerary rituals may have been carried out outside the tombs, and not just in the memorial temples.⁸⁶⁹ Such a scenario may also apply to the Ramesside Period tombs located in the Queens' Valley, although no thorough information concerning the presence of wooden doors at the entrance of these tombs is provided by the Egyptological literature.

With regard to the New Kingdom royal tombs, there was a separation of the secrecy/passage and cult/memory functions across the Theban landscape:⁸⁷⁰ tombs were cut in concealed *wadis* (*i.e.* the Kings' Valley), but the Temples of Millions of Years were placed along the edge of the desert and fertile landscape. Conversely, the tombs of elite members maintained a unity between secrecy/passage and cult/memory functions: the tomb chapels constituted the place of interaction between the deceased and the living and perpetuated the memory of the deceased through the next generations. Tomb chapels, although varying from individual to individual, usually included the deceased's statue and displayed, through the decorative program of their walls, the main events of the deceased's life and his funeral according to a "canon of elite values".⁸⁷¹ The scenes of the decorative program of the tomb chapel, as well as the tomb architecture and size, expressed the deceased's social status and wealth.⁸⁷² The name of the deceased, painted or carved within the tomb, constituted a completion of the whole funerary monument, which almost worked as one of the components of the person.⁸⁷³ By means of his name, titles, and autobiography, the deceased aimed at imprinting himself and his deed in the memory of the living.⁸⁷⁴ The lack of tomb chapels in the Queens' Valley does not, necessarily, imply the cancellation of the memory of the deceased. Indeed, it should be considered that the memory and cult functions were not restricted to the tomb itself. The living could interact with the dead in other places, by virtue of the principle of the multi-locational aspect of

⁸⁶⁸ Roehrig 1995, 93.

⁸⁶⁹ Lieven 2016, 298.

⁸⁷⁰ Snape 2011, 184.

⁸⁷¹ Robins 2016, 202.

⁸⁷² Robins 2016, 203-204.

⁸⁷³ Hartwig 2004, 6-7.

⁸⁷⁴ Robins 2016, 213.

the deceased.⁸⁷⁵ Cultic installations, wall paintings, false doors, niches, portable objects (*e.g.* votives, stelae, statuettes, pottery, libation basins, *etcetera*) embodied the means through which contact with the dead could be established within the houses.⁸⁷⁶ In addition, the temples were a suitable location for the interaction between the dead and the living.⁸⁷⁷

Considering all these aspects, the author will attempt to investigate the likely places where funerary rituals and mortuary service on behalf of the Queens' Valley tomb owners may have been performed during the New Kingdom, distinguishing between the members of the royal family (queens, princes, and princesses) and court individuals.

VI.2. The Members of the Royal Family

The members of the royal family were buried in the Queens' Valley starting from the early 18th Dynasty. That of Princess Ahmes (QV 47) likely represents one of the earliest tombs cut within this necropolis. A number of other 18th-dynasty princes and princesses were buried therein, however, their parents remain in most cases unknown. Additionally, at least one royal consort, Ahmes, wife of King Thutmosis I, might have been buried in the Valley of the Rope. During the Ramesside Period, the Queens' Valley tomb owners were all individuals with close ties to the king, either by marriage and/or blood relations: they were royal consorts (in the 19th and 20th Dynasties), a few princesses (in the 19th Dynasty), and princes (in the 20th Dynasty). The location of the tombs of the royal family members is well-known, however, the same cannot be said concerning the place of the funerary rituals and mortuary services.

The funerary cult for the kings' mothers and royal wives was carried out within independent temples or within chapels set in the funerary temples of their consorts, which were physically separated from the place where they were buried,⁸⁷⁸ thus following the same trend that characterized the royal sphere in the New Kingdom. In the early 18th Dynasty, King Amenhotep I had a cult chapel built for himself and his mother Ahmes-Nefertari at Dra Abu el-Naga.⁸⁷⁹ The remains, consisting of blocks of limestone and

⁸⁷⁵ Pinch 2003, 444.

⁸⁷⁶ Harrington 2013, 65-86.

⁸⁷⁷ Harrington 2013, 99-101.

⁸⁷⁸ Uphill 1992.

⁸⁷⁹ Spiegelberg and Newberry 1908, 6-9; Carter 1916, 153-154, pl. XXIII; Wilkinson 2000, 174.

sandstone, indicate a wide temple area of about 1.984 square meters,⁸⁸⁰ although Carter suggested that the sandstone remains were pertinent to later additions and restorations.⁸⁸¹ Another funerary chapel for the same queen was detected in the *temenos* of Montuhotep II's temple at Deir el-Bahri: therein, mud bricks bearing the cartouches of King Amenhotep I and Queen Ahmes-Nefertari⁸⁸² belonged to a rectangular structure of about 924 square meters.⁸⁸³ The existence of two funerary temples dedicated to Queen Ahmes-Nefertari could be due to her official and popular worship, which enjoyed an extended duration.⁸⁸⁴

The finding of a fragmented seated statue of Mutneferet (a minor wife of King Thutmosis I, mother of King Thutmosis II and of Prince Uadjmes⁸⁸⁵) in the area of the Ramesseum may provide a clue to the presence of a funerary chapel dedicated to her.⁸⁸⁶ Additionally, between the Ramesseum's enclosure and the temple of Thutmosis IV, there are the remains of a funerary chapel dedicated to Prince Uadjmes (fig. VI.2/A). This chapel possibly offered a location for the funerary and memorial cult of the prince's mother as well, the abovementioned Queen Mutneferet. Uadjmes' chapel is an unusual exception, as it was restored under Amenhotep III, later on during the reigns of Sety I and Ramses II, and likely even into the late 19th/early 20th Dynasty as well.⁸⁸⁷ The reason why the funerary and memorial cult of this prince survived is unknown. He should have been a relevant figure, considering that his funerary chapel is the only one built for a prince that is known so far. This chapel is still preserved thanks to the fact that it was not incorporated within Ramses II's temple. It may be possible that the area occupied by the Ramesseum, between the temples of Thutmosis III and Amenhotep II to the north and that of Thutmosis IV to the south, may have hosted a number of small chapels devoted to the funerary and memorial cults of the members of the 18th-dynasty royal family. When Ramses II had his temple built, the funerary chapels were likely dismantled to make space for the construction of his funerary temple and reusable materials were recovered: only the chapel of Uadjmes was left untouched. Nothing more can be added concerning the place of the funerary cult on behalf of the royal family members during the 18th Dynasty.

⁸⁸⁰ Uphill 1992, 613.

⁸⁸¹ Carter 1916, 154.

⁸⁸² Carter 1912, 28 and pl. XXIII.

⁸⁸³ Uphill 1992, 614; Arnold 1979, 67, pl. 44.

⁸⁸⁴ Andreu 2002, 252-253.

⁸⁸⁵ Dodson and Hilton 2004, 139; Snape and Wilson 2007, 83. See also: Petrie 1897, 3; Daressy 1900, 98-99.

⁸⁸⁶ Snape and Wilson 2007, 85.

⁸⁸⁷ For the several constructional phases, see Snape and Wilson 2007.

Traces of funerary rituals performed on behalf of the Ramesside Period queens were found within the Ramesseum.⁸⁸⁸ When Carter supervised the clearance of the area of the first court of the Ramesseum from debris and the consolidation works of the second pylon, a number of fragments of a statue bearing the name of the *hm.t nsw wr.t mr.t=f twy* were found.⁸⁸⁹ These fragments belonged to a colossal statue of Ramses II's mother, Mut-Tuy, which stood about 9 m. high and, according to hypothetical reconstructions, was placed against the wall of the second pylon, next to the colossal statue of her son.⁸⁹⁰ The presence of a statue of the queen mother within the Ramesseum suggests that a funerary and memorial cult on behalf of Mut-Tuy may have been performed therein.⁸⁹¹ Furthermore, a small temple composed of two pillared chapels was discovered within the enclosure of the Ramesseum and was dedicated to two royal women: Nefertari and Mut-Tuy (fig. VI.2/B).⁸⁹² Under the double shrine, Uvo Hölscher discovered the remains of foundation walls of a smaller temple, which he dated to the reign of Sety I, thanks to the finding of a foundation deposit.⁸⁹³ Desroches-Noblecourt interpreted this smaller temple as a sort of forerunner of the Late Period *mammisi*,⁸⁹⁴ but Uphill proposed that Sety I's earlier temple worked as funerary chapel for Queen Mut-Tuy, which at a later stage was incorporated within the Ramesseum and re-adapted for the funerary cult of the two royal women. In addition, between the temple of Amenhotep II and the enclosure of the Ramesseum, there is a small temple composed of brick-made chapels.⁸⁹⁵ The main building covers an area of about 400 square meters, though the whole *temenos* area is about 1.332 square meters.⁸⁹⁶ Inside a chapel, Petrie found the white limestone statue of a queen (fig. VI.2/C),⁸⁹⁷ whose name was not preserved. Her titles of *šm'y.t n jmn* (chantress of Amon) and *sš.t n mw.t* (player of Mut's sistrum) allowed to identify her as Queen Merytamon, daughter of Ramses II and Queen Nefertari.⁸⁹⁸ Considering all these aspects, the current picture of the situation seems to suggest that the funerary cult on behalf of Ramses II's royal women was performed within his funerary temple.

⁸⁸⁸ Donadoni 1999, 161-176.

⁸⁸⁹ Carter 1901, 194.

⁸⁹⁰ Leblanc 1993-1994, 80; Donadoni 1999, 167.

⁸⁹¹ Leblanc 2009, 179-180.

⁸⁹² Schmidt and Willeitner 1994, 82.

⁸⁹³ Uphill 1992, 614.

⁸⁹⁴ Desroches-Noblecourt 1991; Donadoni 1999, 173.

⁸⁹⁵ Petrie 1897, 6, 22, pl. XXII.

⁸⁹⁶ Uphill 1992, 615.

⁸⁹⁷ Petrie 1897, pl. IX/2. Donadoni 1999, 161.

⁸⁹⁸ Masri 1983.

Notwithstanding, there is no archaeological trace of the other consorts and daughters of Ramses II, and it is not even known whether the funerary cults of his many sons were performed within the Ramesseum. In this regard, it should be considered that there might have been some exceptions. For instance, one of Ramses II's most prominent sons, Khaemuaset, was a high priest in charge of the Serapeum at Saqqara: therefore, it may be possible that this prince was buried in the Memphite area,⁸⁹⁹ where also his funerary cult was performed.

Concerning the funerary cult of the family members (wives and sons) of King Ramses III, the temple of Medinet Habu was the likely place of performance. On the northern and southern walls of the second court, about 20 princes are depicted. Among these, three became kings: Prince Ramses (King Ramses IV), Prince Ramses-Nebmaatra-Meryamon (King Ramses VI), and Prince Sethherkhepeshef (King Ramses VIII); in order to highlight their change of status (from prince to king), an uraeus was later added to their foreheads.⁹⁰⁰ All these princes might have had their funerary cults performed within Ramses III's funerary temple. This is supported by the fact that there are thus far no traces of any independent temples dedicated to their funerary cult elsewhere. It is even possible that the funerary and memorial cults on behalf of Ramses III's wives were performed within the king's temple as well.

To summarize, during the New Kingdom, the funerary and memorial cult of the royal consorts could be performed within independent temples or chapels incorporated within the kings' funerary temples. The funerary cult on behalf of princes and princesses may have been carried out within independent shrines (like in the case of Prince Uadjmes) or within their father's funerary complex. In any case, it seems likely that the Theban West Bank was the physical seat where the funerary and memorial cults of royal family members were carried out, though there is always the possibility (like in the supposed case of Prince Khaemuaset) that other localities were selected instead.

⁸⁹⁹ Fisher 2001, 124.

⁹⁰⁰ Leblanc 2001-2002.

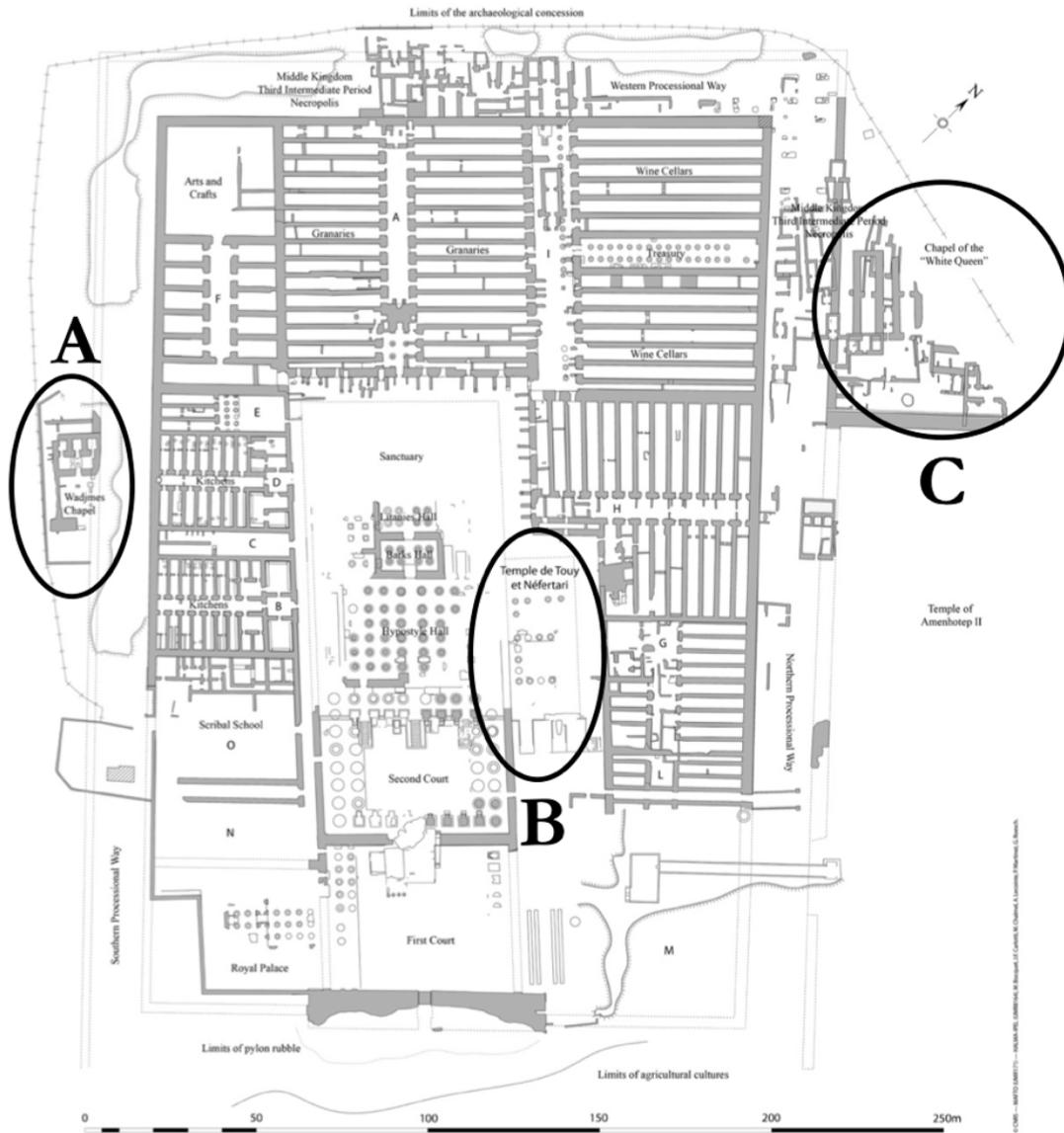


Fig. VI.2. Plan of the Ramesseum temple (letters added).
 Source: http://www.insightdigital.org/team/images/7/70/Plan_Ramesseum_1000e_English_captions.jpg
 (last accessed on 17.01.2018).

VI.3. The Court Individuals

During the 18th Dynasty, even court individuals had their burials in the Queens' Valley. In the previous section, a possible solution concerning the place performing the funerary cult on behalf of the royal family members was suggested. Conversely, identifying the location of the funerary and memorial cults dedicated to court individuals is more challenging. The tomb chapels offered a direct point of contact between the living and the dead; however, the Queens' Valley tombs were not provided with such structures. The existence of small mud-brick shrines and/or funerary stelae erected close to the

tombs cannot be excluded, although no material evidence can confirm this scenario.

The execution of funerary rituals depended on the living.⁹⁰¹ If no relative, friend, or occasional visitor came to the tomb chapel to bring offerings and read the formulas painted/carved on the stelae, the tomb came to lose its function as a “contact point”. This observation is relevant because it has to be considered that the 18th-dynasty commoners buried in the Queens’ Valley were members of the royal court. This means that such individuals did not live at Thebes, but they lived very close to the king, at the royal residences. During the 18th Dynasty, the royal palace was located in Memphis, however, the kings possessed other royal residences throughout Egypt. Actually, the “residential” aspect of the royal court was flexible: the king and the royal court were rather movable and itinerant: indeed, although little textual evidence can confirm it, the king likely travelled all over the country, accompanied by his entourage, collaborators, and courtiers, in order to carry out inspections, perform his role as high priest, and execute administrative tasks.⁹⁰² It stands to reason that the location of the tombs of the court individuals did not depend on that of the royal residence within which they lived. Considering that from the reign of Thutmosis III onwards the residence of the kings and a large part of the administration was located at Memphis,⁹⁰³ one may expect a concentration of tombs of court individuals within the Saqqara necropolis already during the reign of the same king. Yet, the reality is different.⁹⁰⁴

During the first half of the 18th Dynasty, court individuals were buried at Thebes, close to the king and the members of the royal family. However, one should be cautious, as it is not possible to establish a fixed rule. It is not known whether a number of members of the royal court were buried at Saqqara already during the reign of Thutmosis III, whereas it is certain that some high officials were buried within that necropolis in that epoch.⁹⁰⁵ Court individuals were buried at Akhetaten during the Amarna interlude, however, a number of officials were also buried at Saqqara,⁹⁰⁶ thus suggesting that Memphis was not completely abandoned as administrative centre. Afterwards, in the late 18th Dynasty, court

⁹⁰¹ Arp 2012, 407.

⁹⁰² In this regard, see Martin 2000, 101.

⁹⁰³ Dijk 1988, 38.

⁹⁰⁴ Dijk 1993, 191-192.

⁹⁰⁵ The chancellor and overseer of the treasury Nehesy was buried in a rock-cut tomb situated in the southern escarpment of the Bubasteion (Bub. I.6): see Zivie 1984. Other officials of the time of Thutmosis III-Amenhotep III were buried in the Teti Cemetery North, at Saqqara: see Gessler-Löhr 2007.

⁹⁰⁶ In this regard, see the tomb of the vizier Aper-el (Zivie 1988).

individuals were buried at Saqqara⁹⁰⁷ and likely still at Thebes.⁹⁰⁸

Turning back to the 18th-dynasty Queens' Valley, tombs were architecturally simple and the walls of the burial chambers were undecorated. Outside, on the ground, there may have been surface markers or funerary chapels (although no material evidence of them has been detected to date). This absence can be explained as follows: if the people composing the royal court were not native to Thebes, but came from other settlements and regions, tomb chapels in the Queens' Valley might have been unnecessary: indeed, how could relatives, friends, or descendants visit the deceased's tomb and perform the funerary rituals, if they did not live in Thebes? In this regard, it is worth remembering that the tomb itself was not the only contact point between the living and the dead. As remarked by Assmann, the deceased wished to visit four earthly places,⁹⁰⁹ which functioned as a physical interface for the contact between the dead and the living:

- 1) the *tomb chapel*;
- 2) the *garden* outside the tomb (which was necessary for sustenance and pleasure of the deceased and their *ba*⁹¹⁰);
- 3) the *house* (where the deceased came back in order to visit the family);
- 4) the *places where the most important festivals were performed* (such as Abydos, Memphis, Thebes, and Busiris).

Although the tomb constituted the main focus of the funerary cult and mortuary service, the absence of tomb chapels in the Queens' Valley did not impede the performance of such cults and relating rituals on behalf of the deceased, which could then be carried out elsewhere: indeed, as remarked by Nicola Harrington, “*activities related to mortuary cults need not necessarily have taken place at the tombs themselves*”.⁹¹¹ Thus, the absence of tomb superstructures within the Queens' Valley implies only a displacement of the mortuary cult, and not its non-implementation. This aspect can be witnessed by the

⁹⁰⁷ For instance, the wet nurse of Tutankhamon, Maia, was buried in a tomb cut in the southern escarpment of the Bubasteion (Zivie 2009).

⁹⁰⁸ Although the archaeological evidence in this regard is nearly absent. In the late 18th Dynasty, no court individual was buried within the Kings' Valley; even with regard to the Queens' Valley, very little is known due to the poor archaeological evidence.

⁹⁰⁹ Assmann 2003, 51; Harrington 2013, 91.

⁹¹⁰ The archaeological excavations have actually revealed traces of the presence of gardens and pools outside some tombs. For instance, a T-shaped basin has been excavated in the forecourt of tomb TT 529 at Deir el-Medina; the finding of mud around the basin suggests the presence of a garden (Harrington 2013, 91). In addition, recently, the Djehuty Project directed by J. M. Galán has discovered the mud, criss-cross structure of a funerary garden, which belonged to an early 12th-dynasty rock-cut tomb placed south of tombs TT 11 and TT 12 (http://www.excavacionegipto.com/el_proyecto/campaigns.php?year=2017&option=summary, last accessed on 26.06.2019).

⁹¹¹ Quotation from Harrington 2013, 94.

special case offered by the Deir el-Medina necropolis during the 18th Dynasty: the majority of the tombs were not provided with chapels,⁹¹² however, the funerary cult on behalf of the deceased was certainly carried out in other places in the vicinity of the tombs (that is within the village itself).⁹¹³

Therefore, considering these preliminary remarks, it is possible to address the issue concerning the place of performance of the funerary and memorial cults on behalf of the 18th-dynasty court individuals, by providing the following options:

1) *The Queens' Valley*. Although there is no archaeological evidence in this regard, tombs might have been provided with temporary superstructures made of perishable materials, like mud and wood. Temporary chapels might have been built in order to perform rituals connected with the funerals and, in the course of time, might have been dismantled. In addition, it is possible that small mud-brick shrines were erected close to the tomb entrance, in order to host funerary stelae and offer a place for the post-burial mortuary service. Such small mud-brick shrines have been identified within the Theban area,⁹¹⁴ but not within the Queens' Valley itself. Miniature limestone pyramids were found in the South Tombs Cemetery at el-Amarna, where they were used as surface grave markers:⁹¹⁵ concerning the Queens' Valley, this option cannot be proved, since no kind of similar elements has been discovered there thus far. Since the main *wadi* was the subject of massive construction activity during the Ramesside Period, it is possible that such small shrines (if there existed at all) were dismantled and markers were moved. Considering all the vicissitudes that affected this necropolis over time (see *Chapter VII*), it is understandable why none of these kinds of structures has survived. Finally, it is worth mentioning that the secrecy of the burial ground and its limited access may suggest that the Queens' Valley was a necropolis not open to everyone (see *Chapter II.4*): thus, if tombs were not the subject of visits, it results that chapels and shrines would be not necessary.

⁹¹² Only six tomb chapels are known for this period. The author deeply thanks M. Sartori (University of Basel) for this information.

⁹¹³ In the same site, during the Ramesside Period, the tombs had funerary chapels. In addition, there was a sector between the precinct of the Ptolemaic temple and the northernmost enclosure of the village that hosted independent chapels (mostly dating to the 19th and 20th Dynasties), consisting of pillared rooms provided with benches at the sides and endowed with courtyards (Harrington 2013, 97-98). Many objects and artefacts related with ritual purposes have been found in the vicinity of these chapels: very likely, this liminal sector was dedicated to ritual activities on behalf of both the living and the dead (Meskell 2000, 271).

⁹¹⁴ For instance, a small mud-brick chapel (46 x 70 x 55 cm) has been recently discovered by the Djehuty Project at Dra Abu el-Naga, close to the 12th-dynasty rock-cut tombs; inside it, there were three stelae dating to the 13th/17th Dynasty (http://www.excavacionegipto.com/el_proyecto/campaigns.php?year=2017&option=summary, last accessed on 30.06.2019). Another mud-brick shrine was found in Deir el-Bahri by Carnarvon and Carter (Carnarvon and Carter 1912, pl. XLII, n. 2).

⁹¹⁵ Kemp *et al.* 2013, 69 (fig. 4).

2) *Tomb chapels located outside the Queens' Valley*. The deceased possibly possessed an independent funerary chapel (or a second complete tomb including the subterranean chambers) located on the Theban West Bank, in one of the elite burial grounds.⁹¹⁶ There are some renowned cases of people possessing “double tombs”:⁹¹⁷ for instance, Senenmut, who was steward of Amon at the time of Hatshepsut (TT 71: tomb chapel at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna;⁹¹⁸ TT 353: decorated burial chamber at Deir el-Bahri⁹¹⁹); Userhat, overseer of the royal harem and overseer of the fields of Amun⁹²⁰ at the time of King Amenhotep III (KV 45: undecorated burial chamber;⁹²¹ TT 47: tomb chapel at el-Khokha, the location of which is currently lost⁹²²); Sennefer, mayor of the Southern City at the time of King Amenhotep II (TT 96: decorated burial chamber at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna; (re-)burial within undecorated tomb KV 42;⁹²³ Amenemope, called Païry,⁹²⁴ vizier and governor of the town at the time of King Amenhotep II (TT 29: tomb chapel at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna;⁹²⁵ KV 48: burial chamber⁹²⁶); and other individuals.⁹²⁷ The separation of the tomb and cult place began in the royal sphere but was applied even to the non-royal one, as the case of the two complementary tombs of Senenmut clearly attests to.⁹²⁸ Senenmut was native to Armant,⁹²⁹ but he spent his life and career in Thebes and in the royal palace as well (he was tutor of Princess Neferura). His parents were buried on the Theban West Bank, close to his tomb TT 71⁹³⁰ and this indicates that there was the desire on his part to be buried at Thebes, and not in his hometown. Senenmut likely had the personal financial resources to have such funerary monuments built for himself, like Amenemope (TT 29) and Userhat (TT 47). Since Senenmut worked in Thebes, as his official appointments suggest, it is understandable that he wanted to have a funerary chapel built there, where he possibly had relatives and friends who could visit his tomb and perform the mortuary services for him after death. With regard to the non-royal

⁹¹⁶ The same hypothesis is made by Dorman (1995, 143) with regards to the funerary cult on behalf of Yuya and Tuya (KV 46) and Maiherperi (KV 36), who were court individuals buried within the Kings' Valley.

⁹¹⁷ Dorman 1995.

⁹¹⁸ Porter and Moss 1960 (PM I), 139-142.

⁹¹⁹ Dodson and Ikram 2008, 226; Snape 2011, 188.

⁹²⁰ Carter 1903, 47.

⁹²¹ Dorman 1995, 142-143; Reeves and Wilkinson 1996, 184.

⁹²² Carter 1903, 46-47; Porter and Moss 1960 (PM I), 87; Kampp 1996, 246-248.

⁹²³ Eaton-Krauss 1999, 122-123.

⁹²⁴ He was brother of the mayor of Thebes Sennefer.

⁹²⁵ Kampp 1996, 214-215.

⁹²⁶ Porter and Moss 1964 (PM I), 565; Thomas 1966, 162; Dorman 1995, 142; Reeves and Wilkinson 1996, 184-185.

⁹²⁷ User (TT 61 and TT 131), Menkheperresonbe (TT 86 and TT 112), and Djehutynefer (TT 80 and TT 104): see Dodson and Ikram 2008, 26.

⁹²⁸ Dorman 2005/c.

⁹²⁹ Dorman 2005/b, 107.

⁹³⁰ Dorman 2005/a.

individuals buried within the Queens' Valley, there is no attestation of any individual possessing another tomb outside this necropolis so far; however, this is a condition that may depend on the scarce archaeological evidence. It is worth remarking that only a few names of the tomb owners of the New Kingdom Queens' Valley are known; by far, too few compared with the high number of burials. Actually, considering that several tomb complexes sparsed over the Theban necropolis do not possess subterranean chambers (for instance, Rekhmira's tomb, TT 100), it cannot be excluded that a number of such superstructures may have worked as the complementary funerary chapels of the Queens' Valley tombs.

3) *The funerary complexes on the Theban West Bank.* It is possible that the funerary cults of a number of 18th-dynasty individuals buried in the Queens' Valley were performed within chapels located in the vicinity of (or inside) the funerary temples of the kings or the royal children to whom they were connected.⁹³¹ A limestone block (fig. V.8) found within Uadjmes' chapel, close to the Ramesseum, bears an inscription indicating that Imhotep (QV 46)⁹³² acted as foster father of that prince. This finding may suggest that the memorial cult on behalf of this tutor might have been performed within the prince's chapel. This option is speculative, however, with regard to the funerary cult on behalf of Amenhotep III's parents-in-law (Yuya and Tuya), Lakomy suggests a similar scenario: "*Im Falle von Juya/Tjuju (KV 46) wäre zu überlegen, ob diese aufgrund der engen Bindung zum Königshaus vielleicht in dem monumentalen Millionenjahrhaus ihres Schwiegersohnes König Amenhoteps III. eigene Totenopferräume zugewiesen bekommen haben könnten.*"⁹³³ Proof that may confirm such a practice comes from Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahri, where Winlock found the fragmentary statue of Hatshepsut's nurse Satra-Inet (Cairo JE 56264/72412).⁹³⁴ The original and exact position of the find-spot of the statue is unclear: possibly it was within the Hathor chapel, or in the gallery where Hatshepsut's divine birth is depicted. In any case, this piece may archaeologically attest to a memorial cult performed on behalf of the royal nurse (who was buried in the tomb KV 60) within Hatshepsut's funerary temple.⁹³⁵

4) *The tomb chapel of a relative or descendant.* The deceased's funerary and memorial cults may have been performed within the tomb chapel of a relative, such as a parent, or their descendants. A likely piece of evidence in support of this option is found within the tomb

⁹³¹ Strudwick and Strudwick 1999, 127.

⁹³² Daressy 1900, 107.

⁹³³ Reference and quotation from Lakomy 2016, 90.

⁹³⁴ Roehrig 1990, 31-35.

⁹³⁵ Lakomy 2016, 91.

of Userhat (TT 51), who was first prophet of the royal *ka* of Thutmose I during the reign of King Sety I. On the wall decoration, among Userhat's ancestors,⁹³⁶ there is a figure that is indicated by a caption as *r-p^c ḥ3tj-^c jmy-r3 njw.t t3tj jj-m-ḥtp*, *the hereditary prince, mayor, governor of the city, and vizier, Imhotep* (fig. VI.3).⁹³⁷ Although the genealogy seems to lack historical validity,⁹³⁸ it cannot be excluded that Imhotep's memory was kept alive and his funerary cult performed by this supposed descendant. If the remembrance of Imhotep was still alive two centuries after his death, this suggests that he had been an influential personality and played a relevant role within the royal court. Although difficult to know for certain, this option may provide a plausible solution.

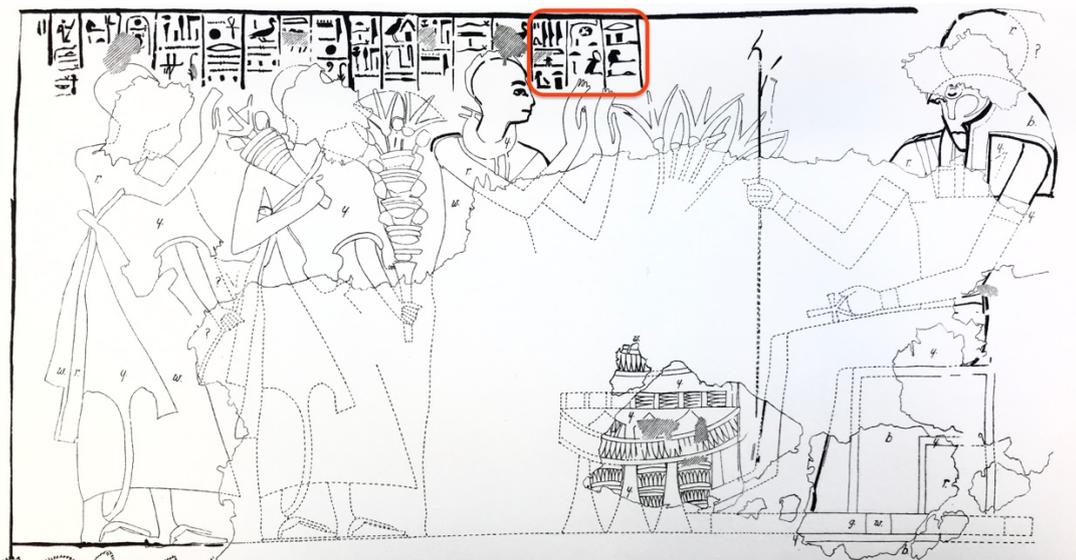


Fig. VI.3. Userhat's ancestors adoring the god Montu: the standing person in front of the god is Imhotep; TT 51, transversal chamber, western wall (after Davies 1927, pl. XV).

5) *At the royal palaces.* Bickel has suggested that the funerary and memorial cults of non-royal individuals buried in the Kings' Valley were possibly carried out at the royal palaces.⁹³⁹ During the 18th Dynasty, royal palaces were at Memphis (which was the seat of the political centre), at Avaris (in the early 18th Dynasty, during the reign of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II),⁹⁴⁰ at Gurob (seat of a royal palace from Thutmose III onwards),⁹⁴¹

⁹³⁶ Davies 1927, pl. XV; Porter and Moss 1960 (PM I¹), 97; Kampp 1996, 255-257.

⁹³⁷ Mond 1905, 69.

⁹³⁸ On this regard, see Davies 1927, 20-22; Roehrig 1990, 23. Userhat may have referred to Imhotep since the vizier lived during the reign of Thutmose I.

⁹³⁹ Bickel 2017.

⁹⁴⁰ Bietak 2005.

⁹⁴¹ Thomas 1981, 8; Gasperini 2008, 19-20; Shaw 2008; David 2015, 94.

in the area of el-Tarif (in the early 18th Dynasty, by the reign of Amenhotep III),⁹⁴² at Malqata (during the reign of Amenhotep III),⁹⁴³ and at el-Amarna (during the reign of Akhenaten).⁹⁴⁴ Even though court individuals followed the king during his trips over the country, they likely had strict connection to one of the royal residences, within which they lived, possibly with their family. Although there is no evidence to support such a hypothesis, it may be possible that their remembrance was kept alive and the mortuary service on their behalf was performed by their family members at such royal residences.

6) *The hometown*. The birthplace and hometown of the deceased may have played an important role in the choice of the funerary cult place. A tomb chapel or a funerary stela could have been erected at the birthplace, where the deceased's family, relatives, and descendants likely lived and could perform rituals and offerings for them. This could be the case of Yuya and Tuya, the in-laws of King Amenhotep III, who were native to Akhmim, and might have "chosen" their hometown as the place of their funerary cult.⁹⁴⁵ One may assume a similar solution for a number of Queens' Valley tomb owners, although no information about the birthplace of any of them is known.

VI.4. Conclusive Remarks

As remarked by Assmann, the tomb represented the "*stärksten Brennpunkt von Identität und Zugehörigkeit*".⁹⁴⁶ Its location in the birthplace and workplace was of primary importance, since it allowed the deceased to perpetuate their *Einbezogenheit* (sense of belonging) within the social community they were part of during their lifetime. The means in order to maintain this *Einbezogenheit* were threefold:⁹⁴⁷

1) *the performance of the mortuary service*. It was of high importance, for the deceased, to assure themselves an ideally regularly-performed funerary cult, although in reality, within a few generations, it seems probable that the funerary and memorial cults ended;

2) *the festivals celebrated within the necropolis, during which tomb chapels were visited*. Festivals offered the occasion to visit the deceased's chapels: the texts inscribed, carved, or painted on the

⁹⁴² The presence of a *d3dw*-palace in the area of el-Tarif is attested by the written documentation: see Stadelmann 1986, 467; Stadelmann 1996, 226.

⁹⁴³ O'Connor 2010.

⁹⁴⁴ Kemp 2013, 122-154.

⁹⁴⁵ Lakomy 2016, 90.

⁹⁴⁶ Quotation from Assmann 2000, 230.

⁹⁴⁷ Assmann 2000, 230.

tomb walls, or on the funerary stelae, asked visitors to remember the deceased's name and recite an offering prayer for them;

3) *spontaneous visits by the family members and passers-by*. Through the visit of the family members or unknown visitors, the deceased's veneration, commemoration, and remembrance were kept alive. A "personal profit" was gained at the same time by the family members and descendants: in fact, having an important ancestor would have given them more prestige within their community.⁹⁴⁸

The Queens' Valley tombs hosted the burials of individuals who were part of the royal family and court. It is possible that they were not born at Thebes, although it cannot be excluded that some court individuals came from the Theban area. These individuals belonged to a special community, the royal court, which lived within a specific architectural setting (the palace) and was itinerant as well; this community had specific mechanisms of inclusion, displayed a social hierarchy centered around the king, and performed ritualized modes of behaviours dictated by the etiquette. In the first half of the 18th Dynasty (until the reign of Amenhotep III), the tombs of members of the royal family and royal court were located in one of the concealed necropoleis situated behind the cliffs of the Theban mountain (the Queens' Valley, the Kings' Valley, or the south-western *wadis*). With regard to the royal family members, it seems probable that, throughout New Kingdom, the funerary and memorial cults on their behalf were performed in the Theban area. Such cults were likely carried out within the funerary complexes of the kings to whom they were linked, or in independent temples/chapels close to the kings' funerary temples.

The issue concerning the place of performance of the funerary and memorial cult on behalf of the 18th-dynasty court individuals is more complex and far from a definitive solution. Since the place of the entombment was different from that of birth and/or dwelling, a tomb chapel at Thebes may have been perceived as a privilege but not convenient and functional, with regard to the performance of the funerary cult. Indeed, how could the deceased have their memory perpetuated and receive funerary offerings far from their household, relatives, and friends? The lack of chapels or mud-brick shrines by the tombs in the Queens' Valley raises the issue concerning the cult place. As hypothesized above, there are several possible solutions to the problem (fig. VI.4). One cannot exclude the presence of temporary chapels, even small mud-brick shrines in the

⁹⁴⁸ Hartwig 2004, 9-10.

Queens' Valley, which were dismantled or destroyed over time. In case of people possessing personal financial means, it may be likely that a chapel was built in the elite cemeteries of the Theban West Bank. Yet, the existence of a tomb chapel in the Theban necropolis for them would depend on whether they were native of the Theban area or if they had performed their duties there. It is also possible that the cult place of a number of these court individuals was located within the funerary temples of royal family members to whom they were connected in life. In addition, it is not to be ruled out that a memorial cult took place within the funerary chapels of their relatives and descendants. Finally, the funerary cult on behalf of the courtiers may also have been performed in the place where they lived with their family (the royal palace) or from where they came (their home town). All these options may have worked simultaneously, without one excluding the other one.

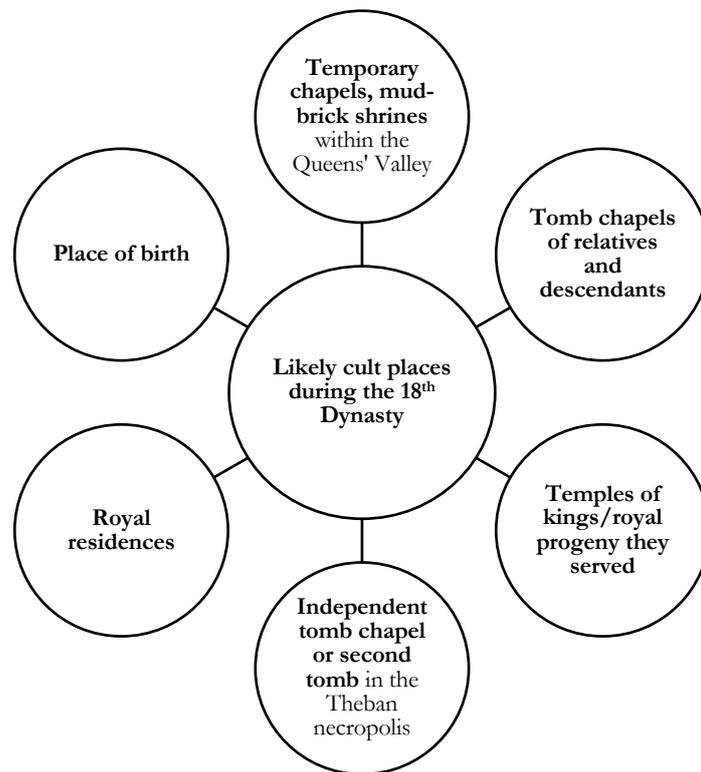


Fig. VI.4. Summary scheme about the possible locations of the funerary cult performed on behalf of the court individuals buried within the Queens' Valley during the 18th Dynasty. © E. Casini.

Chapter VII. The History of the Queens' Valley: from the Conception of the Necropolis to its Christian "Conversion"

The Queens' Valley has been the subject of a very extended use, starting from the dawn of the New Kingdom, when it was designed as a burial ground for members of the king's family and court individuals. The occupation of this necropolis lasted until modern times: indeed, as remarked by Schiaparelli within the report written for King Vittorio Emanuele III,⁹⁴⁹ the inspector H. Carter expelled the last Copts who were still living in the necropolis, just a few years before the beginning of the Italian archaeological mission.

The reconstruction of the chronological sequence of the stages of reuse of the single tombs is anything but simple due to the chaotic stratigraphy: not only were tombs reused and plundered, but also were the funerary contexts contaminated by the explorers of the 19th century. As a schematic drawing of the floor of the Valley of Prince Ahmose indicates, Ballerini attempted to describe the stratigraphic deposits at least outside the tombs (fig. VII.1); however, due to the amount of work, the many teams to supervise, and time constraints, he did not manage to deepen this kind of investigation. Afterwards, it was impossible even for the Franco-Egyptian team to carry out an in-depth stratigraphic excavation. Actually, the Italian team had contributed to the contamination of the archaeological contexts.⁹⁵⁰

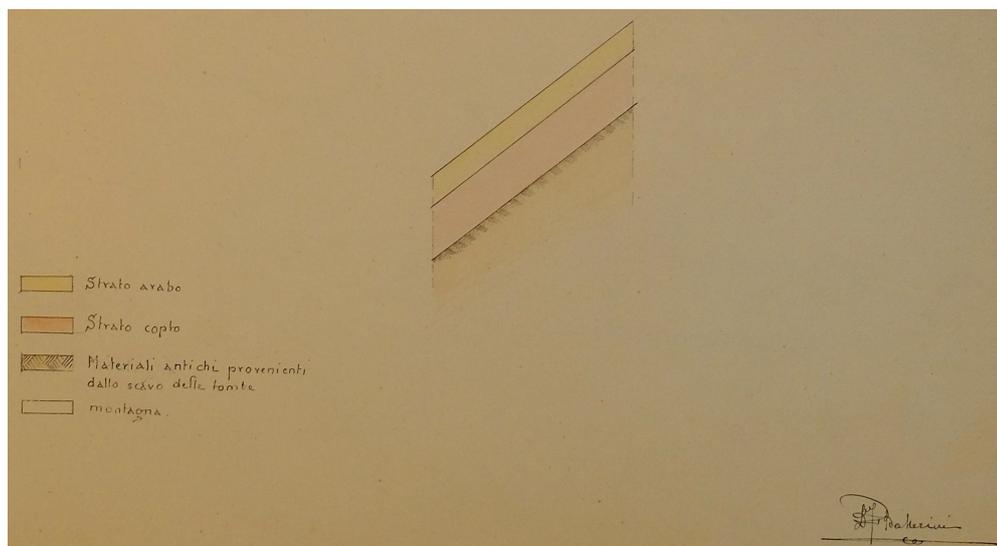


Fig. VII.1. Stratigraphic composition of the floor of the Valley of Prince Ahmose, Ballerini's drawing (from *Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche, marzo 6 - fascicolo 11, Tav. 1*); © Archivio di Stato, Torino.

⁹⁴⁹ Schiaparelli 1903, *Relazione*.

⁹⁵⁰ Lecuyot 1996, 145.

In order to understand the current Queens' Valley necropolis, it is necessary to retrace all the events that affected this burial ground. A few historical overviews of this necropolis have already been published, however, it mainly deals with a collection of concise information⁹⁵¹ or overviews focused on specific epochs only.⁹⁵² Therefore, the purpose of the present chapter is to reassess the history of the Queens' Valley, by considering all the phases of use from the 18th Dynasty up to the Coptic Period, working on a comprehensive reconstruction of the events that characterized the use of this necropolis. A special focus is directed to the New Kingdom: in this regard, the author aimed at re-investigating the date of formation of this necropolis, its use in the course of the 18th Dynasty, and the reasons behind the transformation of this burial ground into a necropolis only for royal family members in the early 19th Dynasty. In addition, textual sources concerning the tomb robberies that affected the Queens' Valley during the late New Kingdom were examined, a topic that had remained little explored thus far. Finally, the author's attention was directed to the several stages of reuse of the tombs, from the Third Intermediate Period up to the Coptic Period, by analysing the mechanisms of re-occupation and profanation. The final outcome will be an up-to-date and augmented version of the historical background of the Queens' Valley.

VII.1. The 18th Dynasty: the Conception of a New Burial Ground for the Family and Entourage of King Thutmosis I

The Queens' Valley is often mentioned as a "royal necropolis",⁹⁵³ however, such a definition may be inaccurate since it offers a misleading hint about the social spectrum of the tomb owners. By labelling a necropolis as "royal", it results that such a burial ground should include kings' tombs.⁹⁵⁴ In the course of the ancient Egyptian history, royal necropoleis were set at Umm el-Qaab, in the Memphite area (Giza, Saqqara, Abusir, Meidum, Abu Rawash, and Dahshur), in the Theban area (el-Tarif, Deir el-Bahri, Dra Abu el-Naga, and Kings' Valley), at Abydos, at el-Amarna, at Tanis, and in the Fayum region (el-Lisht, Lahun, and Hawara).⁹⁵⁵ As is evident from this brief overview, the Queens' Valley is not mentioned as a burial place for kings: therefore, a label such as that

⁹⁵¹ Lecuyot 2000; Demas and Agnew 2012, 23-26, 30-33, 61-64, and 78-80.

⁹⁵² With regard to the Roman Period, see Lecuyot 1999; concerning the Coptic Period, see Lecuyot 1993 and 1999.

⁹⁵³ In this regard, see: Lecuyot 1993, 263; Lecuyot 2000, 42; Elleithy and Leblanc 2016.

⁹⁵⁴ Taylor 2016/a.

⁹⁵⁵ Dodson and Ikram 2008; Taylor 2016/a; Dodson 2016.

of “royal” did not seem to suit this necropolis. However, it cannot be completely ruled out that the Queens’ Valley may have hosted a king’s burial, and if it was so, this may have happened at the beginning of the 18th Dynasty, before the formation of the Kings’ Valley necropolis.

With regard to the choice of this site as burial ground, religious and funerary beliefs as well as the sacredness of the rocky landscape may have played a relevant role (see *Chapter II.3*). Reflecting on the “royal” feature attributed to the Queens’ Valley, the author wondered whether this necropolis, which according to scholars was designed for people close to the king (sons, daughters, wives, and court individuals), may have ever hosted the sepulcher of a king himself. Indeed, considering the trend that was at work from the Old Kingdom up to the 17th Dynasty, according to which royal family members were buried close to the king’s tomb, the presence of tombs of at least one queen (Ahmes) and of princesses and princes in the Queens’ Valley may suggest that a royal tomb was set there. And the proximity of this necropolis to the village of Deir el-Medina may not be fortuitous. The most ancient tombs and findings in the Queens’ Valley date to the early 18th Dynasty, with certainty to the reign of King Thutmose I (1504-1492 BC). The village of Deir el-Medina was founded under the same king:⁹⁵⁶ therefore, it may be likely that the earliest cluster of houses was built in a concealed valley, behind Qurnet Murai, in order to host the dwellings of the workmen charged with the construction of tombs. The first royal tomb of the Kings’ Valley is considered that of Hatshepsut (KV 20),⁹⁵⁷ thus her reign represents the beginning of the use of that necropolis.⁹⁵⁸ Therefore, during the reign of Thutmose I (and that of Thutmose II), the workmen set at Deir el-Medina were likely charged with the preparation of the Queens’ Valley tombs.

The discovery of the fragmented canopic jar of Queen Ahmes, wife of Thutmose I, in the Valley of the Rope suggests that her burial was located in that lateral *wadi* of the Queens’ Valley. It may be possible that King Thutmose I had a burial within the Queens’ Valley as well,⁹⁵⁹ although there is no archaeological evidence in this regard. That of Princess Ahmes⁹⁶⁰ (QV 47) may be one of the earliest tombs prepared within the Queens’ Valley. Her association to the penultimate king of the 17th Dynasty caused her tomb to be

⁹⁵⁶ As evident from the cartouche of this king impressed on bricks of the enclosure walls that belong to the eldest phase of the village: see Toivari-Viitala 2011, 4.

⁹⁵⁷ Polz 2007, 219-221; Polz 2008, 527.

⁹⁵⁸ Bickel 2016/b, 12.

⁹⁵⁹ Dorn 2013, 35.

⁹⁶⁰ Dodson and Hilton 2004, 128.

dated to the same dynasty;⁹⁶¹ however, the examination of her mummy (Turin ME S. 05050) revealed that she died in old age and thus it is possible that she was buried therein at the beginning of the 18th Dynasty,⁹⁶² as is confirmed by the palaeographical examination of the Book of the Dead inscribed on her linen shroud.⁹⁶³ Actually, if she had died during her father's reign or slightly after, her tomb should have been located at Dra Abu el-Naga, where kings and members of the royal family were buried during the 17th Dynasty.⁹⁶⁴ The location of the tomb of this princess in the southern sector of the Theban necropolis is likely connected with the conception of a new necropolis, rather than being an isolated experiment. Probably, it is not by chance that Princess Ahmes' tomb is close to that of the Vizier Imhotep (QV 46), who was the tutor of the sons of King Thutmosis I. Among the findings brought to light from tomb QV 9, which is located on the same southern slope of the main *wadi*, there is a pottery sherd inscribed with the name of the same king. Thomas hypothesized that Prince Uadjmes might have been buried within tomb QV 39,⁹⁶⁵ which is close to that of his tutor Imhotep (QV 46);⁹⁶⁶ however, the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* investigated that tomb and no mention of findings related to this prince were detected.

To summarise, the archaeological findings from the Queens' Valley and the proximity of this necropolis to Deir el-Medina are elements that seem to speak in favour of the genesis of this burial ground during the reign of King Thutmosis I. Taking into account that tombs of royal family members and individuals of the royal entourage were usually set in the proximity of the tomb of the king to whom they were linked or whom they served, the presence of Thutmosis I's tomb in the Queens' Valley cannot really be excluded. In this regard, the idea of the location of King Thutmosis I's tomb within the Queens' Valley has already been suggested by Andreas Dorn, based on the likely position of this king's funerary temple in the area of Medinet Habu.⁹⁶⁷ No archaeological clue can confirm this assumption, nor has any tomb with peculiar architecture been found within the Queens' Valley, except for tomb QV 97. This tomb was discovered almost completely empty, except for the fragment of an alabaster vase; although Ballerini hypothesized that

⁹⁶¹ Lecuyot 1987, 28; Lecuyot 1993, 263.

⁹⁶² Desroches-Noblecourt 1990-1991, 6.

⁹⁶³ Vandersleyen 1971, 214 and 228.

⁹⁶⁴ Dodson and Ikram 2008, 207-209; Galán and Jiménez-Higueras 2015; Galán 2017/a; Galán 2017/b.

⁹⁶⁵ Thomas 1966, 188.

⁹⁶⁶ Leblanc hypothesises that tomb QV 46 may have been prepared by the Deir el-Medina workmen: Leblanc 1989/a, 227-228 (footnote n. 3).

⁹⁶⁷ Dorn 2013, 35. With regard to Thutmosis I's temple, see Otto 1952, 71.

it had never been used, Schiaparelli was of the idea that the tomb had been prepared for a king or prince of the late 17th/early 18th Dynasty.⁹⁶⁸ In effect, there is no reason to admit that QV 97 was never used, even though the shape of the burial chamber is asymmetrical. In any case, whether this tomb hosted a royal burial or not, this cannot be said.

By assuming that the funerary temples of the first 18th-dynasty kings were set on the same axis as their burials, this would mean that King Thutmose II as well, whose funerary temple was north-east of the funerary complex of Hay/Horemheb, might have been buried within the Queens' Valley.⁹⁶⁹ Actually, the placement of both Thutmose I and Thutmose II's original tombs still remains unknown,⁹⁷⁰ and the Queens' Valley remains a likely candidate.

A last clue that may suggest the presence of royal tombs in the Queens' Valley comes from pap. Abbott (BM EA10221, 5.9), where the Queens' Valley is described as the place in which there are the burials of king's progeny (*msw-nsw*), king's wives (*hm.wt nsw*), king's mothers (*mw.wt nsw*), and the noble fathers/ancestors and mothers/ancestresses of the pharaoh (*jt.w mw.wt nfr.wt n pr-3*). The expression *jt.w mw.wt nfr.wt n pr-3* may be a generic way to refer to the tomb owners of a distant past, the memory of whom had become nebulous. However, it may also deal with a conscious reference to the earliest tomb owners, thus indicating that also kings (*jt.w .. n pr-3*) had been buried in the Queens' Valley.

Considering the symbolic meaning of the landscape of this necropolis and the above-mentioned assumptions about the location of the tomb of King Thutmose I, it may be possible that the Queens' Valley was conceived according to a conscious plan (that is, designed in order to host royal burials and those of the king's family members and courtiers) and did not arise spontaneously as the result of an unplanned accumulation of burials. The scarceness of archaeological materials relating to the 18th Dynasty deprives one of information for the assessment of the diachronic development of this burial ground, although a few findings allow to date some tombs to the reigns of specific kings. It seems possible that, before the reign of Thutmose III, most of the tombs were cut on the southern slope of the main *wadi* and in the lateral Valleys of the Rope and of Prince Ahmose; afterwards, starting from the joint reign on Hatshepsut/Thutmose III, tombs

⁹⁶⁸ Schiaparelli 1924, 47

⁹⁶⁹ Dorn 2013, 35.

⁹⁷⁰ Polz 2007, 219. According to D. Polz, Thutmose I was originally buried at Dra Abu el-Naga.

were cut also on the northern slope of the main *wadi* and in the Valley of the Three Pits. Archaeological evidence dating to the reign of Amenhotep III comes from tombs QV 17, QV 22, QV 23, and QV 65; tombs QV 94 and QV 18 have been generically dated to the mid-18th Dynasty.

Findings dating immediately after the reign of Amenhotep III have not been detected. It is likely that during the Amarna interlude the Queens' Valley was abandoned: indeed, during the reign of Akhenaten (1352-1336 BC), the royal court moved to Tell el-Amarna and the same site hosted the necropolis. Notwithstanding, up to recent times, Egyptologists thought that the Queens' Valley hosted the burials of members of Akhenaten's royal court.⁹⁷¹ Indeed, slightly before the beginning of the Italian mission in the Queens' Valley, Legrain bought several fragmented canopic jars at the antiquities market in Luxor and hypothesized that they had been found within that necropolis in the course of illegal excavations. A number of them preserved the names of individuals who lived during the reign of Akhenaten, thus suggesting that the Queens' Valley could have been used during the Amarna Period, at least at the very beginning, before the transfer of the royal residence to Tell el-Amarna.⁹⁷² However, the recent discoveries made by P. Litherland have highlighted that the abovementioned canopic fragments come from the Wadi Bairiya, in the western *wadis*.⁹⁷³ Therefore, no archaeological evidence or peculiar architectural features can confirm the use of this necropolis during the reign of Akhenaten.⁹⁷⁴

After the Amarna interlude, the official religion was restored, the royal court came back to Memphis, and the Theban necropolis was chosen again as burial ground for the kings and his family. There, rock-cut tombs continued to be prepared as well, although their architecture and decorative program changed in favour of the new conception of the tomb as private mortuary temple of the deceased⁹⁷⁵ (which is evident also within the Saqqara necropolis, where several members of the elite were buried). It is difficult to assess what the destiny of the Queens' Valley was during this final phase of the 18th Dynasty: indeed, no archaeological evidence gives any help, except for pottery found within shaft

⁹⁷¹ Leblanc 1999, 834.

⁹⁷² Legrain 1903 and 1904.

⁹⁷³ Litherland 2015.

⁹⁷⁴ Differently from what concerns the Kings' Valley: see Bickel 2016/b, 20.

⁹⁷⁵ Kampp-Seyfried 2003, 9-10.

tomb QV 32, which was dated to the late 18th Dynasty, or even beginning of the 19th Dynasty (table VII.a).⁹⁷⁶

Date	Tomb - location
Reign of Thutmosis I	QV 47 - main <i>wadi</i> , southern slope QV 46 - main <i>wadi</i> , southern slope QV 9 - main <i>wadi</i> , southern slope Fragment of Queen Ahmes' canopic jar - Valley of the Rope
Reign of Thutmosis II	QV 12 - main <i>wadi</i> , southern slope
Before Thutmosis III	QV 8 - main <i>wadi</i> , southern slope QV 98 - Valley of Prince Ahmose
Reign of Hatshepsut/Thutmosis III	QV 72 - main <i>wadi</i> , northern slope QV 82 - main <i>wadi</i> , northern slope
Reign of Thutmosis III	QV 30 - main <i>wadi</i> , southern slope QV A-to-L - Valley of the Three Pits
Reign of Amenhotep II	QV 18? - main <i>wadi</i> , southern slope
Reign of Amenhotep III	QV 22 - main <i>wadi</i> , southern slope QV 23 - main <i>wadi</i> , southern slope QV 65 - main <i>wadi</i> , northern slope
Middle of the 18 th Dynasty	QV 94 - main <i>wadi</i> , northern slope QV 18 - main <i>wadi</i> , southern slope
Amarna Period	-
End of the 18 th Dynasty?	QV 32 - main <i>wadi</i> , southern slope (dating based on the analysis of the pottery)

Table VII.a. 18th-dynasty Queens' Valley tombs that can be dated thanks to the archaeological findings.
© E. Casini.

The table below shows the situation concerning the 18th-dynasty Queens' Valley. Even the commenced tombs have been included in the counting. Tomb QV 28 is currently not identifiable, although it should be located under the current police post.⁹⁷⁷ Moreover, with regard to the Valley of Prince Ahmose, the author added the four tombs (one with a staircase entrance and the other three provided with shaftentrance, which were discovered by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* but are at the present not identifiable on current maps). The Queens' Valley hosted at least 81 tombs during the 18th Dynasty (table VII.b).

Sector of the Queens' Valley	Total amount of tombs
Main <i>wadi</i>	57 (QV 28 has not been identified)
Valley of the Rope	3 (QV 92, 93, 97)
Valley of the three Pits	15 (QV 89, 90, 91 and QV A-to-L)
Valley of Prince Ahmose	2 (QV 88, 98) + 4 (mentioned by Ballerini but currently not identified)
<i>Total</i>	81

Table VII.b. Total amount of the 18th-dynasty Queens' Valley tombs. © E. Casini.

⁹⁷⁶ Lecuyot 1996, 151.

⁹⁷⁷ Demas and Agnew 2016, 27.

To recap, the Queens' Valley may have been conceived as a royal necropolis during the reign of King Thutmosis I: members of the royal family (Queen Ahmes and Princess Ahmes/QV 47) and of the royal court (Imhotep, QV 46) were likely buried close to the sepulcher of their king. According to Schiaparelli, the Queens' Valley took form in the 17th Dynasty;⁹⁷⁸ however, the use of such a southern area of the Theban necropolis would not find any explanation, considering that Dra Abu el-Naga at that time was the seat of the royal and non-royal cemetery. The selection of such an invisible place, characterized by rocky landscape, high cliffs, valleys, and a cave depended on religious and symbolic beliefs: the whole necropolis area was indeed perceived as the materialization of the divine principle (*Chapter II.1 and II.3*). Hatshepsut chose the Kings' Valley as the new seat of the royal necropolis. At that point, the Queens' Valley may have been still used as necropolis for the royal children, at least until the reign of King Amenhotep II, under whom there is the earliest attestation of a prince's burial within the Kings' Valley (that of his son Uebensenu within KV 35): therefore, starting from the reign of Amenhotep II onwards, royal children could be buried within the Kings' Valley, even though this was not a fixed rule. Indeed, during the reign of Amenhotep III, Princess Tiaa (likely daughter of Thutmosis IV) and Prince Menkheperra (unknown father) were buried within shaft tomb n. 2 in the Wadi Bairiya⁹⁷⁹ whilst several princes and princesses were entombed within KV 40.⁹⁸⁰ Thus, it seems possible that the Queens' Valley became a cemetery only for court individuals from the reign of Amenhotep II onwards, although this remains a conjecture due to the scant material evidence in that regard.

⁹⁷⁸ Schiaparelli 1924, 2.

⁹⁷⁹ Litherland 2015.

⁹⁸⁰ Bickel 2014.



Fig. VII.2. Map of the Queens' Valley (re-adapted after the map published by Leblanc and Siliotti 1997, 16-17), with indication of the 18th-dynasty tombs only. © E. Casini.

VII.2. The Ramesside Period: between Innovation and (Invention of) Tradition

Starting from the beginning of the Ramesside Period, the function of this place remained the same (that of a burial ground) but the social interface of the tomb owners underwent a deep change. After having been abandoned supposedly during the Amarna Period,⁹⁸¹ the Queens' Valley was chosen as the burial ground for royal consorts and a few princesses during the reign of Ramses I (1295-1294 BC), Sety I (1294-1279 BC), and Ramses II (1279-1213 BC). This new trend suggests that there was a re-evaluation of this necropolis, after some decades of likely non-occupation. In the early 19th Dynasty, the plan consisting in the gendered separation of the burials of the male and female members of the royal family was put into action: kings and sons were buried within the Kings' Valley, queens and princesses within the Queens' Valley. As highlighted in *Chapter II.3*, according to the universal cultural substratum, caves were associated with the mother's womb and embodied ideas of (re-)birth and regeneration: therefore, the presence of the Grotto-cascade within the Queens' Valley may have played a decisive role in the creation of a geographically-independent space for the burial of the female members of the royal family, in particular the royal consorts.

During the 18th Dynasty, royal wives were buried all over the Theban necropolis, showing multiple solutions that cannot be incorporated into a scheme (see *Chapter V.2-b*). In the early-to-mid 18th Dynasty, queens were buried in the southern sector of the Theban necropolis (the Queens' Valley and the south-western *wadis*), alone (like in the case of the tomb of Hatshepsut, although it was not used) or along with other members of the royal family and court individuals (*e.g.* shaft tomb n. 2 in the Wadi Bairiya). From Thutmosis III onwards, royal women could be buried along with their consorts in the Kings' Valley (*e.g.* KV 22). However, the Great King's Wife Mutnodjmet, consort of Horemheb (the last king of the 18th Dynasty), constitutes an exception, given that she was buried at Saqqara. In this case, it seems that there was the conscious choice of keeping her burial separated from that of her husband: indeed, Mutnodjmet died in the regnal year 13 of Horemheb, and her burial could be moved to Thebes, and placed inside KV 57; however, this did not happen. The addition of the *uraei* to some depictions of Horemheb on the wall reliefs of his tomb at Saqqara may reflect the king's will to define as "royal"

⁹⁸¹ As the absence of archaeological evidence suggests, except for the case of QV 32: see Lecuyot 1996, 151.

that tomb, thus providing his wife with a tomb conforming with her status of king's wife.⁹⁸²

The tomb of Queen Satra in the Queens' Valley (QV 38) marked a turning point.⁹⁸³ At the beginning of the 19th Dynasty, there was an evident innovation, mainly consisting of the following three points:⁹⁸⁴ 1) royal consorts were buried in a separated necropolis that was intended for them; 2) each royal consort had her personal tomb, without sharing it with other individuals; 3) tombs had decorated walls. These innovations mirror changes that concerned the figure of the royal consorts of the Ramesside Period, as well as the funerary beliefs related to them. King Ramses I established a new era and his consort Satra made possible the creation of a new royal lineage through the birth of the successor (Sety I). Although the queen is known from a few attestations (mainly coming from her tomb and the tomb of her son/KV 17), Satra's role was more important than previously thought, as remarked by Leblanc: indeed, she was appointed as God's Wife (the last queen who held such a title was Thutmose IV's mother, Tiaa) and as God's Mother.⁹⁸⁵ Her tomb represents the meeting point between innovation and (invention of) tradition. Although it is common opinion that royal consorts were buried within the Queens' Valley during the Ramesside Period only,⁹⁸⁶ the finding of the fragmented canopic jar of Queen Ahmes in the Valley of the Rope seems to attest to the burial of Thutmose I's consort within this necropolis already in the 18th Dynasty. If this was the actual reality, the necropolis administration should have known that, at the dawn of the 18th Dynasty, at least one queen had been buried within the Queens' Valley. Thus, the connection with that past may have provided the chance for the placement of Satra's tomb in the Queens' Valley and the following invention of a tradition. By the expression "invention of tradition" it is meant both 1) a tradition completely invented *ex nihilo* and then formalized as well as 2) a tradition invented in a short time-span and developed in the course of time, the origin of which may be not identifiable.⁹⁸⁷ In this case, it is likely that the tradition was not invented *ex nihilo* but there was a solid basis provided by precedents. As remarked by Eric Hobsbawm, "longevity" is not the main feature of a tradition, however, repetition and continuity with a close or distant past (although this continuity is often artificial) are the

⁹⁸² Martin 1982, 277.

⁹⁸³ Franco and El-Fikri 1990, 30.

⁹⁸⁴ McCarthy 2007, 105.

⁹⁸⁵ Leblanc 2009, 168.

⁹⁸⁶ Leblanc and Siliotti 1997, 32; Reeves 2003, 69.

⁹⁸⁷ Hobsbawm 1983, 1.

most important factors. Indeed, what makes a tradition strong is the connection with the past in order to make that tradition seemingly unchanging and rooted.⁹⁸⁸ In this case, the connection with the past, which is necessary in order to give validity to the invented tradition itself, may have been offered by Queen Ahmes's burial within the Valley of the Rope. Therefore, innovation and tradition intertwine in Queen Satra's tomb, which represents a volitional act intended to establish a connection with the past, in order to acquire a form of legitimacy, and, concomitantly, to create a new female-gendered and separated burial ground.

When the Queens' Valley was chosen as seat of the queens' burials, the main *wadi* was rather crowded (see fig. VII.2). The tomb of Queen Satra (QV 38) was cut on the southern slope of the main *wadi*, between the 18th-dynasty tombs QV 39 and QV 37. Considering the position of this tomb within a limited space (fig. VII.3), the individuals in charge of the tomb construction should have known the position of the two 18th-dynasty tombs QV 39 and QV 37. It is not possible to say whether this was due to the presence of markers (like stones), small mud-brick shrines, stelae, or to the existence of a map of the necropolis. In any case, it is curious to observe that the queen's tomb was cut into such a limited space, considering that there was more space in other sectors of the main *wadi*. It is also worth remarking that tombs QV 38 and QV 39 show similar architectural layouts, consisting of two chambers in a row that are positioned on the same axis with the entrance. Tomb QV 38 is entered through a stepped entryway, whereas a shaft leads to the subterranean burial chambers of the 18th-dynasty tomb QV 39. Considering the similarity of the architectural layout of the two tombs, it may be possible that QV 38 had already been prepared during the 18th-dynasty and was never used or it was emptied and reused for the burial of the queen, after having been plastered and decorated the walls. In this regard, it is also worth noting that, among the tombs of the early 19th Dynasty, QV 38 displays the simplest tomb architecture.

⁹⁸⁸ Hobsbawm 1983, 3-4.

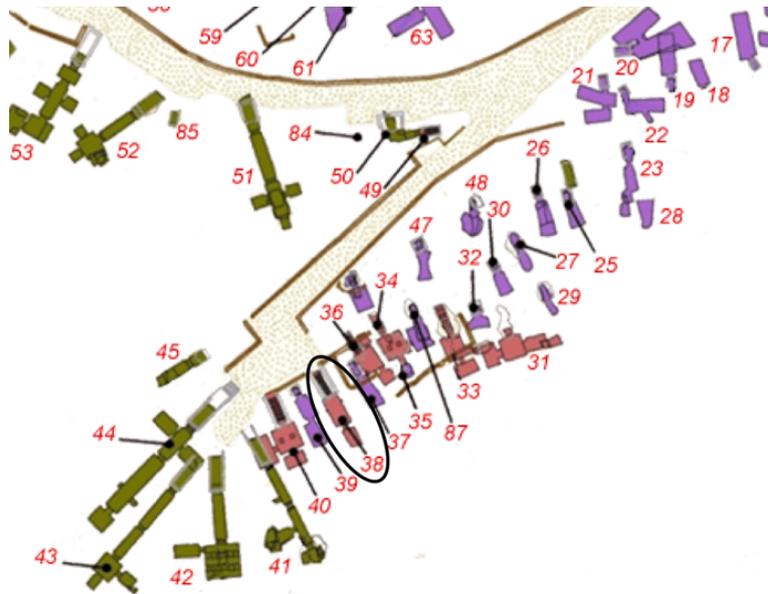


Fig. VII.3. The position of tomb QV 38 (encircled in black) between QV 37 and QV 39 (adapted from http://www.narmer.pl/kv/qv_en.htm, last accessed on 26.08.2018; © Dariusz Sitek).

During the reign of Sety I, a number of tombs were prepared “in advance” and then destined to female individuals of the royal family. These tombs were cut on the south flank of the main *wadi* (QV 31, QV 33, QV 34, QV 36 and QV 40) and conceived according to a similar architectural plan. Although no trace of the name of the owners of tombs QV 31, QV 34, QV 36, and QV 40 is preserved, it is very likely that these anonymous tombs were used for burials during the early Ramesside Period. The finding of a fragment of calcite canopic jar within QV 34, with the final part of a cartouche and the *m3^c.t hrw*-epithet, indicates that this tomb was used to host the burial of a female member of the royal family.⁹⁸⁹ The recent publication of Elleithy and Leblanc provides an additional clue to the use of the anonymous tomb QV 34: the authors mention a fragment of canopic jar bearing the title *hm.t nsw*,⁹⁹⁰ this suggesting that a queen was buried in that tomb.

During the reign of King Ramses II, the northern slope of the main *wadi* was chosen to host the burials of his mother (QV 80), wife (QV 66), daughters (QV 73), sister-wife (QV 75), and daughter-wives (QV 60, QV 68, QV 71). Tomb QV 40 might belong to those that were built during the early reign of Ramses II, based on a comparison of the plan and decorative program with the other early-19th-dynasty tombs.⁹⁹¹ Tomb QV 74 was

⁹⁸⁹ Fekri and Loyrette 1998, 121.

⁹⁹⁰ Elleithy and Leblanc 2016, 23 (footnote n. 1).

⁹⁹¹ McCarthy 2007, 107.

prepared for an anonymous princess during the reign of Ramses II, but it was reused for Queen Duatentipet, consort of Ramses IV, in the 20th Dynasty. Tomb QV 80 was prepared for Sety I's wife and Ramses II's mother, Mut-Tuy: the construction of this tomb started during the reign of Ramses II, as both the position of the tomb (on the northern slope of the main *wadi*) and the architectural features clearly suggest. Like Satra, Mut-Tuy was not a king's daughter.⁹⁹² royal blood was therefore not a necessary prerequisite for becoming a king's wife during the Ramesside Period. Indeed, even Nefertari was not a king's daughter.⁹⁹³ Other tombs were commenced during the reign of Ramses II (*e.g.* QV 56 and QV 57) but were not completed. Tomb QV 58 remains an unsolved case, since there is no certainty about the original tomb owner(s): Queen Satefmira might have been buried within this tomb (see *Chapter V.2*), however, this is only a conjecture.

There are no archaeological traces of burials of royal consorts in the Queens' Valley after the reign of Ramses II. It is unknown where Queens Isetneferet C⁹⁹⁴ (married to King Merenptah), Baketuernel⁹⁹⁵ (married to Amenmesse), and the unknown wives of Kings Sety II and Siptah were buried. It may be likely that these royal wives were entombed along with their husbands or sons within the Kings' Valley. Fragments of limestone canopic jars and of a red granite sarcophagus lid bearing trace of the name of the royal wife Takhat^{A996} have been found within King Amenmesse's tomb KV 10:⁹⁹⁷ this is the only material evidence of a queen's burial within the Kings' Valley during the Ramesside Period.⁹⁹⁸

To recap, during the 19th Dynasty, only female members of the royal family were buried within the Queens' Valley. As shown in *Chapter V.3-b*, the female individuals buried in the Queens' Valley were king's wives, except for three individuals who bore the *s3.t nsw*-title (QV 36, QV 73, and QV 74). Mut-Tuy bears the title of *mw.t nsw* but she was a former *hm.t nsw*, since she had been King Sety I's wife. Thus, at the dawn of the 19th Dynasty, a new tradition was established, that of the Queens' Valley as burial ground almost exclusively for royal consorts. As a consequence of this, a process of genderisation took

⁹⁹² Leblanc 2009, 174.

⁹⁹³ Grajetzki 2005, 66.

⁹⁹⁴ Dodson and Hilton 2004, 171; Grajetzki 2005, 70.

⁹⁹⁵ Grajetzki 2005, 70.

⁹⁹⁶ Dodson and Hilton 2004, 175; Grajetzki 2005, 70.

⁹⁹⁷ Reeves and Wilkinson 1996, 151.

⁹⁹⁸ It cannot be excluded that it dealt with a re-burial, that may have occurred after the tomb robberies of the late Ramesside Period. In case, the queen may have been buried within the Queens' Valley, although no tomb can be assigned to her.

place in the Queens' Valley: only female members of the king's family could be buried within this necropolis. The intention of expressing a differentiation between male and female individuals of the royal family found a clear materialization in the entombment within a specific location, set within a landscape that was imbued with symbolic, sacred, and funerary meaning. The gender categorization does not imply a gender inequality. As remarked by Elizabeth M. Brumfiel, "*gender inequality is marked by differences in the labor invested in constructing female and male graves and by the quantity and quality of grave goods deposited in female and male graves*".⁹⁹⁹ The queens' tombs are smaller in dimension with respect to those of their husbands and sons, however, the Ramesside Period queens and princesses enjoyed a special treatment: differently from what happened in the 18th Dynasty, they had private, decorated, large tombs set in a separated necropolis. The separated location of their tombs as well as the creation of a specific decorative program of the tomb walls reflect the changes that affected the role of the king's wife during the Ramesside Period,¹⁰⁰⁰ however, this separation of the female and male burials did not have to do with gender inequality: instead, it suggested a differentiation of roles.

The themes of the tomb wall decoration were tailored to the role, rank, and gender of the deceased.¹⁰⁰¹ The development and variety of the decorative program depended on the architectural layout: differently from the larger and more complex kings' tombs, the queens' tombs were smaller in dimension and did not have long corridors usable for the representation of the journey through the netherworld (except for the 20th-dynasty tombs, which have a corridor functioning as an antechamber).¹⁰⁰² The decorative program and the architectural layout of the queens' burials reveal several innovations: the tombs themselves are conceived as the materialization of an idealized journey in order to let the deceased access the realm of Osiris (from the east/entrance to the west/burial chamber) and complete the regeneration and transfiguration process (the same journey backwards).¹⁰⁰³ Some themes that are recurrent in the kings' tombs, like the journey of the sun god and the mutilation of the enemies, are missing in the queens' tombs. This aspect reflects different roles and responsibilities between the king and the queen: the king had to run the land, defend it from enemies, exercise his power, and apply the principle of the *Maat*. The queen had a more pacific and protective role, she embodied the female

⁹⁹⁹ Quotation from Brumfiel 2006, 39.

¹⁰⁰⁰ McCarthy 2007, 106.

¹⁰⁰¹ McCarthy 2007, 109.

¹⁰⁰² McCarthy 2007, 110.

¹⁰⁰³ Leblanc 1989/a, 245-247; Leblanc and Siliotti 1997, 48; McCarthy 2007, 109.

counterpart of the royal power, she performed religious rituals, she had to guarantee the continuation of the royal lineage.¹⁰⁰⁴ Different roles in life are mirrored even in the netherworld: the queen's afterlife is devoid of dangers and enemies. The pharaoh never shows up in the queen's imagined funerary landscape, whilst he is represented on the wall decoration of the princes' tombs, thus suggesting that: 1) the deceased king's sons needed their father for their existence in the afterlife;¹⁰⁰⁵ 2) the queens' life in the netherworld was independent from that of their consorts. The almost complete absence of any trace of kings, both pictorially and in writing, within the queens' tombs (except for the cartouche of Ramses IV in tomb QV 52),¹⁰⁰⁶ became a question of *decorum*. Indeed, the absence of the male and predominant element represented by the king allowed the queen to perform her renewal, merging herself in that gender fluidity that led her to identify with the male gods Osiris and Ra¹⁰⁰⁷ (the presence of the king would create a gender dichotomy, thus causing the queen's feminine and subordinate aspect to be manifested and stimulating her identification with the Goddess Hathor¹⁰⁰⁸). That the queens did not need their consorts in order to complete the regeneration process (by assuming the masculine aspect of Osiris¹⁰⁰⁹) is apparent in the case of Nefertari's tomb (QV 66): the masculinization of the deceased queen takes form in the tomb wall decoration (the skin of the royal consort is red-brown, instead of the canonical yellow colour used for women's skin) and through the inscriptions (as is evident from the use of the masculine form referring to the queen).¹⁰¹⁰

After the reign of Ramses II, the Queens' Valley was temporarily abandoned and it is not known where the royal consorts of his successors were buried.

King Ramses III was a devotee of his ancestor Ramses II and during his reign the Queens' Valley was yet again chosen as burial ground for the king's family members. In doing so, there was still a reference to the past tradition but also innovation: close to the queens, also princes had their burials within this necropolis, thus interrupting the trend of a female-gendered burial ground. The new tombs were cut in the western sector of the main *wadi*, where there was still available space. Two tombs were prepared for queens,

¹⁰⁰⁴ McCarthy 2007, 111.

¹⁰⁰⁵ A dependency that is clearly conveyed by the fact that the king's sons are represented as children: see McCarthy 2007, 113.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Mahmoud Soliman and Tosi 1996, 222; McCarthy 2007, 116.

¹⁰⁰⁷ McCarthy 2002, 193-195; McCarthy 2007, 117.

¹⁰⁰⁸ McCarthy 2007, 116.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Roth 2000, 200.

¹⁰¹⁰ McCarthy 2007, 115-116.

Isis (QV 51) and Tyti (QV 52), whose identity is uncertain: some scholars identify her as daughter/wife of Ramses III,¹⁰¹¹ whereas according to others she was married to King Ramses X¹⁰¹² or Ramses XI.¹⁰¹³ Two other queens were buried within the Queens' Valley during the 20th Dynasty: Duatentipet (wife of Ramses IV) was buried within QV 74 and Minefer (possibly, wife of Ramses III) was entombed within QV 42. As stated above, the emulation from the side Ramses III was partial. Indeed, differently from his illustrious ancestor, who had the tomb for his sons prepared in the Kings' Valley (KV 5), Ramses III had the burials for his sons designed within the Queens' Valley. Very likely, such a decision did not depend on a matter of space, because the Kings' Valley had enough place for the construction of new tombs. Tombs were prepared for his sons Paraheruenemef (QV 42), Sethherkhepeshef (QV 43), Khaemuaset (QV 44), Ramses-Meryamon (QV 53), and Amonherkhepeshef (QV 55). Paraheruenemef may be the first son of Ramses III who was buried in the Queens' Valley, due to mainly two reasons: 1) the architecture of his tomb shows the mixture between tradition (consisting of the pillared room typical of the 19th Dynasty) and innovation (represented by the syringe-type shape typical of the 20th Dynasty); 2) it seems that Paraheruenemef was buried within a tomb that had already been prepared for a queen, Minefer. There are two plausible scenarios that may explain the decision to use this tomb for a double burial: 1) Paraheruenemef may have been Minefer's son,¹⁰¹⁴ otherwise, 2) he may have died young and unexpectedly, thus forcing the necropolis administration to look for a quick solution. With regard to the decorative program on the tomb walls, the presence of the king within the princes' tombs may have guaranteed their proximity to their father:¹⁰¹⁵ thanks to this virtual, but not physical, vicinity to the king (who was buried within the Kings' Valley), the princes could partake of their father's same destiny in the netherworld.

One of the last burials within the Queens' Valley may be that of Duatentipet (QV 74), wife of Ramses IV and mother of Ramses V. The reason why a 19th-dynasty princess' tomb was converted into a queen's tomb is not clear, but it may be likely that the 20th-dynasty queen died unexpectedly and there was no time to cut a new tomb.

¹⁰¹¹ Grist 1985, 79-81; Leblanc 2001-2002, fig. 9; Grajetzki 2005, 75.

¹⁰¹² Kitchen 1984, 131-132; Dodson 1987, 227-229; Dodson and Hilton 2004, 194.

¹⁰¹³ Grajetzki 2005, 75.

¹⁰¹⁴ Leblanc 2001-2009, 209, fig. 9.

¹⁰¹⁵ McCarthy 2007, 114.

Finally, it is worth noting that pap. Turin cat. 1923 records that six tombs were prepared within the Queens' Valley during the reign of Ramses VI,¹⁰¹⁶ although no evidence of them has been detected thus far. If they had been completed, this means that there are six tombs that still await to be discovered.¹⁰¹⁷ Considering that several graffiti dating to reigns of Ramses IV/Ramses VI have been detected on the rocky cliffs of the Valley of the Rope and the Valley of the Three Pits, it may be possible that these six tombs have been cut within these two lateral valleys.¹⁰¹⁸

VII.3. Tomb Collisions

The Queens' Valley was a building site starting from the early 18th Dynasty until the reign of Ramses III, and perhaps that of Ramses VI. Looking at the map of this necropolis, it is evident that the main *wadi* was rather overcrowded already in the 18th Dynasty (fig. VII.2). During the 19th and 20th Dynasties, the 18th-dynasty tombs may have been covered by the debris resulting from the excavation of the new tombs, which were much larger than those of the preceding period. A plan of this necropolis very likely never existed (like in the case of the Kings' Valley¹⁰¹⁹). However, considering the absence of tomb superstructures, the small percentage of tomb collisions within the Queens' Valley looks like a true miracle. Therefore, there should have been markers indicating the position of the 18th-dynasty tombs, or even temporary structures (such as small mud-brick shrines), of which no trace has preserved to date. The *hy* mentioned within pap. BM EA10375 seems to be a kind of topographical, visible marker that served to locate a specific tomb.¹⁰²⁰ This indicates that markers could be used to identify tombs if there were not maps of the necropoleis. In the case of the Queens' Valley, the markers may have been even simple rocks or geomorphologic features, which are not any more identifiable due to the several events occurred on the ground floor. Considering this, such an issue remains at present without any solution.

By checking the collisions concerning 18th-dynasty tombs, there is only one case that might regard tombs QV 3 and QV 81 (fig. VII.4/A): the eastern chamber of the latter opens up on the rear chamber of QV 3. No information is available about which tomb

¹⁰¹⁶ Kitchen 2012, 288 (367:14).

¹⁰¹⁷ Peden 2001, 223 (footnote n. 617).

¹⁰¹⁸ Leblanc and Fekri 1993, 263.

¹⁰¹⁹ Miniaci 2008, 62; Pinch-Brock 2016, 117.

¹⁰²⁰ Miniaci 2008, 62.

was cut first, whether QV 3 or QV 81. It may be possible that the two side chambers of QV 81 were added at a later time (during the tomb reuse¹⁰²¹) and that the original plan consisted of a shaft tomb with only a single burial chamber: if this is the case, collision may have occurred not in the 18th Dynasty but later.

Other tombs in collisions are QV 34, QV 35, and QV 87 (fig. VII.4/B). Tomb QV 35 consists of a commenced shaft, whereas QV 87 is a shaft tomb with a single burial chamber. They were prepared during the 18th Dynasty, but it is not possible to say exactly when, due to the lack of datable archaeological materials. When tomb QV 34 was cut, during the 19th Dynasty, the workmen ended up in tomb QV 87 (in that occasion, the content of the tomb might have been taken away and the original deceased reburied elsewhere). The same fate affected QV 35 as well; however, this tomb was only a commenced shaft, thus the damage was not relevant. Such an accident may suggest that the position of tombs QV 87 and QV 35 got lost at the beginning of the 19th Dynasty, when QV 34 was prepared.

Tomb QV 24 is located on the southern slope of the main *wadi* and consists of a descending ramp left unfinished. According to Leblanc, the cutting of this tomb dates to the 20th Dynasty.¹⁰²² This tomb is immediately adjacent to the 18th-dynasty shaft tomb QV 25, this being the reason for the interruption of the construction of the 20th-dynasty tomb. Indeed, in the south-western corner of the bottom of the ramp of QV 24 there is a still visible opening that introduces into the shaft of tomb QV 25 (fig. VII.4/C). This can be explained as follows: the location of the shaft tomb was likely unknown at the time of the construction works of QV 24 and when the workmen ended up in the shaft of tomb QV 25, they stopped cutting the rock. It is worth remarking that QV 24 is the only 20th-dynasty tomb within that sector of the southern slope of the main *wadi*: it may be possible that QV 24 was an experiment, in the search of a location and available space for new tombs.

Two other tombs, which are located where the main *wadi* branches into two western side valleys, are in collision. The cutting of tomb QV 49 possibly started at the beginning of the 19th Dynasty, but was stopped after the excavation of the first corridor/chamber. Afterwards, it is probable that the tomb had been filled with debris and its location was forgotten. This can explain why during the 20th Dynasty, while cutting tomb QV 50, the

¹⁰²¹ This kind of information is not provided in Demas and Agnew (2016, 116-117).

¹⁰²² Leblanc 1989/a, 239.

workmen ended up in QV 49: due to this unexpected event, the construction of the new tomb was interrupted (fig. VII.4/D).

The last case of tomb collision is provided by tombs QV 36 and QV 37 (fig. VII.4/B). The latter was cut during the 18th Dynasty and its position was likely unknown when, at the beginning of the 19th Dynasty, tomb QV 36 was prepared:¹⁰²³ this would explain the connection between the two sepulchres. Otherwise, it may also be possible that the position of tomb QV 37 was known but the architect miscalculated the distances between it and the new tomb. According to Ballerini, the break into the wall was made by the tomb robbers who entered within QV 37, while they were looking for new tombs.¹⁰²⁴

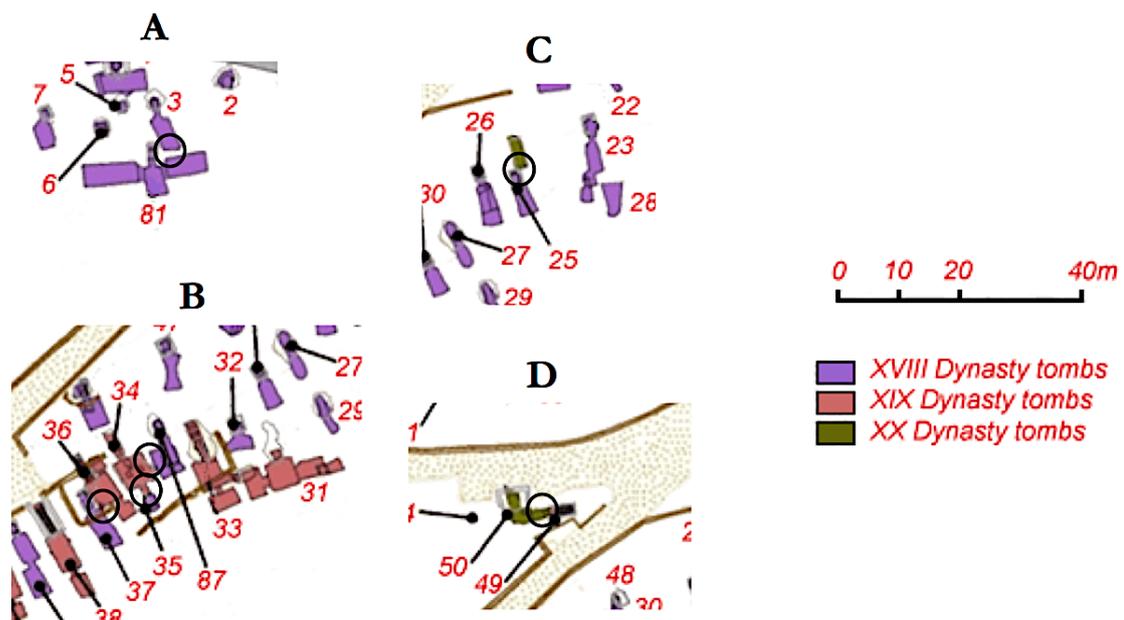


Fig. VII.4. Examples of tomb collisions (encircled in black) in the Queens' Valley (maps adapted from http://www.narmer.pl/kv/qv_en.htm, last accessed on 26.08.2018; © Dariusz Sitek).

To conclude, during the 18th Dynasty, apparently no collision between tombs occurred (except for QV 3 and QV 81), thus suggesting that the position of the tombs was clearly indicated. Afterwards, collisions of tombs occurred during the early 19th Dynasty, when new tombs were cut within a rather overcrowded space. During the reigns of Ramses II and Ramses III, such collisions did not occur anymore (with the exception of QV 24/QV 25, likely the result of an experiment in search of a free space). It is possible that the exact location of the 18th-dynasty tombs was not known, however, the architects

¹⁰²³ Leblanc and Siliotti 1997, 194 (endnote 115).

¹⁰²⁴ Ballerini 1903, 10-11.

avoided any risk by choosing sectors which were not overcrowded, such as the upper part of northern slope of the main *wadi* (in the reign of Ramses II) and the western sector (in the reign of Ramses III).

VII.4. Tomb Robberies in the Queens' Valley

Tomb robbery is one of the oldest professions in ancient Egypt, this being attested from the Predynastic Period onwards.¹⁰²⁵ Within the Theban necropolis, tomb robberies occurred quite massively toward the end of the New Kingdom, as documented by the *Tomb Robbery Papyri*¹⁰²⁶ and the disturbed funerary contexts. Most of the robberies, which are reported on by the abovementioned textual record, did occur between the reigns of Kings Ramses IX (1126-1108 BC) and Ramses XI (1099-1069 BC),¹⁰²⁷ when the centralized power started to collapse: combined factors like the weakness of the last rulers, their scarce presence all over Egypt, and the infiltration of Lybians caused the fall of the 20th Dynasty. The precarious economic situation, due to the inflation rate concerning necessary everyday foodstuffs, as well as the malfeasance of state officials, who aimed at hoarding more than expected, caused discontent, strikes, and a rash of tomb robberies over the Theban necropolis.¹⁰²⁸ Next to the illegal plundering activity, there was even a wave of “legal” robberies: during the Third Intermediate Period, indeed, by order of the priestly authorities, royal and non-royal tombs were opened, the most valuable materials (*i.e.* metals and wood) were taken away, and the mummies and part of the burial assemblages (including the less valuable grave goods) were stored within caches. This phenomenon explains why the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* found a number of tombs, in the Queens' Valley, almost completely free of archaeological evidence,¹⁰²⁹ although the concept of “empty”/“nothing” should be treated with caution (*cf.* p. 84).

Not only ancient but also modern robberies affected the Theban tombs.¹⁰³⁰ However, in the case of the Queens' Valley, it is challenging to distinguish between ancient and

¹⁰²⁵ Reeves and Wilkinson 1996, 190.

¹⁰²⁶ For an overall biography in this regard, see Miniaci 2008, 53 (footnote 1).

¹⁰²⁷ Reeves 1990, 273.

¹⁰²⁸ Testa 2009, 111-113.

¹⁰²⁹ For instance, QV 37, QV 65, QV 69, QV 92 or QV 93, QV 97 (only a fragment of calcite jar), and Ballerini's tomb #. This phenomenon has been detected even in the Kings' Valley, within which a number of tombs (such as KV 30, KV 33, KV 37, and KV 59) have been found almost completely free of archaeological materials: in this regard, see the University of Basel website <https://aegyptologie.philhist.unibas.ch/en/forschung/forschungsprojekte/kings-valley-project/#c1625> (last accessed on 16.06.2019).

¹⁰³⁰ Strudwick suggests identifying as “ancient” the robberies that occurred until the end of the Roman Period and “modern” those that started from the 12th century AD (Strudwick 2013, 347, endnote n. 2).

modern robberies. Indeed, the burial contexts have been disturbed several times, with a few exceptions: for instance, QV 94 was plundered in ancient times but not reused, as indicated by the finding of 18th-dynasty material evidence only.¹⁰³¹ A reconstruction of the tomb robberies in the Queens' Valley is very difficult. Indeed, the stratigraphic sequences were altered by the early explorers of the 19th century. In addition, when the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* investigated the tombs, the stratigraphic sequence (inside and outside the tombs) was not recorded (although there are a few exceptions; see fig. VII.1). The members of the Italian mission did not clear the tombs but they investigated them in the search of archaeological evidence, moving the debris and trying to excavate the sedimented layers, which Ballerini called *trab*. This means that the Franco-Egyptian team investigated, from the 70s onwards, burial contexts that had been already plundered in ancient times [1], reused [2], re-plundered in ancient and modern times [3], visited by the explorers of the 19th century [4], and investigated by the Italian team [5]: thus, it is evident that a study of the stratigraphic sequences is impossible and only the analysis of the archaeological materials can reveal information concerning the events that occurred within the tombs.

During the reigns of the last kings of the 20th Dynasty, despite the presence of special forces of necropolis policemen (*md3y.w*), the Theban necropolis underwent several waves of tomb robberies, concomitantly with the abovementioned political instability.¹⁰³² Plundering activities occurred within the Theban necropolis already during the 18th Dynasty, as some cases from the Kings' Valley clearly attest to. For instance, thieves broke into KV 46 for the first time during the reign of Amenhotep III,¹⁰³³ therefore slightly after Yuya and Tuya's burials; tomb KV 62 was visited during the reign of Ay or Horemheb,¹⁰³⁴ shortly after the entombment of King Tutankhamun; Thutmose IV's tomb (KV 43) was plundered in the regnal year 8 of Horemheb;¹⁰³⁵ tomb KV 55 was sealed for the first time during Tutankhamun's reign, and shortly later re-sealed during the reign of King Horemheb,¹⁰³⁶ finally, thieves likely entered tomb KV 36 in the 19th/20th Dynasty.¹⁰³⁷ It is possible that several tombs were looted by thieves during the Amarna interlude, when the royal residence, the political and religious centre, and the royal

¹⁰³¹ Lecuyot 1996, 146.

¹⁰³² Miniaci 2008, 55-56.

¹⁰³³ Reeves 1990, 153, 273-274, table 12.

¹⁰³⁴ Reeves 1990, 69.

¹⁰³⁵ Reeves 1990, 233 (table 11).

¹⁰³⁶ Ayrton 1910; Pinch Brock 1995, 38-39.

¹⁰³⁷ Reeves 1990, 147.

necropolis were transferred to el-Amarna, thus causing the security status at Thebes to be more unsteady.¹⁰³⁸ Likewise, it is probable that even the Queens' Valley was the object of looting activities already during the 18th Dynasty, despite the absence of clear clues in this regard.

Lecuyot states that the Queens' Valley was plundered from the Late Period onwards¹⁰³⁹ but it is certain that this necropolis was a theatre of illegal plundering activities at least during the late 20th Dynasty, and likely even before, as confirmed by the textual evidence. The *Tomb Robbery Papyri*, the *Journal of the Theban Necropolis*, and the *Turin Strike Papyrus* include references to thefts occurred within the Queens' Valley. These texts report on events concerning the plundering activity, providing information about the mechanism of robberies, the stolen items, how the thieves acted, when the inquest and tomb inspection took place, and who were the examined people. The assessment of pilfered funerary contexts (such as those within the Kings' Valley mentioned above) shows that thieves were interested in easily portable and valuable objects like linen, oil, glass and metal vessels, and metal objects. The mummies were not violated, the gold leaf was not removed from the coffins, a clue that pilfering activity was quick and the thieves wanted to keep a low profile without arousing too much suspicion.¹⁰⁴⁰ With regard to the Queens' Valley, only textual sources can provide one with such information about the *modus operandi* of the tomb robbers.

The verso of pap. Salt 124/BM EA10055¹⁰⁴¹ includes the earliest reference to plundering activity that occurred within the Queens' Valley. This document was elaborated between the reigns of Sety II (1200-1194 BC) and Sethnakht (1186-1184 BC).¹⁰⁴² It is not an official document, rather it seems to be a "*plante individuelle*" that was prepared as a rough draft to be revised and sent to the vizier.¹⁰⁴³ Paneb, chief of the workmen in the Place of Truth, is accused of entering Queen Henutmira's tomb (QV 75) and taking away a goose.¹⁰⁴⁴ The locution *w^c sr* (one *sr*-goose) may refer to a mummified goose or a wooden statuette representing a goose.¹⁰⁴⁵ Beyond the type of stolen object, this passage of text informs one about plundering activity in the Queens' Valley already

¹⁰³⁸ Miniaci 2008, 55. During the reign of Horemheb, there were many inspections that led to the re-sealing of some tombs, thus suggesting that plundering activities may have been intense during the Amarna Period.

¹⁰³⁹ Lecuyot 2000, 44.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Strudwick 2013, 339.

¹⁰⁴¹ Černý 1929.

¹⁰⁴² Valbelle 1985, 77-78.

¹⁰⁴³ Leblanc 1988, 131.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Leblanc 1988, 132.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Černý 1929, note n. 45 (p. 250).

towards the end of the 19th Dynasty, or beginning of the 20th Dynasty. This report indicates that the thief apparently took only one object (therefore, it dealt with a quick pilfering) and that he came from Deir el-Medina, as suggested by his task (thus, he might have known the location of the tomb). Concerning this tomb, it is worth noting that it was plundered again at least during the reign of Osorkon II (22nd Dynasty), when the queen's pink granite sarcophagus was reused for the burial of the high priest Harsies.¹⁰⁴⁶

The *Turin Strike Papyrus* records a theft “in the necropolis of the royal consorts” (*m p3 hr n n3 hm.wt nsw*), which occurred during the regnal year 29 of Ramses III. It is not specified whether the thief Userhat violated one or more tombs, nor what he managed to steal. Although the name of this necropolis is not referred to as the *t3 s.t nfr.w*, the recorded events very likely occurred within the Queens' Valley.¹⁰⁴⁷

The Papyrus Abbott/BM EA10221 (rto. 4.11-4.17) reports on the inquiry carried out by the vizier Nebmaranakht against the coppersmith Paykheru during the regnal year 14 of Ramses IX.¹⁰⁴⁸ The inspection took place in “the Great Places of the royal children, the royal wives and royal mothers which are in the Place of Beauty” (*i.e.* the Queens' Valley). Paykheru had been arrested with Amenhotep (a member of the auxiliary personnel of the temple of Usermaatira Meriamon/Ramses III), and other three men (two of them were employed as personnel of the temple). He was interrogated and he admitted that he had entered the tomb of Queen Isis (QV 51): “*I was in the tomb of Isis (L.P.H.), royal wife of king Usimare Meriamun, (L.P.)H.; I brought away a few things from there, and I took (possession) of them*”.¹⁰⁴⁹

Two years after, during the regnal year 16 of King Ramses IX, the same Paykheru was once again interrogated with regard to the events that had occurred two years before (pap. Abbott/BM EA10221, rto. 4.17-5.11). This inspection was led by the governor of the City and vizier Khaemuaset and the royal cupbearer Nesamun. The two inspectors blindfolded the coppersmith Paykheru like a prisoner and they brought him to “the Great Places of the royal children and royal wives and royal mothers who are in the Place of Beauty”.¹⁰⁵⁰ Then, they removed the blindfold and asked him to indicate the tomb that he had entered and from which he had taken away the stolen items. The coppersmith

¹⁰⁴⁶ Leblanc 1988, 132.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Gardiner 1948, 58 (rto. 3.18-19); Strudwick 2013, 338.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Kitchen 2012, 363.

¹⁰⁴⁹ With regard to this translation, see Kitchen 2012, 363.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Kitchen 1983, 473-474.

indicated the tomb of the royal children of King Usermaatra Setepenra/Ramses II (*w^c hr n ^ch^c n n3 msw-nsu n nsu wsr-m3^c.t-r^c stp-n-r^c*)¹⁰⁵¹ and the hut/*t3^c.t*¹⁰⁵² of the workman of the necropolis Amenemone, son of Hui.¹⁰⁵³ After having examined him again by means of severe methods in order to verify his account, Khaemuset and Nesamun came to the conclusion that Paykheru knew only the two spots that he had indicated and that he had not entered Queen Isis' tomb. Moreover, they checked the seal impressions of the tomb entrance and found them untouched, this meaning that the tomb was intact.¹⁰⁵⁴ This report is interesting because it informs one that an inquest could be re-examined, even after few years. Although the coppersmith was likely beaten, he could not indicate the exact spot of the tomb of Queen Isis: this seems to suggest that the tomb of Queen Isis was actually intact, as the tomb was declared to be at the end of the inquiry. Concerning the tomb that Paykheru indicated, its identification is anything but simple. This tomb was located close to the *t3^c.t*/hut of the workman Amenemone. The Ramesside Period huts are located on the northern slope of the main *wadi*, where all the tombs of the royal women of Ramses II were built. According to Kathrin Gabler, “*as the passage on P. Abbott mainly deals with aspects related to Ramesses III, whose name also starts with wsr-m3^c.t-r^c, the scribe might have made a mistake, writing Ramesses II instead of Ramesses III*”.¹⁰⁵⁵ Moreover, concerning the identification of the tomb of the king's progeny, Gabler suggests QV 43, QV 53, and QV 55 as probable candidates.¹⁰⁵⁶ Even Leblanc analysed this passage of text and hypothesized that “*des tombes de princes avaient été creusées dans la Vallée des Reines à l'époque de Ramsès II, tombes qui, inutilisées alors et peut-être même inachevées, furent sans doute reprises et réaménagées par Ramsès III en vue d'y faire ensevelir, le cas échéant, certains de ses propres fils. Ce don't nous informe encore ce passage du Pap. Abbott, c'est que l'une d'elles au moins, était demeurée inoccupée jusqu'à l'an XVI du règne de Ramsès IX, date à laquelle fut rédigé le document*”.¹⁰⁵⁷ Leblanc's hypothesis is interesting but there is no architectural evidence supporting it: the tombs that were built during the reign of Ramses II are characterized by pillared chambers, a

¹⁰⁵¹ The expression *w^c hr n ^ch^c* has been translated as “*a tomb of certain*” (Peet 1930 (text), 40), “*a common tomb*” (Kitchen 2012, 364), and “*l'un des sépultures*” (Leblanc 1984-1985, 52 and 54, footnote 3).

¹⁰⁵² *t* is to be intended as workshop/hut, rather than as house/dwelling. It is worth mentioning that even women could possess a *t* in the Queens' Valley (in this regard, see Černý 1973/a, 89; the author deeply thanks Dr. Kathrin Gabler (University of Basel) for this reference).

¹⁰⁵³ This workman of Deir el-Medina may be identified with Amenemone (ii or iii) son of Huy (iii/vi/vii or ix): see Davies 1999, 213-14, chart 4.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Peet 1930 (text), 39-40; Kitchen 2012, 364.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Quotation from Gabler and Soliman 2018, 22 (endnote 125).

¹⁰⁵⁶ Gabler and Soliman 2018, 15. Thomas (1966, 220) suggested that the tomb in question may be the undecorated tomb QV 41 (20th Dynasty).

¹⁰⁵⁷ Quotation from Leblanc 1984-1985, 54 (footnote 3).

feature that only QV 42 displays (however, this tomb had been used and shortly after immediately reused).

Two are the features that characterize the tomb indicated by Paykheru, which is recorded in the abovementioned passage of text from pap. Abbott: 1) no burial had been made within it (*jw bwpwy tw krs jm=f*) and 2) the tomb lay open (*jw=f h3^c wn*).¹⁰⁵⁸ The northern slope of the main *wadi* (where the Ramesside Period huts are located) hosts the tombs of the daughters and wives of Ramses II. Actually, this passage of text of the pap. Abbott does not make any specification about the gender of the *msw-nsu*,¹⁰⁵⁹ which is an expression that includes kings' sons and daughters.¹⁰⁶⁰ Carolyn Graves-Brown remarks that it is possible that the expression *msw-nsu* may refer to children brought up within the royal household (thus including both royal and non-royal children).¹⁰⁶¹ With regard to the two-dimensional representations, from the mid-18th Dynasty onwards, the children labelled as *msw-nsu* are mainly kings' daughters involved in Hathoric cults.¹⁰⁶² The decorative program of the temple of Medinet Habu includes the representation of young women labelled as *msw-nsu*, who entertain the king playing the cultic role of Hathor:¹⁰⁶³ this may confirm that the *msw-nsu* depicted in the two-dimensional representations are mainly princesses. The *ostrakon* OIC n. 16991 attests that the expression *msw-nsu* can refer to male royal children as well.¹⁰⁶⁴ This document is a copy of a letter of complaint sent by the scribe Neferhotep to the Vizier To, during the regnal year 29 of King Ramses III. Beyond the object of the letter (the supplies for the Deir el-Medina workmen are scarce), it is interesting to remark the presence of the expression *n3 hr.w n msw-nsu* in order to indicate the owners' tombs: considering that during the 20th Dynasty only princes (and not princesses) were buried within the Queens' Valley, it seems apparent that *msw-nsu* refers to the king's sons. Concerning the royal institution of the *pr msw-nsu*, little is known.¹⁰⁶⁵ This institution was responsible for the upbringing and education of the royal progeny; however, the scarce textual evidence does not clarify whether both male and female children or those of one gender only were included in the upbringing program. With regard to the Old Kingdom, there are attestations of officials connected to the *pr*

¹⁰⁵⁸ Kitchen 1983, 474-475; Kitchen 2012, 364 (5.3).

¹⁰⁵⁹ The author deeply thanks Prof. Dr. S. Bickel for having suggested to investigate this aspect.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Robins 1987, 15.

¹⁰⁶¹ Graves-Brown 2010, 137.

¹⁰⁶² Xekalaki 2015, 1920.

¹⁰⁶³ Graves-Brown 2010, 137.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Wentz 1961, 253/B (line 1).

¹⁰⁶⁵ Erman 1893, 125.

msw-nsw,¹⁰⁶⁶ however, such attestations are nearly absent among the New Kingdom textual evidence. Upon the wooden labels found by Alexander Henry Rhind in the Sheikh Abd el-Qurna cache in 1857, only female individuals are connected with the *pr n msw-nsw*: Nesukhat and Tatau, whose role is unclear, and Tjaa, who likely was a daughter of King Thutmosis IV. These are only a few attestations that do not allow to assert, with firm certainty, that the *pr n msw-nsw* was specialized in the upbringing of female royal children only. Considering these remarks, with regard to the issue concerning the identification of the tomb inspected by Khaemuset and Nesamun, it can be said that the expression *msw-nsw* may refer to both female and male children. The fact that Paykheru indicates an unused and open tomb and then the *ḥ.t* may suggest that the two structures are quite close to each other, located on the northern slope of the main *wadi*. As said above, Gabler suggests identifying this tomb as one of the princes' tombs located on the southern slope/western sector of the main *wadi*, a hypothesis that seems to be unlikely. Indeed, tomb QV 55 can be excluded, since the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* found there a granite sarcophagus containing a mummy.¹⁰⁶⁷ By accepting Leblanc's theory, tomb QV 43 was prepared for Sethherkhepeshef (I), a son of Ramses III who bore another Sethherkhepeshef (II), who ascended the throne as Ramses VIII:¹⁰⁶⁸ in this case, QV 43 would have been used for the burial of Ramses III's son and thus closed and sealed. Furthermore, tomb QV 53 was prepared for Prince Ramses-Meryamon but likely not used for his burial since he became king (Ramses IV) and was buried within KV 2.¹⁰⁶⁹ Notwithstanding, Leblanc assumes that the Prince Ramses-Meryamon is another individual different from Ramses IV:¹⁰⁷⁰ therefore, QV 53 may have been used for the burial of this son of Ramses III and Queen Tyti. If the reading of the king's name as Usermaatra Setepenra/Ramses II is accepted, then the tomb should be one of those located on the northern slope of the main *wadi* and there are not many options: indeed, all the completed tombs had been used. It may be possible that the tomb in question is one of the two commenced tombs QV 56 and QV 57, which consist of a ramp entrance and the initial part of a corridor. These two tombs are very close to the workmen's huts and to tombs QV 80 (Mut-Tuy) and QV 58 (Satefmira?). It is plausible to assume that the

¹⁰⁶⁶ E.g. *jmy-r3 jh.t msw-nsw m sp3.wt šm'w/overseer of the possessions of the royal children in the southern nomoi* and *jmy-r3 pr.w msw-nsw/steward of the properties of the royal children*: see Baud 1999 (vol. I), 347-348.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Schiaparelli 1924, 118.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Leblanc 2001-2002, 196-199.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Dodson and Hilton 2004, 194.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Leblanc 2001-2002, 205-206.

tomb investigated by the inspectors (QV 57?) was attributed to Ramses II's *msw-nsw* due to its location on the northern slope of the main *nadi* and interpreted as unused (*jw bwpwy tw krs jm=f*) because it had actually never been completed (fig. VII.5).

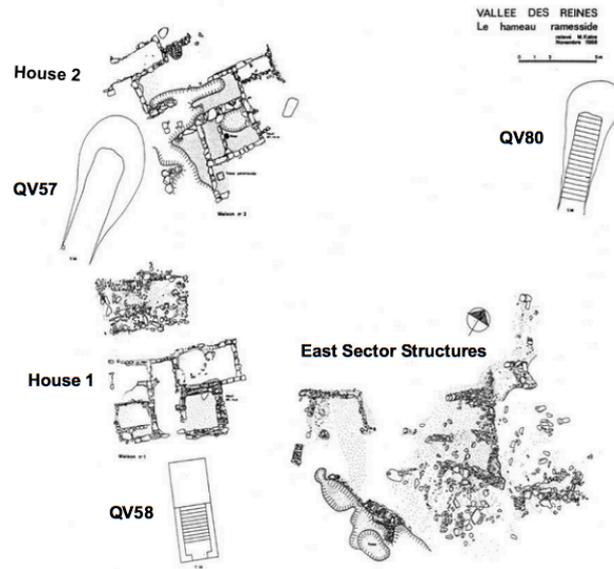


Fig. VII.5. The sector of the Ramesside Period workmen's huts (after Demas and Agnew 2012, 305; plan: © CNRS).

Two days after (year 16 of Ramses IX's reign, third month of *akhet*, day 21), Khaemuaset examined three coppersmiths (Paykheru, Khaemipet, and Pakamen) in front of the authority of the first priest of Amun (pap. Abbott, BM EA10221, rto. 7.1-7.16),¹⁰⁷¹ he provides an account of the inquest that occurred two days before within the Queens' Valley, in the presence of the royal cupbearer Nesamun. He says that the tombs were examined and found intact. Therefore, he states that after having examined the three coppersmiths, it was evident that the accusations made against them were false and the three men were released. Peet found the events concerning this inquest rather nebulous, suggesting that this investigation may have been caused by political issues and disputes between the authorities of the two Theban riverbanks. Indeed, the inquest began when the mayor of the city Paser accused the inspectors and workmen of the necropolis: Paser possibly wanted to discredit the work of the people involved in the necropolis management and construction work. As Peet remarked, it might be possible that the crime had been committed, but the people who were accused were not the people who actually broke into tomb QV 51. Moreover, according to Peet the fact that one year later the tomb

¹⁰⁷¹ See Peet 1930 (text), 31-32.

of Queen Isis was found sacked is suspicious: did the vizier carry out the inspection in an honest way? The “show” that the necropolis staff performed against Paser on the Theban East Bank (after the inquest) seems also to indicate that it may have dealt with a political “quarrel”.¹⁰⁷²

The recto of pap. BM EA10053¹⁰⁷³ reports that in the regnal year 17 of Ramses IX (on the 8th day of the first month of *peret*) eight individuals were interrogated by the vizier Khaemuset and the first prophet of Amon-Ra Amenhotep with regard to some robberies that occurred within an unspecified tomb in the *t3 s.t nfr.w*, in order to identify the quantity of the stolen goods. These individuals made a statement and accused other people involved in the tomb robberies, specifying the quantity of metal that they had taken (983 *deben* of copper, one *deben* of silver, and 15 *qedet* of gold have been stolen¹⁰⁷⁴). The information provided by pap. BM EA10053 can be cross-referenced with the events recorded in the *Journal of the Theban necropolis*, an ensemble of hieratic papyri dating to the 20th Dynasty, which mentions tomb robberies that occurred in the Queens’s Valley. These papyri are part of the Drovetti Collection kept at the Museo Egizio of Turin and their provenance still remains unknown, although Černý was of the opinion that they came from Medinet Habu, which was the administrative centre of the necropolis towards the end of the New Kingdom.¹⁰⁷⁵ This collection of papyri includes the report of an inspection that was carried out during regnal year 17 of King Ramses IX: on day 21 of the third month of *peret*,¹⁰⁷⁶ the cupbearer and the mayor of the city and vizier Khaemuset, the equipe of the tomb, and the captains went to the *t3 s.t nfr.w* in order to examine the tomb of Queen Isis (QV 51). They opened it and “*they found the stone of red granite, the eight thieves having broken it up, by the doorway/plinth...*”.¹⁰⁷⁷ This means that about one year after the examination of Paykheru, the tomb of Queen Isis had been heavily plundered, as evident from the fact that the sarcophagus made of stone had been smashed by eight anonymous thieves. In turn, these two sources can be cross-referenced with another source, that is pap. BM EA10068.¹⁰⁷⁸ The complete date is not preserved, although it is likely that the events occurred during the regnal year 17 of King Ramses IX. It deals with an inquest

¹⁰⁷² Peet 1930 (text), 33-36; McDowell 1990, 191; Testa 2009, 158-159.

¹⁰⁷³ Peet 1930 (text), 102-111; Testa 2009, 171- 199.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Strudwick 2013, 335.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Botti and Peet 1928, 7, footnote 1.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Botti and Peet 1928, 18, 26; Miniaci 2008, 59-60.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Quotation from Kitchen 2012, 427.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Peet 1930 (text), 87-89; Testa 2009, 203-227. The dating is lost, but the document belongs to the reign of Ramses IX and it can be dated, by means of its content, between the events described in pap. BM 10053 and verso of pap. BM 10068 (year 17): in this regard, see Testa 2009, 201.

against a number of people who violated a female burial within the *t3 s.t nfr.w* and it is worth remarking that almost all the examined individuals are the same who are mentioned on pap. BM EA10053 (Nakhtmenu, Amonuatu, Pentauer, Amonhotep, Mesy, Paysen, and Hori), with the exception of one individual (Anqenna, son of Amonuatu on pap. BM EA10068 instead of Paqen, son of Amonuatu, on pap. BM EA10053). There is the impression that this may be the same inquest concerning the inspection of Queen Isis' tomb, which may have been carried out over a period of a few days (thus explaining why there are two different reports of the same inquest). This hypothesis is also strengthened by the same number of interrogated people (table VII.c)

Source	Chronology	Tomb	Examined individuals
BM EA10053	Ramses IX, year 17	?	Eight people: Nakhtmenu, Amonuatu, Pentauer, Amonhotep, Mesy, Paysen, Hori, and <i>Paqen</i>
<i>Journal of the Theban Necropolis</i>	Ramses IX, year 17	QV 51	Eight people, but names are not provided
BM EA10068	Ramses IX, year 17	?	Eight people: Nakhtmenu, Amonuatu, Pentauer, Amonhotep, Mesy, Paysen, Hori, and <i>Anqenna</i>

Table VII.c. Comparison of the three accounts that concern the robbery of tomb QV 51. © E. Casini.

Textual evidence also reports on the inspection of Queen Tyti's tomb (QV 52), which occurred towards the end of the 20th Dynasty. Recent studies carried out on some unpublished fragments, which have been assigned to pap. BM EA10052,¹⁰⁷⁹ revealed something interesting: one of these contains a passage of text that has been re-contextualized in the original position of the abovementioned papyrus and reads "...with *Pawerkerhetef* leading us. He had us open the tomb of the King's Wife Tyti of King Usermaatre-miamun¹⁰⁸⁰ *l.p.h., with him leading us, and we took that mummy-case of gold and silver*".¹⁰⁸¹ This event occurred during the reign of Ramses XI, in year 1 of the Renaissance/*whm-msw.t* (which corresponds with the regnal year 19 of Ramses XI).

On the same papyrus, before the report on the inspection of Queen Tyti's tomb, there is mention of another tomb that had been plundered by thieves: that of Queen Habadjilat (BM EA10052, rto. 1.15-1.19).¹⁰⁸² A short passage of text contains the description of the

¹⁰⁷⁹ Kitchen remarked that "*some lines are lost*" (2012, 547).

¹⁰⁸⁰ The correct transliteration of the name is *wsr-m3.t-r'-mry-jmn* (Ramses III): see Collier *et al.* 2010, 244.

¹⁰⁸¹ Reference and quotation from Collier *et al.* 2010, 244.

¹⁰⁸² Peet 1930 (text), 139, 142-143; Kitchen 2012, 539-540.

examination of Bukhaef, herdsman of the domain of Amun, who was accused of violating the queen's tomb, which is said to be located in the "the great and august places" (*n3 s.wt 3.wt šps.wt*).¹⁰⁸³ The thief admitted that he found the tomb already open (*wn.tj*) and took away the queen's anthropoid coffin, made of silver (*p3 wt n hđ*), and the mummy-board, made of gold and silver (*swh.t n nbw hđ*).¹⁰⁸⁴ As already remarked by Černý, "this tomb could hardly have been situated elsewhere than in the Valley of the Queens",¹⁰⁸⁵ where the royal consorts were buried during the Ramesside Period.¹⁰⁸⁶ The identity of the *hm.t nsw* Habadjilat has been addressed in *Chapter V.3-c*. If Habadjilat was the mother of Queen Isis, her tomb remains unidentified; conversely, if Habadjilat was Queen Isis herself, the tomb in question would be QV 51. In this regard, it is worth noting that during the regnal year 17 of Ramses IX, the queen's stone sarcophagus was smashed by thieves: therefore, if thieves stole the anthropoid coffin and the mummy-board of the queen during the reign of Ramses XI, this means that the burial of Queen Isis had been rearranged after the tomb robberies that had occurred before, during the reign of Ramses IX.

The same herdsman Bukhaef was examined in the course of another inquiry session, which took place in year 1 of the *whm-msw.t* (pap. Mayer A, 4.3-4).¹⁰⁸⁷ The thief reveals that he opened the tombs of Queen Nesmut and that of Queen Baketuernel. Within tomb KV 10 (prepared for the burial of King Amenmesse), the name and depiction of a queen named Baketuernel show up on the wall decoration;¹⁰⁸⁸ however, there is no archaeological evidence that may attest to the actual burial of this royal woman within the Kings' Valley. In addition, the identity of this queen is not well-defined. According to a number of scholars, Baketuernel was the mother of King Amenmesse; others place her in the 20th Dynasty and identify her as a wife of Ramses XI.¹⁰⁸⁹ The name of the king associated to Baketuernel is *mn-m3^c.t-r^c*,¹⁰⁹⁰ which is the *praenomen* of King Sety I (and not *mn-mj-r^c*, that of King Amenmesse): this element may indicate Baketuernel as a (minor) wife of Sety I.¹⁰⁹¹ The location of her tomb is unknown but a faience shabti of Queen Nesmut was found within the Queens' Valley (see *Chapter IV.2* and fig. IV.13): this clue

¹⁰⁸³ Kitchen 2012, 540.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Peet 1930 (text), 142-143; Kitchen 2012, 540.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Quotation from Černý 1958, 32.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Although an almost certain exception is provided by the supposed burial of Takhat^A in the Kings' Valley (Reeves and Wilkinson 1996, 151).

¹⁰⁸⁷ Kitchen 2012, 560.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Reeves and Wilkinson 1996, 150-151; Collier *et al.* 2010, 245.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Vernus 1993, 42; Dodson and Hilton 2004, 187 and 192 (Baketuernel^A); Wilkinson 2016, 350.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Kitchen 1983, 811 (4.4).

¹⁰⁹¹ As also Strudwick suggests (2013, 336).

suggests that Nesmut may have been buried therein. Considering that the text on pap. Mayer A mentions the tombs of Nesmut and Baketuernel one next to the other, it is likely that Baketuernel was buried within the same necropolis: the Queens' Valley.¹⁰⁹² Actually, if Baketuernel was buried in the Kings' Valley,¹⁰⁹³ it may be expected that the interrogated person mentioned the tomb by the king's name, rather than the "tomb of Queen Baketuernel".¹⁰⁹⁴ Considering these aspects, Baketuernel might have been buried in the Queens' Valley, within one of the tombs built during the reign of Sety I: likely candidates are the anonymous tombs QV 31, QV 34, and QV 40, which are located on the southern slope of the main *wadi*. It is more challenging to define the epoch of Queen Nesmut. By considering that the queens' tombs located on the northern slope of the main *wadi* are all attributed to known individuals (except for QV 58, which has been here allegedly assigned to Satefmira), it may be possible that Nesmut's tomb was one of those tombs still anonymous, which are located on the southern slope: possible candidates are therefore the same tombs suggested for Queen Baketuernel. Otherwise, Nesmut may have been a 20th-dynasty queen and in this case her burial might have been located within the anonymous QV 41 (which is not so far from QV 31, QV 34, and QV 40).

Finally, the chronologically latest attestation of tomb robberies in the Queens' Valley occurs on pap. Ambras/Vienna 30. In the framework of a list of tombs that have been inspected, there is the mention of a "*Document of the deposition(s), (concerning) the copper and property, which the thieves sold, from this Place of Eternity - 1.*" (2.10).¹⁰⁹⁵ This inspection took place in year 6 of the *wḥm-msw.t* of Ramses XI and confirms that metal objects (copper, in particular) were preferred by thieves since it was easy to steal them and they were easily marketable due to their intrinsic value. The name(s) of the tomb owner(s) is(/are) not mentioned.

To recap, next to the evident disturbed burial contexts, textual evidence dating to the Ramesside Period attests to tomb robberies occurring within the Queens' Valley (table VI.d). Information provided by the *Tomb Robbery Papyri* and the *Journal of the Theban Necropolis* is not quantitatively much, but it clearly confirms that this necropolis was affected by plundering activity starting from the late 19th/early 20th Dynasty. It is

¹⁰⁹² That the tombs of these two queens may be in the Queens' Valley had been already suggested by Černý (1973/a, 19).

¹⁰⁹³ Leblanc 2009, 290.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Moreover, it is worth mentioning that tomb inspections in the Kings' Valley are not mentioned, except for that concerning Ramses VI's tomb, which is reported on pap. Mayer B: see Jansen-Winkel 1995, 63-64.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Kitchen 1983, Text VI, 837; Kitchen 2012, 572.

interesting to observe how textual evidence finds a confirmation within the archaeological context: for instance, the fragments of the stone sarcophagus of Queen Isis, which was smashed by the thieves (see the *Journal of the Theban Necropolis*), have been found inside her tomb.¹⁰⁹⁶ After the wave of thefts of the late Ramesside Period, during the 21st Dynasty, it is likely that the priestly personnel moved some of the Queens' Valley tomb owners and relating burial assemblages to safe caches, which have not been identified so far.¹⁰⁹⁷ They also reused part of their burial equipment, as attested by the case of the stone sarcophagus of Henutmira adapted for the burial of the high priest Harsies, during the reign of Osorkon II (22nd Dynasty).¹⁰⁹⁸

BM 10055/vso. (pap. Salt 124, 1.11)	
Tomb	QV 75
Stolen goods	<i>sr</i> -goose
Inspector(s)	Amennakht (son of the chief-workman Nebnufer)
Date of the inquiry	End 19 th / first half 20 th Dynasty
Interrogated individual(s)	Paneb
Turin cat. 1880 (<i>Turin Strike Papyrus</i>)	
Tomb	Not specified
Stolen goods	Not specified
Inspector(s)	Not specified
Date of the event	Ramses III, year 29
Interrogated individual(s)	Userhat
BM EA10221 (rto. 4.11-4.17)	
Tomb	QV 51
Stolen goods	Not specified
Inspector(s)	Vizier Nebmaranakht
Date of the inquiry	Ramses IX, year 14
Interrogated individual(s)	Coppersmith Paykheru (son of Khary)
BM EA10221 (rto. 4.17-5.11)	
Tomb	QV 51
Stolen goods	Not specified
Inspector(s)	Mayor of the city and vizier Khaemuaset Royal cupbearer and scribe of the pharaoh Nesamun
Date of the inquiry	Ramses IX, year 16, 3 rd month of akhet, day 19
Interrogated individual(s)	Coppersmith Paykheru (son of Khary)
BM EA10221 (rto. 7.1-7.16)	
Tomb	QV 51
Stolen goods	Not specified
Inspector(s)	Mayor and vizier Khaemuaset
Date of the inquiry	Ramses IX, year 16, 3 rd month of akhet, day 21
Interrogated individual(s)	Three coppersmiths: Paykheru, Khaempet, and Pakamen
BM EA10053 (rto. 1.1-8.2)	
Tomb	Robberies in the Queens' Valley, the tomb(s) is(/are) not specified
Stolen goods	983 <i>deben</i> of copper, one <i>deben</i> of silver, and 15 <i>qedet</i> of gold
Inspector(s)	Vizier Khaemuaset Chief priest of Amun Amenhotep
Date of the inquiry	Reign of Ramses IX, year 17, 1 st month of peret, day 8
Interrogated individual(s)	Amonuatu (son of Hori) Pentauer (son of Amonnakht) Nakhtmenu (son of Pentauer) Amenhotep (son of Pentauer) Mesy (son of Pentauer) Paysen (son of Amonuatu) Hori (son of Amonuatu) Paqen (son of Amonuatu)
<i>Journal of the Theban necropolis</i> (rto. 8.1-8.11)	
Tomb	QV 51
Stolen goods	Not specified

¹⁰⁹⁶ Schiaparelli 1924, 157.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Thomas 1966, 208.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Leblanc 1988, 132.

Inspector(s)	Mayor of the city and vizier Khaemuaset Cupbearer
Date of the inquiry	Reign of Ramses IX, year 17, 3 rd <i>peret</i> , day 21
Interrogated individual(s)	8 anonymous thieves
BM EA10068 (rto. 1.1-3.28)	
Tomb	Tomb of a female individual
Stolen goods	Not specified
Inspector(s)	Vizier Khaemuaset Chief priest of Amun Amenhotep Mayor Paruaa Scribe of the necropolis Unennefer
Date of the inquiry	Reign of Ramses IX, year 17, month?, day 10 or 20
Interrogated individual(s)	Nakhtmenu (son of Pentauer) Amonuatu (son of Hori) Pentauer (son of Amonnakht) Amenhotep (son of Pentauer) Mesy (son of Pentauer) Paysen (son of Amonuatu) Anqenna (son of Amonuatu) Hori (son of Amonuatu)
BM EA10052 (re-contextualized fragments)	
Tomb	QV 52
Stolen goods	Mummy-case of gold and silver
Inspector(s)	-
Date of the inquiry	Reign of Ramses XI, <i>whm msw.t</i> 1 (year 19)
Interrogated people	-
BM EA10052 (rto. 1.15-1.19)	
Tomb	Tomb of the <i>hm.t nsw</i> Habadilat
Stolen goods	Anthropoid coffin made of silver and mummy-board made of gold and silver
Inspector(s)	Prefect and Vizier Nebmaranakht Chief of the Treasury of the Pharaoh and Granary Superintendent Menmaranakht Steward and Royal Cupbearer Yanusa Steward and Royal Cupbearer Pameryamun
Date of the inquiry	Reign of Ramses XI, <i>whm msw.t</i> 1, 4 th month of <i>shemu</i> , day 5
Interrogated individual(s)	Bukhaef
Pap. Mayer A (4.2-4.4)	
Tomb	Tombs of Baketuernel and Nesmut
Stolen goods	Silver?
Inspector(s)	Prefect and Vizier Nebmaranakht Chief of the Treasury and Granary Superintendent Menmaranakht Steward and Royal Cupbearer Yanusa Steward and Royal Cupbearer Pameryamun
Date of the inquiry	Reign of Ramses XI, <i>whm msw.t</i> 1, 4 th <i>shemu</i> , day 17
Interrogated individual(s)	Bukhaef
Pap. Ambras/Vienna 30 (2.10)	
Tomb	Not specified
Stolen goods	'copper and property'
Inspector(s)	-
Date of the inquiry	Reign of Ramses XI, <i>whm msw.t</i> 6
Interrogated individual(s)	-

Table VII.d. Summary of the tomb robberies occurred within the Queens' Valley. © E. Casini.

VII.5. Tomb Reuse in the Queens' Valley

The following sections aim at retracing the several steps that characterized the reuse of this necropolis after the New Kingdom. The phenomenon of tomb reuse is widespread in ancient Egypt. The reasons behind such a practice was both ideological and practical. A tomb could be reused by the heirs of the original owner, thus converting it into a sort of a family tomb. Otherwise a tomb could be occupied in a later epoch by unrelated

people, who could not afford a new tomb.¹⁰⁹⁹ Some cemeteries attracted people because of the sacredness of the place and social identity of the original tomb owners, as was the case of the Kings' Valley and the Queens' Valley. However, whereas the phenomenon of tomb reuse was more limited within the Kings' Valley (both quantitatively and chronologically),¹¹⁰⁰ tomb reuse was massive and prolonged within the Queens' Valley. The examination of the published data has revealed that only a few tombs were not reused after the New Kingdom, since their location was lost: among these, it is possible to list tombs QV 46, QV 47, QV 55, QV 66, QV 92, QV 93, QV 94, QV 97, and QV J.¹¹⁰¹

After the tomb robberies of the late New Kingdom, the administration of the necropolis supposedly may have granted the permission to be buried inside the plundered and abandoned tombs, thus starting the phenomenon of tomb reuse. The material evidence provides a meaningful aid in order to identify this phenomenon, but it is not possible to count on the stratigraphic analysis since all the burial contexts were heavily disturbed both in antiquity and modern times.

It is worth remarking that the earliest intrusions into the Queens' Valley tombs occurred during the 19th Dynasty, likely not in the framework of a real plundering activity. Some 18th-dynasty tombs were discovered in the early 19th Dynasty (QV 37 and QV 87) and in the 20th Dynasty (QV 25), when the workmen were cutting new tombs for the burial of the royal women. Concerning QV 37, the break into the northern corner of the burial chamber is rather small; therefore, it may be possible that it was repaired after the damage itself by means of brick masonry, and then covered with plaster.¹¹⁰² With regard to tomb QV 87, the 18th-dynasty burial chamber was "incorporated" into the north-eastern annex of QV 34: therefore, it is likely to assume that the contents of tomb QV 87 were removed, to make space for the new burial (fig. VII.6/A). In addition, another tomb (QV 35) was discovered during the construction works of QV 34, however, this consisted of a commenced shaft only (fig. VII.6/B). Finally, during the 20th Dynasty, while cutting the ramp of a new tomb (QV 24), the workmen stumbled upon the 18th-dynasty tomb QV 25, as evident from a small break into the shaft of the latter (fig. VII.6/C); therefore, the construction of tomb QV 24 was abandoned. These cases seem to suggest that the locations of the 18th-dynasty tombs were unknown. However, the position of tomb

¹⁰⁹⁹ Strudwick 2009, 239.

¹¹⁰⁰ Wilkinson 2016; Taylor 2016/b.

¹¹⁰¹ Concerning QV 46, QV 47, and QV 97, see Lecuyot 1996, 155 (footnote n. 77).

¹¹⁰² According to Ballerini, the break into the wall was made by thieves (1903, 10-11).

QV 37 may have been known, as suggested by the fact that the two side chambers of QV 36 were cut north and south of the main chamber, whereas other coeval 19th-dynasty tombs (QV 31, QV 33, QV 34, and QV 40) have an eastern or western side chamber: this may indicate that the architect in charge of the project knew that the space, in which QV 36 could be cut, was limited due to the presence of QV 37 and QV 34. This remark would also indicate that QV 34 may have been prepared before QV 36.

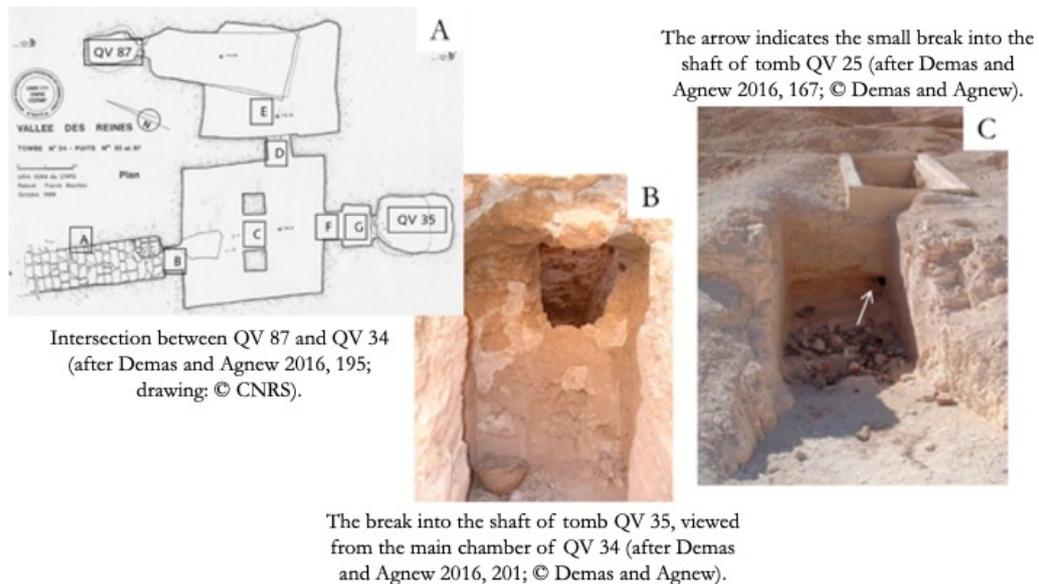


Fig. VII.6. Collisions and intersections between 18th-dynasty and Ramesside Period tombs.

Archaeological evidence suggests that the earliest reuse of the Queens' Valley tombs occurred already during the Ramesside Period, before the tomb robberies. Two amphoras very similar to some found in the 20th-dynasty tomb of Inherkhau at Deir el-Medina (IT 359, reign of Ramses III/Ramses IV) have been brought to light from tomb QV H and one from tomb QV I, which are both located within the Valley of the Three Pits.¹¹⁰⁵ These archaeological findings suggest that the two 18th-dynasty shaft tombs may have been reused already during the 20th Dynasty, before the beginning of the great tomb robberies that occurred in the late New Kingdom. This aspect is not surprising: indeed, the workmen might have known the location of these 18th-dynasty shaft tombs, which were not located in the main *wadi*. Thus, they may have entered them, taken most of the

¹¹⁰⁵ Loyrette 1997, 189 and 191.

valuable objects, and then reused them for new burials.¹¹⁰⁴ This is not the only example of tomb reuse during the 20th Dynasty. Tomb QV 31 was prepared for an anonymous *hm.t nsw wr.t* in the beginning of the 19th Dynasty. The detection of mudbrick structures, placed along the sides of the ramp and within the tomb itself, which are datable to the Ramesside Period, as well as fills applied in the ceiling, seem to suggest a reuse of the tomb in the 20th Dynasty, when it was renovated by means of these new architectural elements.¹¹⁰⁵ Archaeological findings belonging to the Ramesside Period have not been found within this tomb, therefore, the dating of the epoch of its reuse cannot be determined exactly.¹¹⁰⁶

Several Queens' Valley tombs currently show a bad state of preservation: not only they were the object of robberies, reuse, and architectural manipulations, but they also were affected by fires and rainwaters. Ceilings and walls of many tombs have collapsed due to the poor quality of the rock and the effects of the flash floods. Although occurring rarely, rainwaters had a profound impact on the site (fig. VII.7/A). The violent rainfalls could cause flash floods that dragged debris, mud, and splinters from the higher slopes, which are located to the north of the main *wadi*, downwards into the tombs, which were not always properly closed (especially after they had been plundered and abandoned): therefore, the floor of some tombs is covered by a layer of compact mud and debris, resulting from the drying of the wet sediment that flowed into them (fig. VII.7/B). The effects of these violent and unpredictable rainwaters were mainly two:¹¹⁰⁷ 1) shale (and also marl), which composes a large part of the Queens' Valley bedrock, tended to swell when it came into contact with water, thus causing cracks in the rock and collapses of ceiling and walls; 2) water and humidity altered the salt composition of the plaster used to coat the walls, causing damages, in particular fractures and breaks, and the following collapse of wall decoration. Therefore, not only human activities (robberies, reuse, and fires), but also flash floods and humidity have contributed to the damage of the tombs, of the wall decoration (in the case of Ramesside Period tombs), and of the contents (*i.e.* the burial equipments).

¹¹⁰⁴ Nothing more can be said since little information about these tombs was published.

¹¹⁰⁵ Demas and Agnew 2016, 168.

¹¹⁰⁶ The only finding is a door jamb with relief decoration, bearing the cartouche of King of Ramses III (in this regard, see Elleithy and Leblanc 2016, 14). The interpretation of this architectural element, which according to Leblanc may come from Medinet Habu, is anything but simple (see Demas and Agnew 2016, 168; personal communication by Ch. Leblanc to the two authors).

¹¹⁰⁷ Demas and Agnew 2012, 257-258.

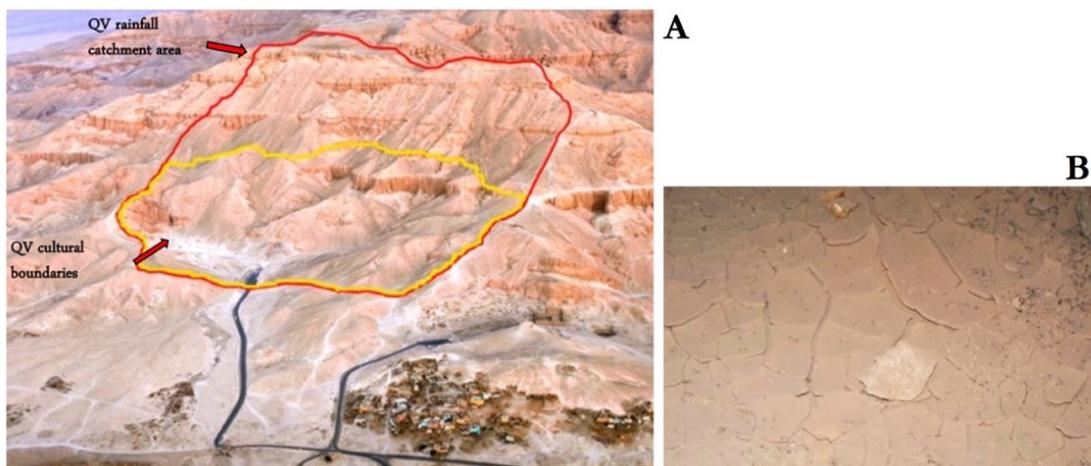


Fig. VII.7. A: Rainfall catchment area in the Queens' Valley (after Demas and Agnew 2012, 257; © Demas and Agnew). B: Layer of dried mud in tomb QV 30 (after Demas and Agnew 2016, 74; © Demas and Agnew).

The reuse of the tombs could range from their occupation without too many side effects/damages for the tomb architecture, to a more invasive occupation, consisting of some architectural alterations and a change of the function of the space. Traces of fires may attest to 1) the violence of the thefts, 2) the necessity to make space for new burials, 3) incidents occurring during the use of the tombs as dwelling places, and 4) the act of purification of the tomb for a new use.¹¹⁰⁸ The heat of fires could cause changes in the composition of the rock, thus increasing the already high index of friability that characterized the rock typology of the Queens' Valley, this being one of the main causes of collapse of the walls. Moreover, the heat and the soot, as well as bats¹¹⁰⁹ were another cause of the deterioration of wall paintings.

VII.5-a. Third Intermediate Period and 26th Dynasty

During the Third Intermediate Period, the pattern of use of the tombs of the Theban West Bank underwent a radical change. The economic contraction that affected Egypt already in the late New Kingdom had a deep impact on the funerary industry: not only did the grave goods of burial assemblages decrease quantitatively but also the construction of tombs underwent an evident interruption, except for the cut of pit-tombs within already existing burial complexes.¹¹¹⁰

In the course of the 21st Dynasty (1069-945 BC), it is likely that the Queens' Valley

¹¹⁰⁸ Lecuyot 1999, 37.

¹¹⁰⁹ Demas and Agnew 2012, 14.

¹¹¹⁰ Taylor 1992, 186.

underwent the same fate as the Kings' Valley,¹¹¹¹ the tombs of which were opened by the administrative personnel of the necropolis, which cached the deceased and part of their burial equipments in safer spots. Considering the almost total lack of mummies of members of the royal family (except for the supposed Nefertari's knees and the supposed mummies of Prince Khaemuset and Prince Amonherkhepeshef found in QV 44 and QV 55 respectively), it is a fair assumption that even some of the Queens' Valley tombs were emptied of their contents (mummies and burial assemblages), which were brought to (still unknown) caches.¹¹¹²

During the Third Intermediate Period, the Queens' Valley was no longer used as burial ground for royal consorts and members of the royal family: the social interface of this necropolis completely changed and the new owners of the old tombs did not have any connection with the royal court. The minor clergy and individuals employed in the estate of the temples as overseers, gardeners, and lotus cultivators, as well as some of their family members, "took possession" of the Queens' Valley: both decorated and undecorated tombs were reused, with some minor architectural alterations, which mainly consisted of new pits cut inside the already existing tombs (*e.g.* QV 15, 23, QV 34, and QV 78) and the transformation of the shaft of the 18th-dynasty tombs into a staircase entryway, in order to make tombs more easily accessible (*e.g.* QV 11, QV 16, and QV 23).¹¹¹³ The earliest reuse of this necropolis in the Third Intermediate Period can be dated to the 21st Dynasty,¹¹¹⁴ as attested by archaeological evidence: fragments of three anthropoid coffins found in QV 34,¹¹¹⁵ fragments of a coffin with yellow decoration on white background found in QV 73, and fragments of coffins (datable to the 21st/22nd Dynasty) found in QV 76,¹¹¹⁶ QV 77,¹¹¹⁷ and QV 79.¹¹¹⁸ Furthermore, archaeological materials allow the dating of reuse of tombs QV 11, QV 34, QV 43, QV 44, QV 73, QV 74 in the 22nd/23rd or 22nd/24th.¹¹¹⁹ Within his preliminary report on the QV pottery, Lecuyot collected the materials datable from the 21st to the 26th Dynasties and listed as find-spots the following tombs: QV 3, QV 7, QV 8, QV 9, QV 10, QV 11, QV 12, QV 13, QV 14, QV 16, QV 17, QV 18, QV 21, QV 22, QV 23, QV 30, QV 31, QV 33, QV 34, QV 53,

¹¹¹¹ Taylor 1992.

¹¹¹² Leblanc 1999, 835.

¹¹¹³ Lecuyot 1992/a, 91; Lecuyot 2000, 51.

¹¹¹⁴ Leblanc 1990, 26. Later, Leblanc dated the first reuse of the Queens' Valley to the 22nd Dynasty (1999, 835).

¹¹¹⁵ Fekri and Loyrette 1998, 131.

¹¹¹⁶ Demas and Agnew 2016, 109.

¹¹¹⁷ Demas and Agnew 2016, 110.

¹¹¹⁸ Demas and Agnew 2016, 115.

¹¹¹⁹ For the bibliographical references of each tomb, see Volume II (*Catalogue of the Tombs*).

QV 71, QV 77, QV 78, QV 79, QV 80, and QV 81.¹¹²⁰ It is anything but simple to gather information about tomb reuse, due to the scarce published data; however, this list of tombs helps to have an overall picture of the situation concerning this phenomenon in the Third Intermediate Period.

Among the abovementioned tombs, there are two that constitute peculiar cases and have provided rich archaeological evidence: these are QV 43 (Prince Sethherkhepeshef) and QV 44 (Prince Khaemuset), which were prepared for two sons of Ramses III. The multitude of coffins found within them belonged to individuals who were cultivators of lotus, members of the priesthood, personnel of the temples, and their relatives. According to Schiaparelli, these two tombs were used as family sepulchers starting from the second half of the 22nd Dynasty.¹¹²¹ Based on the examination of the coffins, Jonathan P. Elias suggests that the two tombs were reused starting from the mid-8th century, when Thebes was ruled by the kings of the 23rd Dynasty.¹¹²² Lecuyot dates those (re-)burials to the 8th and 7th century BC,¹¹²³ whereas Aston lowers the chronology to the 7th century BC.¹¹²⁴ It is impossible to retrace the exact find-spot of all the coffins within each tomb because both QV 43 and QV 44 were hastily emptied and Ballerini did not record the exact position of the findings, nor from which of the two burials they were taken away.¹¹²⁵ However, thanks to the renowned picture of the inside of Khaemuset's tomb (fig. VII.8), the original position of some coffins has been identified.¹¹²⁶ Along with the coffins, the Italian mission found even parts of wooden statuettes of Ptah-Sokar Osiris (ME S. 05272 to 05280), 2 shabti boxes containing mud shabtis (ME S. 05282 and 05283), fragmented bead nets (from ME S. 05289 to 05308), faience scarabs (from ME S. 05309 to 05330), remains of floral garlands (ME S. 05284), fragments of a limestone stela (ME S. 05265),¹¹²⁷ two wooden stelae¹¹²⁸ (ME S. 05266/stela of Isisemhat, dated to the 620-560 BC¹¹²⁹ and ME S. 05267/stela of Horj, dated to 620-580¹¹³⁰), and other items.

¹¹²⁰ Lecuyot 1996, 152.

¹¹²¹ Schiaparelli 1924, 185.

¹¹²² Elias 1999, 145.

¹¹²³ Lecuyot 1996, 146.

¹¹²⁴ Aston 2009, 258-260; Schiaparelli 1924, 124-142, 193-206.

¹¹²⁵ Guzzon 2017, 196-197.

¹¹²⁶ Guzzon 2017, 192.

¹¹²⁷ Likely dating to the Ramesside Period.

¹¹²⁸ Schiaparelli 1924, 129; Porter and Moss 1964 (PM I²), 771.

¹¹²⁹ Munro 1973 (Textband), p. 223.

¹¹³⁰ Munro 1973 (Textband), p. 222-223.

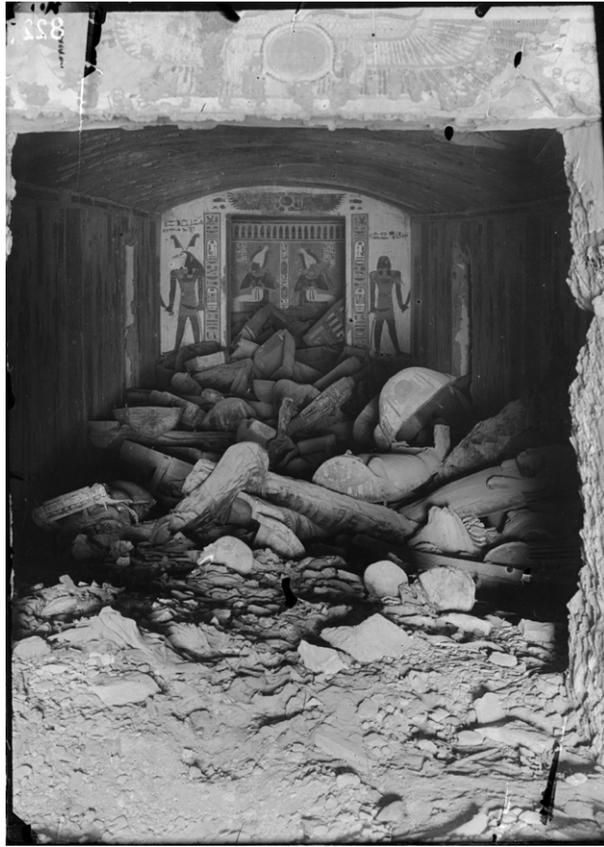


Fig. VII.8. Photograph of the inside of QV 44 taken by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* at the time of the discovery (lastra: C00822). © Archivio Museo Egizio, Torino.

Likely, the choice of these two tombs for new burials was not casual: they were close to each other, spacious, decorated, and easily accessible through the sloping entrance ramp. If the owner of QV 43 was the Sethherkhepeshef who ascended the throne as Ramses VIII,¹¹³¹ this tomb may have been empty, open, and ready for use. The individuals reburied within these two princes' tombs have been identified thanks to the inscriptions on the coffins. Elias distinguishes at least two criteria dictating the inclusion of individuals within these two tombs: the genealogical identity and the occupational association of membership.¹¹³² According to his reconstruction, these tombs were used as family sepulchres during a time-span of 90/115 years (from 740 to 625 BC) by the family of Tjediasetaheqaru (group A), the family of Pediamonhepet (group B), the family of Pediamonenhepet/Neskhonsuennekh (group C), and a single individual, the necropolis official Nakhtkhonsuru (group F).¹¹³³ The inclusion of Nakhtkhonsuru within QV 43/QV 44 is telling: it seems to confirm that the use of these two decorated tombs

¹¹³¹ Leblanc is of a different opinion (see Leblanc 2001-2002, 196-199 and 212).

¹¹³² Elias 1999, 149.

¹¹³³ With regard to the family groups, see Guzzon 2008, 78-79.

was not an act of usurpation but may have been legitimized by the necropolis administration. The name of Sethherkhepeshef was erased in QV 43, an evident clue that there was an act of ownership by the family which might have paid to use it. However, due to the lack of textual evidence, it is difficult to determine the mechanism (official permission or appropriation, or both of them) through which individuals could reuse such tombs. Likely, contacts and interrelations in lifetimes between these individuals, the material trace of which is not preserved, brought forth the development of a sort of association and the realisation of these communal graves. During the last stage of reuse, only two people seem to have a connection with the founding families, whereas the number of unaligned burials increased (four in total).¹¹³⁴

Some of the individuals buried within these tombs bore the title of chief lotus cultivator in the house of Amon (*ḥry ḥ.wty sšn n pr jmn*). The lotus cultivators were non-priestly functionaries working in the temple of Amon, therefore, people who were in charge of the fulfilment of the needs of the temple facilities. The fact that people who were involved in the cultivation of lotus flowers were buried within the Queens' Valley, provides one with a clue to the prominence that these special cultivators had compared with other cultivators. Indeed, as Elias remarks, "*it should not be construed that Schiaparelli's cache was filled with agricultural personnel in a strict sense*".¹¹³⁵ Other people linked with the administration of Amun's temple were buried within this double cache, as the burial of the priest of Min Anekhpakhered attests to.¹¹³⁶ The connection of the abovementioned individuals with the priestly/non-priestly personnel of Amun's temple may suggest that there was a conscious decision in the choice of such a burial ground. Concerning the reuse of tombs QV 43 and QV 44, Jean Li remarks that "*women seem to occupy a unique position in the consortium of families. Nine women were identified, and only two had a title, that of the Lady of the House. Although the women appeared to lack overt markers of status, the women appeared to have been the links that tied together the individuals of these burials. The use of tombs seemed to have been matrilineally determined. The men who appeared to have been sons of the women in the cache, were buried without their wives and the mothers without their husbands*".¹¹³⁷

In addition, next to cache-tombs "granted" to families, there were also tombs provided to single individuals. An example is given by the case of the 25th-dynasty burial of Pajryjah

¹¹³⁴ Elias 1999, 166-172.

¹¹³⁵ Quotation from Elias 1999, 171.

¹¹³⁶ D'Amicone 2008, 164.

¹¹³⁷ Quotation from Li 2017, 85-86.

(unknown title), who was buried within an additional *caveau* cut during the Third Intermediate Period in tomb QV 11. A burial in the Queens' Valley was certainly perceived as a privilege but it is worth remarking that the occupants of QV 43/QV 44 did not belong to the top ranks of society. Indeed, during this period, people belonging to the higher levels of the Theban society were buried within the temple enclosures of the Ramesseum, Medinet Habu, and Deir el-Bahri and in the Asasif. The Kings' Valley hosted the burials of lower-ranked people, and the same trend can be detected with regard to the Queens' Valley.¹¹³⁸ According to this viewpoint, it seems that the Queens' Valley was a "second choice" for individuals of the middle social *strata*. It is likely that the remembrance of the original use of this necropolis may have played an important ideological role, as if the new tomb owners could enjoy the same status of the original tomb owners by means of the sole sharing of the same burial ground. Therefore, behind the reuse of the Queens' Valley (as well as that of the Kings' Valley¹¹³⁹), there may be both religious and practical reasons: the sacred landscape, the hidden character of the cemeteries, and the security of the spot.

During this period, most of the tombs of the main *wadi* were reused, but also some tombs in the nearby Valley of the Three Pits bear material evidence of a reuse after the New Kingdom. Bruyère investigated three tombs within this lateral valley, which may be the current tombs QV 89, QV 90, and QV 91. One of these (it is impossible to state which one, due to the lack of tomb plans), which was located "*à l'abri d'une grosse roche, sur le chaînon oriental de la même vallée, face à la cime*", contained 16 uninscribed shabtis and fragments of large limestone canopic jars, one of which bearing trace of the inscription *m3^c.t-hrw*, true of voice (thus suggesting that it dealt with a female tomb owner); in addition, there were some remains of a cartonnage mummy-case, with "*masque à visage brun rouge, oreilles cachées par la perruque rayée de bleu et de jaune, corps enveloppe de remiges comme sur les cercueils Richi*".¹¹⁴⁰ The finding of such cartonnage mummy-case suggests a reuse of the tomb during the 22nd Dynasty (or slightly later), as remarked by Gabolde.¹¹⁴¹

Finally, little material evidence provides information concerning the reuse of this necropolis during the Saitic Period (664-525 BC). The tomb of Queen Tanedjemy (QV 33) currently shows damages due to fires, some of which might also have been set

¹¹³⁸ Taylor 2016/b, 370; Li 2017, 86

¹¹³⁹ Bickel 2016/b, 23.

¹¹⁴⁰ Quotation and reference from Bruyère 1952, 72-73.

¹¹⁴¹ Gabolde 1992, 110.

in modern times.¹¹⁴² This tomb might have been plundered already towards the end of the 20th Dynasty. Afterwards, QV 33 was reused during the 26th Dynasty, as can be assumed thanks to the presence of tubular and spherical beads, winged scarabs and amulets in the shaped of the sons of Horus, all these elements belonging to bead-nets; other materials dating to the same epoch consist of fragments of terracotta and wooden coffins, as well as pottery sherds.¹¹⁴³ In addition, material evidence attesting to tomb reuse in the 26th Dynasty has been detected in tombs QV 34, QV 43, and QV 44.

Beyond the findings from the aforementioned tombs, it has to be remarked that the materials dating to this epoch are scarce.¹¹⁴⁴ Within the unpublished excavation notebooks, Ballerini mentions the finding of a Late Period offering table within tomb QV 78; however, traces of this object are currently lost.¹¹⁴⁵ An offering table shows up in a picture published by Schiaparelli, although it is impossible to suggest its exact dating and provenance.¹¹⁴⁶ Unspecified Late Period materials have been found during the investigation of the “dolmen”. In addition, some fragmented objects apparently belonging to this epoch are housed at the Museo Egizio, but they lack any find-spot.¹¹⁴⁷ Therefore, considering this picture of the situation, it is challenging to fully understand the extent of the reuse of this necropolis in the Late Period.

VII.5-b. (Dis)use in the Ptolemaic Period and Mass Graves in the Roman Period

The data attesting to the use of the Queens’ Valley in the Late Period are scarce, but even scarcer, if not almost absent, are the data concerning the use of this necropolis during the Ptolemaic Period (332-30 BC). One of the few objects attesting to burials in the Ptolemaic Period consists of an *ostrakon* dating to the reigns of Ptolemy III/Ptolemy IV (246-205 BC), which was found in tomb QV 80.¹¹⁴⁸ Further documents written in Greek (such as texts on mummy labels, pieces of shrouds, mummy bandages, and *ostraca*) were discovered within the Queens’ Valley, however, their dating covers the time-span between the Roman and the Coptic Periods.¹¹⁴⁹ Then, it seems possible that there was a decline in

¹¹⁴² Leblanc 1980, 35 and 37.

¹¹⁴³ Leblanc 1980.

¹¹⁴⁴ This may likely depend on the few publications of such findings instead of their scant presence within tombs.

¹¹⁴⁵ It is not even listed within the *Giornale d’Entrata*.

¹¹⁴⁶ Schiaparelli 1924, 118, fig. 90.

¹¹⁴⁷ And they need an in-depth examination.

¹¹⁴⁸ Lecuyot 1999, 33-34 (footnote n. 5).

¹¹⁴⁹ Wagner *et al.* 1990.

the use of this necropolis during the Ptolemaic Period. This phenomenon sounds strange, considering that the close village of Deir el-Medina was reused, during the Ptolemaic Period, both its sacred place (as evidenced by the great Ptolemaic temple dedicated to Hathor and Maat) and necropolis.¹¹⁵⁰ Neither Ballerini nor Schiaparelli referred to the late phases of reoccupation of the Queens' Valley necropolis, and a mention of any Ptolemaic Period burial or object was never made. They did not even mention findings of the Roman Period (30 BC-395 AD), although the Franco-Egyptian team found, within several tombs already investigated by the Italian team, materials and mummies datable to that epoch.

The temporary abandonment or minor use of the Queens' Valley during the Ptolemaic Period can be explained by looking at the historical events. In that epoch, Thebes was composed of two parts: the eastern Diospolis Magna, which included the settlement and the temples of Karnak and Luxor, and the western town of Djeme, set inside the enclosure of the temple of Medinet Habu. The foundation of Ptolemeis in the Thinite nome caused the Greek people to settle down in the new city to the detriment of Thebes, which lost its role as main centre of the South.¹¹⁵¹ In addition, Koptos overtook Thebes as a privileged trading crossroads connected with the routes to the Red Sea.¹¹⁵² In this scenario, without any political relevance and after having lost its economic weight, Thebes remained only an important religious centre, supported by the Ptolemies.¹¹⁵³ This loss of importance by Thebes may explain why the Queens' Valley was characterized by a minor use in the Ptolemaic Period (as confirmed by the scant archaeological evidence). Conversely, Deir el-Medina came to host a number of burials because of the presence of the Hathor's temple next to the ancient village, which included the houses of the workmen and priestly personnel of the temple itself.¹¹⁵⁴

At the beginning of the Roman Period, a legion of the army was stationed at Thebes, which was ruled by an *epistrategos*, and the West Bank was set under the administration of the Hermonthite nome.¹¹⁵⁵ The Thebaid region was problematic because of the several rebellions that took place against the Roman domination.¹¹⁵⁶ As in the previous phase, economic activities in Thebes were limited and, although the emperors contributed to the construction and decoration of temples, this city lost also its relevance as a religious centre

¹¹⁵⁰ *E.g.* tombs 1126, 1233, and 1346 in the Western Necropolis: see Montserrat and Meskell 1997, 187.

¹¹⁵¹ Vandorpe 1995, 210.

¹¹⁵² Riggs 2005, 176.

¹¹⁵³ Vandorpe 1995, 208.

¹¹⁵⁴ Vandorpe 1995, 223 and 228.

¹¹⁵⁵ Vandorpe 1995, 237; Riggs 2005, 176.

¹¹⁵⁶ Vandorpe 1995, 236-237.

and became mainly a tourism destination:¹¹⁵⁷ the Theban landscape, monuments, temples, and tombs echoed the glorious past of the ancient Egyptian civilization.

The Roman Period is characterized by an exploitation of the whole Theban necropolis, except for the Kings' Valley (perhaps due to restrictions imposed by the administration or a matter of *decorum*, aimed at preserving the place that once had hosted the bodies of the kings). Deir el-Bahri, el-Khokha, Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, the Ramesseum, and the Queens' Valley were among the most reused sectors of the Theban necropolis. Except for a new cemetery built outside the village of Djeme,¹¹⁵⁸ old tombs were reused. The burial assemblages show that there was a conscious choice aimed at imitating the ancient Egyptian burial goods, such as coffins and funerary masks.¹¹⁵⁹

The population of the Theban West Bank, living in the administrative district known within the Greek documents as *Memnonia* (a fluid toponym indicating the area between Medinet Habu and Dra Abu el-Naga)¹¹⁶⁰ and in the abovementioned town of Djeme¹¹⁶¹ (the ancient settlement within and around the temple of Medinet Habu¹¹⁶²), reused the Queens' Valley tombs for the burials of the community members¹¹⁶³ between the 1st and the first half of the 4th centuries AD.¹¹⁶⁴ During this long time-span, the Queens' Valley was reused as a mass grave cemetery, as attested by the about 1070 individuals (865 adults and 205 children) found within 21 tombs.¹¹⁶⁵ The reason behind this occupation and reuse of the necropolis may have depended on the lack of place for the entombments in the nearby.¹¹⁶⁶

A large quantity of anthropological and archaeological evidence belongs to this phase of reuse,¹¹⁶⁷ materials that are typologically not various and mainly consist of pottery, decorated shrouds, coffins, and mummy masks. From an architectural point of view, the original tombs usually did not undergo structural changes, except for in few cases in which the addition of a new room or enlargement of burial chambers may have occurred (*e.g.*

¹¹⁵⁷ Vandorpe 1995, 237-239.

¹¹⁵⁸ Riggs 2005, 178-179.

¹¹⁵⁹ Riggs 2005, 177.

¹¹⁶⁰ Montserrat and Meskel 1997, 182.

¹¹⁶¹ This toponym appears for the first time in the written documentation towards the end of the 20th Dynasty: Ray 1981, 57.

¹¹⁶² Otto 1975, 1108-1109; Ray 1981.

¹¹⁶³ Wagner *et al.* 1990, 365; Lecuyot 2000, 52.

¹¹⁶⁴ Leblanc 1990, 28. The use of the necropolis during the Roman Period is located between the 2nd and 4th centuries AD by Lecuyot (1993, 263).

¹¹⁶⁵ Lecuyot 1999, 38.

¹¹⁶⁶ Lecuyot 1999, 34.

¹¹⁶⁷ Lecuyot 1992/a, 112.

QV 16) or two tombs may have been connected (*e.g.* QV 15 and QV 16).¹¹⁶⁸ Not only in the Queens' Valley but also in the closeby Deir el-Medina tombs were reused as catacombs.¹¹⁶⁹

Thanks to Lecuyot's preliminary report about the Queens' Valley pottery, it is possible to list, among the tombs reused during the Roman Period, QV 2, QV 3, QV 9, QV 10, QV 11, QV 12, QV 13, QV 14, QV 15, QV 16, QV 17, QV 18, QV 21, QV 22, QV 23, QV 29, QV 31, QV 33, QV 34, QV 35, QV 53, QV 57, QV 58, QV 65, QV 71, QV 72, QV 77, QV 78, QV 79, QV 80, QV 82, QV 87, and QV 96.¹¹⁷⁰ Among the ceramic materials, more than one hundred terracotta bell-shaped vases have been found in several tombs (and outside them) and are connected with the burials of sacred birds.¹¹⁷¹ In addition, mention of a reuse, in the Roman Period, of three 18th-dynasty tombs (QV 30, QV 47, and QV 88) is made by Demas and Agnew,¹¹⁷² although no detailed information about the nature of the findings is provided.

Although Lecuyot's preliminary report is invaluable, information on the Roman Period use of this necropolis is still scant since only a few tombs have been published in detail. The analysis of the findings allowed to distinguish two phases of reuse: 1) the first one can be located between the 1st century BC (slightly after the Roman occupation) and the 1st century AD; 2) the second phase of reuse occurred between the 2nd and 4th centuries AD, when the sanctuary for Antoninus Pius was built¹¹⁷³ and the Queens' Valley came to play the double role of burial ground and sacred area. At the end of the *Notizia Sommaria*, Ballerini hypothesized the presence of a "*piccolo tempio del tardissimo periodo egiziano*" under the Christian sanctuary:¹¹⁷⁴ this is actually the Roman sanctuary, dedicated to the God Montu,¹¹⁷⁵ which was built partly reusing a New Kingdom commenced tomb (QV 95) consisting of a rectangular chamber only. In front of the tomb, a circular structure was erected, which may have incorporated a sacred small hill (thus recalling the *j3.t*-hill attested in the Egyptian literature).¹¹⁷⁶ A monumental portal marked the entrance to the

¹¹⁶⁸ Wagner *et al.* 1990, 366.

¹¹⁶⁹ As attested by tomb n. 1447 in the Western Necropolis, which contained about 60 burials of mainly women and children: see Bruyère 1953, 104-110; Montserrat and Meskell 1997, 187.

¹¹⁷⁰ Lecuyot 1996.

¹¹⁷¹ Several fragments of this type of vase have been found in tombs QV 3, QV 10, QV 11, and QV 12 in association with zoological remains, as well as in tomb QV 14: see Lecuyot 1999, 44 (footnote n. 59) and Leblanc 1989/b, pl. XLIII.

¹¹⁷² Demas and Agnew 2016, 11.

¹¹⁷³ Fekri and Loyrette 1998, 135; Lecuyot 1996, 52-53; Lecuyot and Gabolde 1998.

¹¹⁷⁴ Reference and quotation from Ballerini 1903, 38.

¹¹⁷⁵ Lecuyot 1992/a, 385.

¹¹⁷⁶ Lecuyot and Gabolde 1998, 662-663.

sanctuary,¹¹⁷⁷ the walls of which were decorated by means of carved inscriptions and figures (the name of the emperor Antoninus Pius has been preserved within a cartouche, thus allowing the attribution of the temple to him);¹¹⁷⁸ in addition, two resin-coated, sandstone sphynxes, one acephalous and the other one sparrowhawk-headed, were possibly set at the entrance.¹¹⁷⁹

It is worth remarking that no new tomb was cut into the Queens' Valley during this period, a trend that has been observed in Deir el-Medina as well.¹¹⁸⁰ Among the reused tombs, those belonging to the Ramesside Period certainly offered more space than the 18th-dynasty shaft tombs could provide for a mass grave. For instance, tomb QV 33 (Queen Tanedjemy) was reused over the Roman Period, between the 1st and 4th century AD, as evidenced by archaeological materials; inside a pit, which had been excavated within the lateral annex cut into the northern wall of the burial chamber, the Franco-Egyptian team found 12 mummies; one of these, belonging to an adolescent, still wore an extended mummy mask bearing the name of the deceased - Horus, son of Psenmonthes - and was dated to the 2nd-3rd century AD.¹¹⁸¹ Starting from the 1st century BC, another Ramesside Period tomb, QV 34, was massively reused by Roman families living in Thebes:¹¹⁸² a total of 130 corpses have been found inside this tomb and although a distinction between the two phases of reuse (Third Intermediate and Roman Periods) has not been provided, it is very likely that most of the bodies belong to the Roman Period phase, when the tomb was used as a mass grave.¹¹⁸³ Finally, the presence of the pagan sanctuary reveals that the necropolis was not only a burial place, but also a place of worship, as likely it had also been during the New Kingdom.

VII.5-c. The Christian “Conversion” of the Burial Ground

The emergence of Christianity in Egypt had a profound impact on the local population, which showed great enthusiasm towards a religion that promised salvation after death. Ancient traditions state that Saint Mark (1st century AD) was responsible for the creation of the new religion in Egypt, which evolved from Alexandria, where there was a relevant

¹¹⁷⁷ Lecuyot 1999, 34-36.

¹¹⁷⁸ Lecuyot 1992/a, 384; Lecuyot and Gabolde 1998.

¹¹⁷⁹ Lecuyot 1992/a, 384 and 390 (fig. 4).

¹¹⁸⁰ Montserrat and Meskell 1997, 187.

¹¹⁸¹ Leblanc 1980, 39 and 41.

¹¹⁸² Fekri and Loyrette 1998, 134-135.

¹¹⁸³ Lecuyot 2000, 51.

theological school.¹¹⁸⁴ The Christians of Egypt, who are also renowned as Copts,¹¹⁸⁵ did not have an easy life: indeed, they were persecuted by the Emperors Decius (249-251 AD), Valerian (253-260 AD), Diocletian (284-305 AD), Maximus Daia (286-305 AD), and Galerius (293-311 AD). The Edict of Milan by Constantine (313 AD) established toleration towards Christians, within the Roman Empire. The end of persecutions led to the rise of theological debates and the emergence of the monasticism in Egypt in the first half of the 4th century AD. Towards the end of the same century, several monasteries were built throughout Egypt. As a result of the proliferation of Christianity, ancient Egyptian tombs and temples were transformed into hermitages and living quarters for the monks.¹¹⁸⁶ The Copts managed to settle down in the Nile valley and adapted the new religion to the pagan traditions, by elaborating new forms of worship that came to include the Egyptian language itself as the liturgical language of the Coptic Church (instead of Latin): this brought to the creation of the Coptic language and writing.¹¹⁸⁷

During the Coptic Period (395-641 AD),¹¹⁸⁸ Christians left their mark within the Queens' Valley as well. Indeed, they transformed this area from a necropolis into a place for the use by the living. Upon the ruins of the Roman Period sanctuary dedicated to Antoninus Pius, which had been destroyed¹¹⁸⁹ towards the second half¹¹⁹⁰ or end of the 4th century AD,¹¹⁹¹ the Copts built a monastery known as Deir er-Rumi. The reason behind the choice of this burial ground as sacred area for performance of the Christian worship is not evident, however, it is likely that the Queens' Valley provided itself as a solemn and majestic space, hidden and silent, thus perfect as a place for spiritual meditation but also suited for the construction of a new sacred sanctuary.¹¹⁹²

The monastery has an evident complex architecture, which mirrors two different stages of construction (fig. VII.9):¹¹⁹³ 1) the first one is characterized by the construction of a brick-made apse with vaulted roof in the east wall of the Roman sanctuary, the entrance of which was marked by two stone columns; the church was probably covered by a dome; 2) the second phase consists of an extension of the church to the south, up to the rocky

¹¹⁸⁴ Youssef 2014, 19.

¹¹⁸⁵ Bagnall specifies that the term *Copts* indicate the Christians of Egypt after the Islamic conquest up to the present (2001, 302).

¹¹⁸⁶ Sheridan 2014, 35.

¹¹⁸⁷ In this regard, see Choat 2012.

¹¹⁸⁸ Shaw and Nicholson 1995, 71-70.

¹¹⁸⁹ As clearly indicated by the remains of broken and burnt ruins: see Lecuyot 1993, 263; Lecuyot 1999, 45

¹¹⁹⁰ Demas and Agnew 2012, 80.

¹¹⁹¹ Lecuyot 1999, 37.

¹¹⁹² Lecuyot 1989, 63.

¹¹⁹³ Lecuyot 1989; Lecuyot 1992/b; Lecuyot 1993.

spur; this southern part is chronologically posterior to the northern one and was built at the end of the 6th century or later.¹¹⁹⁴ The final structure of the sanctuary can be seen to be composed of three axes: 1) the northern-southern axis, which includes the church, 2) the western-eastern axis, which is made of the long vestibule, and 3) the second northern-southern axis of the entrance, which is parallel to that of the church and tomb QV 95.

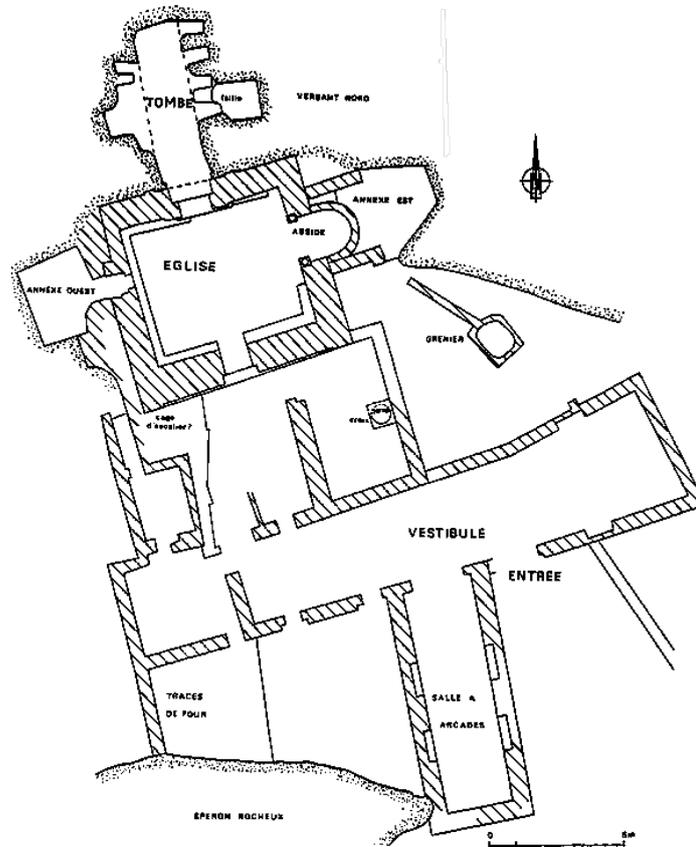


Fig. VII.9. Plan of the Coptic sanctuary of Deir er-Rumi (after Lecuyot 1989, 63; © G. Lecuyot).

It is not clear when the Christians took possession of the Queens' Valley. The Coptic sanctuary was certainly used between the 6th and 8th centuries AD,¹¹⁹⁵ however, the occupation of the necropolis may have taken place slightly before the construction of the sanctuary, already towards the end of the 5th century AD.¹¹⁹⁶

The deep impact of the Christian presence in the Queens' Valley necropolis has left its traces both inside and outside the tombs. Christians not only changed the primary function of this area, transforming the necropolis into a place for the living, but they also contributed to the destruction of the tombs and their contents. A number of tombs were

¹¹⁹⁴ Lecuyot 1993, 267.

¹¹⁹⁵ Lecuyot 1989, 61.

¹¹⁹⁶ Lecuyot 1996, 158.

converted into cells for the monks, others were transformed into chapels. The ruins of the Roman sanctuary were reused and provided the basis for the construction of a Christian sanctuary and a living quarter for a large community of monks. This area continued to be sacred, but the landscape came to lose its original meaning: the Copts marked the definitive break with the past since their religious background consisted of beliefs and traditions different from the Egyptian ones. The Christianization of the spaces and change of function caused a partial obliteration of the past. Indeed, corpses and mummies, as well as objects of the burial assemblages, were pushed aside within and out of their eternal dwellings and the tombs were converted into living spaces: this explains why materials were found outside the tombs, by both the Italian and the Franco-Egyptian teams. In addition, the inside of the decorated tombs was considerably transformed. One of the evident marks of the Coptic reuse of the tombs is the overplastering of the walls by means of a coating made of plaster, earth, and straw (such a coating is called *muna*): this practice aimed at hiding the ancient Egyptian gods and goddesses and pagan images of the original wall decoration. Traces of this overplastering are still visible within tombs QV 31 (overplastering of paintings),¹¹⁹⁷ QV 60 (overplastering of paintings and overpainting of two Christian crosses),¹¹⁹⁸ QV 73 (overplastering of the paintings),¹¹⁹⁹ QV 80 (traces of overplastering),¹²⁰⁰ and likely QV 95 (traces of *muna* on the walls, although this commenced tomb was left undecorated).

The Coptic occupation of the Queens' Valley was extensive. Not only were tombs violated, and reused as chapels and dwellings, but Christians also erected structures over the burial ground. The *Missione Archeologica Italiana* detected a small group of habitations located a few meters away from the tomb of Prince Khaemuset (QV 44);¹²⁰¹ likely, these were dismantled, since there is no mention of them by the members of the Franco-Egyptian mission. In addition, within the unpublished excavation notes, Ballerini mentions the presence of a Coptic *dér* close to the entrance of tomb QV 40;¹²⁰² even this structure has not been detected by the Franco-Egyptian mission, since no mention of it occurs in the publications: therefore, it may be possible that such a Coptic structure got destroyed over time or was dismantled. In front of the entrance of tomb QV 60, the

¹¹⁹⁷ Demas and Agnew 2016, 170.

¹¹⁹⁸ Leblanc 1989/b, pl. CXLVII/A and CXLVIII/B; Lecuyot 1993, 269; Demas and Agnew 2016, 376, 382.

¹¹⁹⁹ Demas and Agnew 2012, 55; Demas and Agnew 2016, 438, 440, 442.

¹²⁰⁰ Demas and Agnew 2016, 483.

¹²⁰¹ Schiaparelli 1924, 125.

¹²⁰² Unpublished excavation diary of the *Missione Archeologica Italiana*, at the page of the 19th February 1904.

Franco-Egyptian team detected a semi-circular structure consisting of a pavement made of fired bricks (likely produced in the kiln in front of tombs QV 54 and QV 53) and mud-bricks, dating to not later than the end of 6th century AD (fig. VII.10, “structure I”): a little hoard of coins found inside a vase, under the Coptic pavement in front of tomb QV 60, confirms the dating of that structure to the end of the 6th century AD.¹²⁰³ Close to this structure, there were two other structures, “structure II” (which was made of dry laid limestone blocks and may have been a workmen’s structure, reused at a later time¹²⁰⁴) and “structure III” (which is north of tomb QV 60 and consists of a mudbrick-made corner that was part of a bigger structure now disappeared¹²⁰⁵). Fragments of Coptic *ostraca* have been found in 1982 at the end of the entrance ramp that leads to tomb QV 60: these date to the 8th century AD and attest to the use of this tomb as a dwelling after the Islamic conquest.¹²⁰⁶

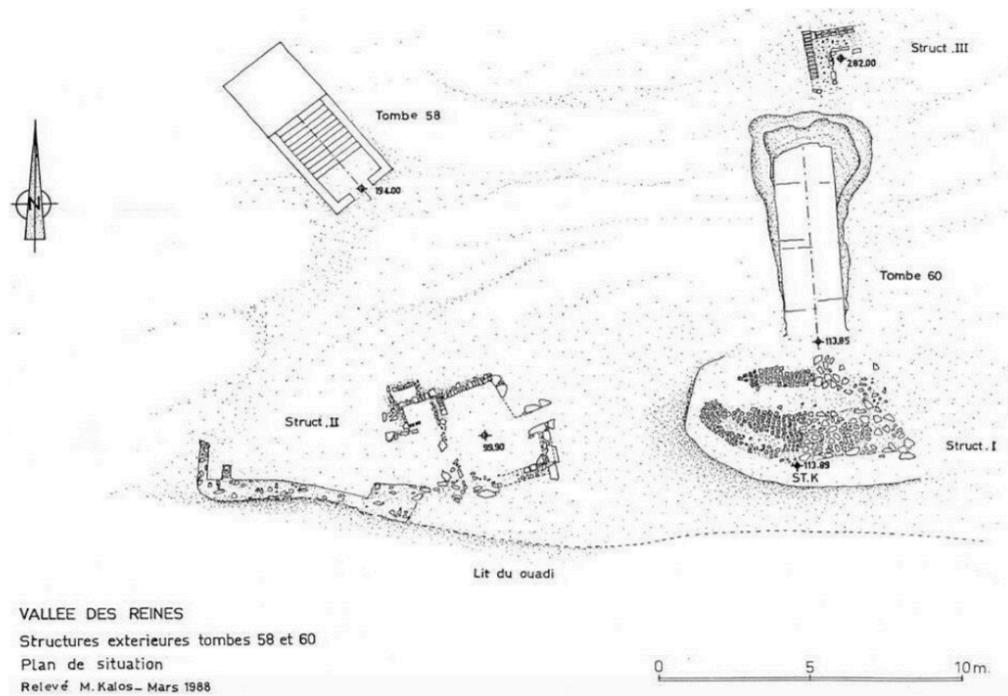


Fig. VII.10. Coptic structures located on the northern slope of the main *wadi* (after Demas and Agnew 2012, 337; drawing: © M. Kalos/CNRS).

¹²⁰³ Lecuyot 1999, 46-47.

¹²⁰⁴ Demas and Agnew 2012, 337.

¹²⁰⁵ Demas and Agnew 2012, 337.

¹²⁰⁶ Leblanc 1984-1985, 68. In addition, Islamic Period pottery has been found therein, thus suggesting that the tomb was used as a shelter from the 8th century AD onwards, after the Coptic Period (see Demas and Agnew 2012, 48).

Marks of Coptic “presence” were detected even within tombs that were not used as dwellings or chapels by the Christians. In this regard, Schiaparelli informs that a number of Copts entered tombs QV 44 and QV 43, as indicated by the finding of two water pots and one chisel (which was used to open the coffins), objects that they forgot inside it.¹²⁰⁷ These, along with other materials, were brought to the Museo Egizio of Turin: indeed, within the unpublished *Giornale d’Entrata*, objects inventoried from S. 05422 to S. 05433 (12 items in total) are labelled as “*Coptic objects, signs [of the presence] of the thieves*” and they are said to have been found within the tombs of Khaemuset (QV 44) and Sethherkhepeshef (QV 43). This confirms that the Christians entered the tombs of the two princes (or one of them only) in order to pilfer reusable objects, and especially the precious wood.

The archaeological findings help to identify the tombs that were the subject of Coptic occupation. According to Lecuyot’s preliminary report about the Queens’ Valley pottery, Coptic ceramic was brought to light from tombs QV 1, QV 2, QV 22, QV 60, and QV 79.¹²⁰⁸ In addition, Coptic pottery has been found in the area of Deir er-Rumi.¹²⁰⁹ The presence of Coptic decorated vases within shaft tombs, such as QV 22 and QV 79,¹²¹⁰ cannot find a reliable explanation: did the Copts used those shaft tombs as dwellings? Tomb reuse would make sense in case of sepulchres provided with stepped entryway or an access ramp, which made a tomb easily accessible. Pottery dating to the Coptic Period has been interpreted as “*pas vraiment significatives*”,¹²¹¹ however, it is to be considered that the Franco-Egyptian team worked on a site already explored by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana*, therefore, the burial contexts had already been investigated and some materials taken out of the tombs. Coptic vases and potsherds were found, as already said, within tomb QV 44/QV 43, which is not listed by Lecuyot in his preliminary report. In addition, several Coptic pottery lamps are mentioned by Ballerini in the 1904 excavation notes (their find-spot is generic - close to the so-called Coptic *dér* - or even not provided), however, this confirms that the Coptic presence may have been more extended than thought.

¹²⁰⁷ Schiaparelli 1903, *Relazione*. “*Quando nelle suddette tombe siano entrati i cercatori di tesori, sarebbe difficile dirlo: ma non è improbabile che vi siano entrati più volte e ultimi i Copti, come si può indurre da alcuni vasi per acqua da essi dimenticati nelle tombe*”. See also Schiaparelli 1924, 125.

¹²⁰⁸ Lecuyot 1996, 158.

¹²⁰⁹ Lecuyot 1993, 268; Lecuyot 1996, 158.

¹²¹⁰ Lecuyot 1993, 268.

¹²¹¹ Quotation from Lecuyot 1996, 158.

By reassessing all the published and unpublished data, traces of Coptic presence (both tomb reuse and occupation, or simply possible presence/passage of thefts) have been identified in tombs QV 1 (which may have been used as post guard, due to its position close to the entrance to the main *wadi*),¹²¹² QV 2,¹²¹³ QV 21,¹²¹⁴ QV 22, QV 31, QV 44, QV 53,¹²¹⁵ QV 60,¹²¹⁶ QV 71,¹²¹⁷ QV 72,¹²¹⁸ QV 73,¹²¹⁹ QV 79, QV 80,¹²²⁰ and QV 95.¹²²¹ At the entrance of the Valley of the Three Pits, on the west slope, the Franco-Egyptian team detected a wall and some pottery that attested to the use of a cavity in the rock during this period.¹²²² The Valley of the Rope itself was the place of a secluded and spiritual life: indeed, this lateral valley owes its name to a rope that hung from a cliff and was used by anchorites in order to receive foodstuff for their survival (see *Chapter I.1-b*).

In 1903, the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* discovered four hermit shelters in the Valley of Prince Ahmose, which were re-investigated in 1986 by the Franco-Egyptian mission. These Coptic shelters were cut into the highest cliff of this small lateral valley, south of the main *wadi*, upon a sort of terrace circa 40 m. long (fig. VII.11), possibly between the end of the 5th and the beginning of the 6th century AD.¹²²³ According to Leblanc, it may be likely that these shelters were built by reusing pharaonic period tombs,¹²²⁴ although their visible location is not in line with the trend that was at work at least during the New Kingdom: indeed, such a position would have been not concealed for a sepulcher.

¹²¹² Lecuyot 1993, 268-269; Lecuyot 1999, 45.

¹²¹³ Lecuyot 1996, 155-157; Demas and Agnew 2016, 32.

¹²¹⁴ No indication is provided concerning what type of archaeological remains attests to the reuse by the Copts: see Demas and Agnew 2016, 62.

¹²¹⁵ A mud-brick kiln placed in front of QV 53 may indicate a reuse of this tomb in the Coptic Period (in this regard, see Lecuyot 2000, 55). Demas and Agnew specify that they have received a personal communication by Leblanc with regard to the Coptic reuse of this tomb: 2016, 337.

¹²¹⁶ Lecuyot 1999, 45.

¹²¹⁷ Coptic reuse is mentioned by Demas and Agnew (2016, 423, 425). Thomas dated to the Coptic Period the fragments of a terracotta coffin recorded by Hay of Linplum (1966, 217).

¹²¹⁸ Lecuyot 1999, 45.

¹²¹⁹ As suggested by the overplastering of the original wall decoration: see Demas and Agnew 2016, 438.

¹²²⁰ Demas and Agnew 2012, 60.

¹²²¹ This commenced tomb was incorporated within the Christian sanctuary, as the Roman Period sanctuary had previously made: Demas and Agnew 2016, 492-493. See also Lecuyot and Gabolde 1998.

¹²²² Lecuyot 1999, 46.

¹²²³ Lecuyot 1993, 272.

¹²²⁴ Leblanc 1989/a, 11.



Fig. VII.11. The hermit shelters in the Valley of Prince Ahmose (adapted from Demas and Agnew 2016, 14; © Demas and Agnew).

The rock into which the shelters were cut mainly consists of shale layers, which are friable; this explains why two shelters, A and D, underwent extensive loss of their original structure (fig. VII.12). The northern shelter (A) is badly damaged and the roof is not preserved; moreover, there are no traces of plaster nor *muna*. Shelters B and C are connected to each other through a corridor and show a different, more complex architecture than shelters A and D.¹²²⁵ Shelter B had a mudbrick domed roof (which is at present collapsed), supported by four arches (three of which are still standing),¹²²⁶ moreover, a hole was opened into the bedrock ceiling. Shelter C preserves the remains of a mudbrick bench. Within the same lateral valley, Winlock found another hermit shelter, the traces of which are currently lost.¹²²⁷

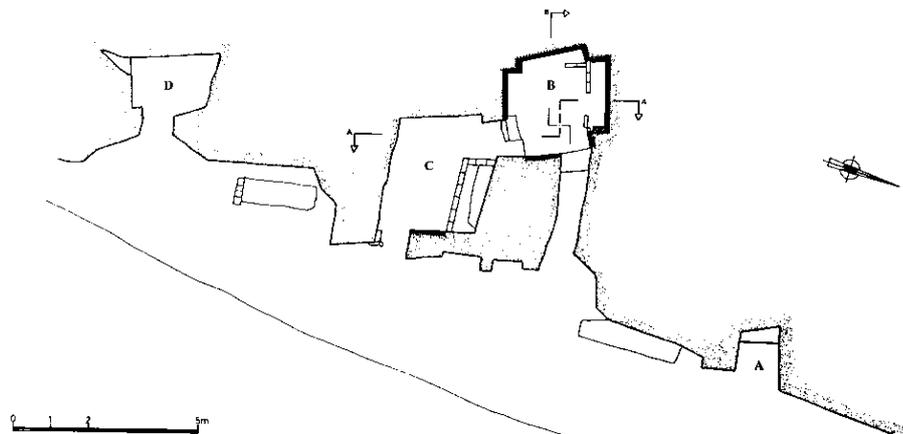


Fig. VII.12. Plan of the hermit shelters (after Leblanc 1989/a, 10, fig. 7; drawing: © Y. Laurent).

¹²²⁵ Demas and Agnew 2012, 348 and 351.

¹²²⁶ Lecuyot 1993, 272.

¹²²⁷ Leblanc 1899/a 65-66 (footnote n. 39).

To conclude, the Christians converted the Queens' Valley from a burial ground and a place of pagan worship into a dwelling place for the monastic community of the Theban West Bank. Christians were not buried within the Queens' Valley but in a cemetery north of Medinet Habu. Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that the burial places of the monks of Deir er-Rumi have not been identified so far.¹²²⁸ After the Islamic conquest, towards the end of the 7th century AD¹²²⁹/in the course 8th century AD,¹²³⁰ the Queens' Valley was progressively, but not completely, abandoned by the Copts. The map below shows how large was the area occupied by the Christians (fig. VII.13): actually, their presence has been detected within the whole necropolis.

¹²²⁸ Lecuyot 1993, 264.

¹²²⁹ Lecuyot 1996, 146.

¹²³⁰ Lecuyot 1987, 30.

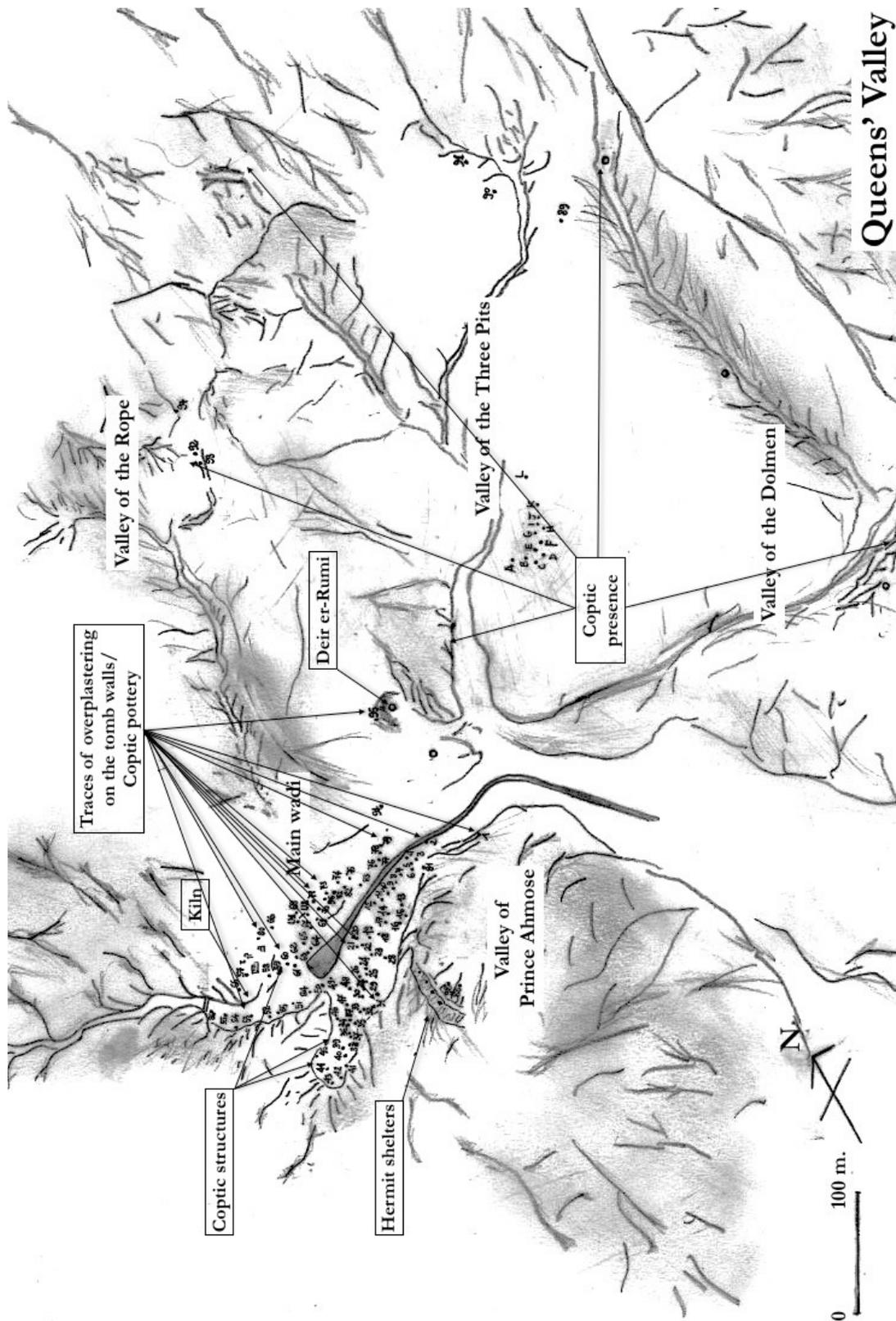


Fig. VII.13. Map of the Queens' Valley with indication of Coptic structures (adapted from Leblanc and Siliotti 1997, 16-17). © E. Casini.

Conclusions

The decorated tombs of the Ramesside Period make the Queens' Valley one of the most famous necropoleis of ancient Egypt. Among these sepulchers, the tomb of Queen Nefertari (QV 66) stands out for its well-preserved wall paintings. Starting from its discovery in 1904 by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana*, the tomb of this queen has attracted the attention of both scholars and visitors. Next to Nefertari's tomb, there are other decorated sepulchers prepared during the 19th and 20th Dynasties, which were the subject of several surveys, studies, and photographic documentation. However, the decorated tombs of the Queens' Valley represent only one aspect of this multifaceted necropolis. Indeed, between 1903 and 1904, the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* discovered and investigated several undecorated tombs that were prepared during the 18th Dynasty. These tombs have received little attention thus far, contrary to the evident overabundance of publications regarding the tombs of the Ramesside Period. The lack of wall decoration and scarce archaeological findings caused them to be treated as "second-rate tombs". The re-examination of the 18th-dynasty necropolis and of the social background of the tomb owners was the driving force of the present PhD thesis, which aimed at reassessing the Queens' Valley through a holistic approach and three different research perspectives: archival, archaeological, and social. Following this *fil rouge*, several questions were raised in the framework of this PhD research: When was this necropolis established? Did the landscape play any role in the formation of the burial ground? Who were the people buried in the Queens' Valley during the 18th Dynasty? In what place(s) were the funerary and memorial cults on behalf the deceased performed? The investigation of these little explored (or even unexplored) topics contributed to providing an updated image of the Queens' Valley. Furthermore, the innovative findings were guaranteed by the analysis of the unpublished documents produced by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* in the framework of the exploration of this necropolis.

One of the questions that arose in the context of this research concerns the date of the foundation of the necropolis. According to Schiaparelli, the earliest burials were set within the Queens' Valley at the end of the 17th Dynasty.¹²³¹ This opinion was followed by other scholars.¹²³² However, the investigation of the social background of the tomb

¹²³¹ Schiaparelli 1904, *Relazione*; Schiaparelli 1924, 47.

¹²³² E.g. Porter and Moss 1927, 769; Ronsecco 1996, XXIX.

owners as well as the archaeological materials speak in favour of a date in the early 18th Dynasty. During the 17th Dynasty, kings, members of the king's family, and non-royal individuals were buried in the northern sector of the Theban necropolis, at Dra Abu el-Naga. In the early 18th Dynasty, two queens were buried at Deir el-Bahri (Ahmes-Nefertari/DB 320 and Ahmes-Merytamun/DB 358), thus showing an expansion of the necropolis area through a shift towards the immediately southern sector. Around the same epoch, a new burial ground was conceived in the southern sector of the Theban necropolis, where no tomb had been prepared before: the Queens' Valley. A relevant aspect that deserves attention concerns the location itself of this burial ground. It is the earliest necropolis of the Theban West Bank set in a concealed spot and visibly hidden from the settlement area. The undetectable burial ground was a feature that characterized also the new royal necropolis, *i.e.* the Kings' Valley. Despite the scarceness of archaeological materials from the 18th-dynasty undecorated tombs, some evidence suggests that the Queens' Valley may have been designed during the reign of Thutmosis I (1504-1492 BC). The fragmented canopic jar of Queen Ahmes (wife of Thutmosis I) found in the Valley of the Rope, the burial equipment of the vizier Imhotep (QV 46), and a fragmented potsherd preserving the name Aakheperkara from tomb QV 9 are among the most ancient archaeological evidence that links the Queens' Valley to this king.

The burial of Princess Ahmes (QV 47) was typically dated to the 17th Dynasty, due to the fact that she was a daughter of King Seqenenra Taa. However, the apparent old age of her mummy, as well as the dating of her inscribed linen shroud between the reigns of King Ahmose and King Thutmosis III,¹²³³ suggests that she died in the early 18th Dynasty. Considering the proximity of her tomb to that of Imhotep, it may be possible that she died during the reign of Thutmosis I. There is another noteworthy aspect: Deir el-Medina, the village of the royal tomb workmen, was founded in the hidden valley behind Qurnet Murai during the reign of King Thutmosis I. Considering that the first royal tomb cut in the Kings' Valley dates to the reign of Hatshepsut (1473-1458 BC), and that non-royal tombs were prepared between the reigns of Hatshepsut and Amenhotep III,¹²³⁴ it is highly probable that the earliest workmen allocated at Deir el-Medina were employed to prepare other tombs, likely those located in the close-by Queens' Valley. The establishment of the workmen's village may be connected with the preparation of royal burials, not in the

¹²³³ Vandersleyen 1971, 214 and 228.

¹²³⁴ Bickel 2016/a, 231-232.

Kings' Valley, but in the Queens' Valley. In this regard, it is worth noting that the original tomb of Thutmosis I is still unidentified.¹²³⁵ Furthermore, his funerary temple was possibly positioned in the area of Medinet Habu.¹²³⁶ Therefore, it cannot be excluded that King Thutmosis I's tomb was set within the close-by Queens' Valley.¹²³⁷ By reassessing the data at disposal, the likely scenario is the following: in the early 18th Dynasty, Dra Abu el-Naga may have hosted the tombs of the first two kings, Ahmose¹²³⁸ and Amenhotep I.¹²³⁹ Afterwards, the Queens' Valley may have been founded as new royal necropolis, designed for the burials of king Thutmosis I, queen Ahmes, the royal progeny, the royal family members (*e.g.* Princess Ahmes), and a number of court individuals (*e.g.* vizier Imhotep). It is worth remarking that the original burial of Thutmosis II has not been identified thus far, therefore, it might be possible to speculate that even this king was buried within the Queens' Valley, close to the burial of his father. One tomb that shows a peculiar architectural layout, different from that of the other 18th-dynasty tombs, is QV 97. This undecorated tomb is located in the Valley of the Rope and was discovered almost devoid of any archaeological evidence, with the exception of a large fragment of a calcite jar. The tomb in question might have hosted the burial of a king, or that of a queen (Ahmes), considering the finding of her fragmented canopic jar in that lateral valley. Even though there is no concrete archaeological evidence that may attest to kings' burials in the Queens' Valley, the burial of Thutmosis I in the Queens' Valley remains a possibility. Moreover, considering all the archaeological findings and their suggested dating, the reign of King Thutmosis I is a reliable chronological point of reference for the conception of this necropolis.

Starting from the reign of Thutmosis II, the location of queens' burials became rather heterogeneous. This king had a tomb prepared for his consort Hatshepsut in one of the south-western *wadis*, the Wadi Sikket Taqa el-Zaid.¹²⁴⁰ That tomb was never used, since Hatshepsut had her kingly burial prepared in the Kings' Valley (KV 20). From the reign of Thutmosis III onwards, royal consorts were buried in the south-western *wadis* and sometimes within the Kings' Valley. The Queens' Valley continued to be used, from the reign of Thutmosis II onwards, as a necropolis for selected people, mainly court

¹²³⁵ Bryan 2000, 225-226.

¹²³⁶ Otto 1952, 71.

¹²³⁷ See in this regard Dorn 2013, 35.

¹²³⁸ Buried in Abydos and re-buried in tomb AN.B (Dodson 2012).

¹²³⁹ Buried in tomb AN.B according to Dodson (2012, 24) or K93.11 according to Polz (2007, 172-197). Rose interpreted tomb KV 39 as the original burial place of the king (2000, 27).

¹²⁴⁰ Carter 1917; Thomas 1966, 195-6.

individuals and likely royal progeny. Only a few names and relating titles/epithets of the original tomb owners of the 18th-dynasty period are known, thus making the understanding of the social identity of these deceased persons complicated. Scholars have interpreted this necropolis as a burial ground conceived for queens,¹²⁴¹ royal offspring,¹²⁴² male officials,¹²⁴³ and court individuals.¹²⁴⁴ The reassessment carried out in the course of the present dissertation has confirmed this interpretation, although a number of aspects were investigated more in-depth and clarified. For instance, as demonstrated by Litherland, the individuals attested on the canopic jar fragments purchased and studied by Legrain¹²⁴⁵ were not buried in the Queens' Valley but in the Wadi Bairiya.¹²⁴⁶ The examination of the archaeological evidence housed at the Museo Egizio of Turin, in combination with the archival research, made it possible to detect the tomb of other two individuals buried in the Valley of Prince Ahmose (QV 98): an anonymous prince and the overseer of the treasury, Qenatum. The latter is not known from any other textual evidence. However, his appointment is relevant in the light of the social analysis of the tomb owners: indeed, some individuals appointed as “overseer of the treasury” were also tutors of royal children. Therefore, it may be possible that Qenatum was buried within QV 98, along with a king's son, not by virtue of his official appointment, but due to his hypothesized role of royal tutor. Considering all the collected data, among the 18th-dynasty tomb owners there were: several princes and princesses; a stable master, Nebiry (QV 30), who was embalmed according to high royal standards; an anonymous royal butler (QV A); Minmes (QV A), possibly a tutor of Thutmose III's sons; a non-royal king's son (QV 88); a commander of the troop (QV 70?); and an overseer of the treasury (QV 98). There are a few names and epithets/titles, however, this scant evidence (compared with the large number of tombs) mirrors a restricted circle of individuals, who were part of the royal court.

Recourse to the analysis of the landscape of this necropolis has contributed, by means of a comparative approach, to have a thorough picture of the situation with regard to the social background of the Queens' Valley tomb owners. The choice of a place to be destined as seat of a necropolis is not fortuitous, especially in the case of the Queens'

¹²⁴¹ Legrain 1903 and 1904; Lecuyot 2000.

¹²⁴² Leblanc 1989/b, 19; Lecuyot 2000.

¹²⁴³ McCarthy 2007, 105.

¹²⁴⁴ Strudwick and Strudwick 1999, 127; Lecuyot 2000.

¹²⁴⁵ Legrain 1903 and 1904.

¹²⁴⁶ Litherland 2015.

Valley. Landscape is indeed a complex entity, it is a physical and socially constituted environment,¹²⁴⁷ it works as “*Mediator zwischen dem Naturraum und kulturellen Representationen und Erwartungen*” and “*Mediator zwischen der irdischen und der göttlichen Sphäre*”.¹²⁴⁸ Therefore, the analysis of a landscape can unveil the mechanisms of perception and experience of an environment by the living. In particular, the landscape of a necropolis represents the physical environment onto which concepts and ideas of divinity and netherworld were projected. The Queens’ Valley is the first necropolis of the Theban West Bank set in a concealed space. The search for a safe spot explains only in part this new trend. Indeed, as highlighted in the course of *Chapter II*, each landscape, even that of a necropolis, is a projection of thoughts and ideas of the individuals onto the environment. It results that ideational landscapes are a mental creation that exists in the collective mind of people as the results of the abstract materialisation of concepts and ideas. Texts and two-dimensional representations can help to interpret and decode the ideational landscape of the Theban West Bank and, at a smaller scale, that of the Queens’ Valley. The Theban western mountains represented the “Unknown”,¹²⁴⁹ the place where the sun set every day, and the starting point of the nightly journey of Ra into the underworld.¹²⁵⁰ In the same way, the rocky landscape of the Queens’ Valley was perceived as the place of transition from life on earth to rebirth after death,¹²⁵¹ and its hidden valleys may have been seen as a virtual gateway to the afterlife.¹²⁵² An ideological reason may therefore have led ancient Egyptians towards the search of a new type of necropolis layout: not anymore an open and visible space, but an invisible and enclosed space. It is interesting to note that the Queens’ Valley is not the only necropolis characterized by such a layout. The Kings’ Valley and the burial grounds set over the south-western *wadis* are configured as concealed necropoleis, set in rocky and sacred landscapes that show the same morphology, surrounded by high cliffs, invisible to human eyes, without any tomb superstructures. In addition, during the 18th Dynasty, the Kings’ Valley and the south-western *wadis* hosted the tombs of individuals who were linked to the king. It seems therefore evident that such a necropolis layout, landscape, and absence of external monumentality came to reflect a specific social background. All these observations highlight that, in the 18th Dynasty, there

¹²⁴⁷ Dyke 2008, 277

¹²⁴⁸ Quotations from Bickel 2016/b, 18.

¹²⁴⁹ Hornung 1999, 35.

¹²⁵⁰ Schneider 2010.

¹²⁵¹ Pischikova 2008, 194-195.

¹²⁵² Like the *ʿrr.t*/portal of the Amduat: see Schneider 2010, 3.

was a strict connection between the social background of the deceased and the physical and symbolic features of the landscape of the necropolis. The rocky landscape and the absence of tomb superstructures and of any visible monumentality appear to be the lowest common denominator that unites these three burial grounds. The landscape can therefore be seen as the space of the (invisible) social construction. During the New Kingdom, this type of funerary and sacred landscape, in combination with the invisible monumentality, reflected a specific social identity, which revolved around the figure of the king.

All the Queens' Valley tombs are characterized by the absence of funerary chapels, in the same way as the tombs located in the Kings' Valley and in the south-western *wadis*. It is therefore evident that the tomb was not perceived as the "*stärksten Brennpunkt von Identität und Zugehörigkeit*".¹²⁵³ Indeed, neither the birthplace nor the workplace played a relevant role with regard to the entombment of the deceased. It is possible that the individuals buried in the Queens' Valley had lived in the royal residence(s) and not in ancient Thebes/*w3s.t*, since they were part of the (itinerant) royal court. Therefore, tomb chapels within a necropolis that was set far from the workplace or place of residence might have been perceived as not convenient and functional. During the whole New Kingdom, the funerary and memorial cults of the members of the royal family were performed within the funerary temples of the kings or within independent chapels close to the kings' temples (therefore, on the Theban West Bank). The situation is more complicated concerning the funerary cult on behalf of the 18th-dynasty courtiers buried within the Queens' Valley (as well as in the Kings' Valley and in the south-western *wadis*). Likely, those individuals were not native of Thebes, although it cannot be ruled out that a number of courtiers came from the Theban area. These individuals were not buried far from the members of the royal family they served in life, within undecorated shaft tombs possibly provided by palatial institutions. If the tombs did not have chapels, it seems plausible that the funerary cult and mortuary services on behalf of the courtiers were performed outside of this necropolis. There are several options. First, people possessing personal financial means may have had a chapel built in the Theban elite necropoleis, as the phenomenon of the double tombs attests to; the construction of a funerary chapel within the Theban necropolis was a likely scenario with regard to individuals who were native of the Theban area or had performed their duties there. It cannot be ruled out that the cult place of some of these court individuals was set within the funerary temples of

¹²⁵³ As were the tombs provided with funerary chapels. Quotation from Assmann 2000, 230.

royal family members or within the funerary chapels of their relatives and descendants (both cases have been mentioned with regard to the vizier Imhotep). Another option is the following: court individuals may have had their funerary and memorial cults performed in the place where they had lived with their family (the royal palace) or from where they came (their home town). Currently, it is not possible to find a definitive solution, due to the scarce archaeological evidence. However, it cannot be excluded that more than one option may be valid.

Returning to the diachronic sequence of the use of the necropolis, the reign of Akhenaten (1352-1336 BC) was likely characterized by the abandonment of the Queens' Valley, as well as of the south-western *wadis* and of the Kings' Valley. During the Amarna interlude, the royal necropolis was set in the new capital, Akhetaten: the king, his consort and progeny, and courtiers were buried therein. The interruption of the use of the Queens' Valley possibly lasted even during the late 18th Dynasty, when Akhetaten was abandoned and Thebes became once again the seat of the kings' burials. Pottery found within tomb QV 32 may be dated to the end of the 18th Dynasty or the early 19th Dynasty,¹²⁵⁴ though this seems to be the only archaeological evidence related to the late 18th Dynasty. It should be noted that this kind of information is rather generic and the dating of that ceramic group is not certain. It may be possible that the Queens' Valley was no longer used as a burial place for the courtiers since they were buried in the Memphite area,¹²⁵⁵ which was the seat of the royal palace at that time.

At the beginning of the 19th Dynasty, both the Kings' Valley and the Queens' Valley underwent a parallel gender transformation and came to exclude the burials of court individuals.¹²⁵⁶ On the one hand, the Kings' Valley became the necropolis of the kings, including the tomb of Ramses II's sons (KV 5) and that of the chancellor Bay (KV 13, although this was not use for his entombment); towards the end of the dynasty, although the Kings' Valley was restricted to male burials, Tauseret was buried in tomb KV 14, since she ascended the throne as pharaoh. On the other hand, in the 19th Dynasty, the Queens' Valley became a female-gendered necropolis, reserved for the royal consorts and some princesses. The hypothesized presence of queens' burials in the early 18th Dynasty (at least that of Ahmes, likely in the Valley of the Rope) may have put into action a process of

¹²⁵⁴ Lecuyot 1996, 151.

¹²⁵⁵ There are not many attestations of burials of non-royal individuals who were close to the pharaoh in their lifetime; one is example is provided by the tomb of Tutankhamon's wet nurse, Maia, which was set in the southern escarpment of the Bubasteion (see Zivie 2009).

¹²⁵⁶ With the exception of tomb KV 13, which was designed for the chancellor Bay (see Altenmüller 1994).

invention of a new tradition, consisting in the formation of a necropolis devoted to the burial of (almost exclusively) royal consorts. The conception of a gendered necropolis, seemingly functioning as female counterpart to the Kings' Valley, may have depended on a new conceptualisation of the figure of the queen, which resulted in the elaboration of a specific netherworld for the royal consorts. The king's wives embodied the feminine principle, of which Hathor was the divine manifestation,¹²⁵⁷ they represented the generative power that allowed the continuation of the dynastic line. This power of creating a new life was likely connected with a specific morphological feature of the Queens' Valley, that is the Grotto-cascade, which was devoted to Hathoric cults. According to Desroches-Noblecourt, the two rocky vertical walls delimiting the entrance to that grotto might have represented the materialisation of the vulva of the goddess and the interior part of her uterus.¹²⁵⁸ with this regard, the natural cave may have worked, in the imaginative dimension of the ancient Egyptians, as a "rebirth machine" for the deceased.¹²⁵⁹

Starting from Satra's burial (QV 38), king's wives were entombed within the reserved necropolis, in decorated subterranean chambers, each one designed for one individual only. The decorative program of the tomb walls was focused on the sole figure of the queen, who was the protagonist of a netherworldly landscape, within which the king never appears. This intentional absence of the king is an aspect that indicates that royal consorts did not need their husbands for the continuation of their existence in the afterlife. This is an innovation, considering that royal consorts usually showed up next to the king, and never independently, in the framework of decorative programs of monuments like temples. In such temple contexts, the queen was always determined as feminine counterpart to the king and was also in a subordinate position with respect to the king.¹²⁶⁰

During the 20th Dynasty, the Queens' Valley became the cemetery of the royal family members. Royal wives and Ramses III's sons were entombed there, although it is not apparent why some princes had their burials within a necropolis that had been reserved to female individuals until then. The tombs are attributed to individuals connected to Ramses III: wives, sons, and a daughter (Duatentipet, who was the consort of Ramses IV and mother of Ramses V). As in the preceding phase, tombs were designed for single

¹²⁵⁷ Troy 1986, 53-72.

¹²⁵⁸ Leblanc 1989/b, 12, 60 (endnotes n. 43 and 44).

¹²⁵⁹ In this regard, see: Assmann 1983, 340-341; Rummel 2016, 47, 54.

¹²⁶⁰ For instance, see the decorative program of the small temple of Abu Simbel (McCarthy 2002, 188-190).

entombments, with one exception: the depiction of Queen Minefer on the walls of QV 42 seems to suggest that this tomb was designed for a royal consort and then reused for the burial of Prince Paraheruenemef, who likely was her son. Tomb QV 42 also displays a peculiar and transitional architectural layout, by possessing a pillared burial chamber (like the 19th-dynasty tombs) and a longitudinal development (typical of the 20th-dynasty tombs). It seems possible that this was the earliest tomb prepared during the reign of Ramses III. Another tomb (QV 71) was reused in the 20th Dynasty for the burial of Queen Bentanta. QV 71 was prepared in the 19th Dynasty, as evident from the plan, as well as its position on the northern slope of the main *wadi*, and the preserved depiction of an anonymous *s3.t nsw*.

The decorative program of the Ramesside Period Queens' Valley tombs allows to identify the deceased, although there are a few cases in which tombs have remained anonymous. Five of these tombs belonged to royal consorts: QV 31, QV 34, QV 40, QV 41, and QV 58. This number is too little compared with the number of royal consorts "without tomb". Indeed, textual sources and archaeological evidence attest to the existence of at least 16 queens (five of the 19th Dynasty,¹²⁶¹ nine of the 20th Dynasty,¹²⁶² two chronologically indeterminable¹²⁶³), whose tombs have not been identified yet. Where were these "lost" queens buried? The Queens' Valley is actually the most likely option, although the finding of Takhat^A's fragmented sarcophagus lid within tomb KV 10 might suggest that even the Kings' Valley may have hosted the burials of a number of Ramesside Period queens.

One of the most important results achieved in the course of this research concerns the archaeological analysis, which aimed at assessing the findings brought to light in the Queens' Valley by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana*. Some archaeological evidence "rediscovered" in the Museo Egizio of Turin indicates that Queen Satefmira (attested for the first time by a fragmented canopic jar) and Queen Nesmut (attested by a faience shabti, but already mentioned on pap. Mayer A, 4.3-4)¹²⁶⁴ were very likely buried within the Queens' Valley, although the identification of their tombs is really challenging. Satefmira might have been buried within the multi-chambered tomb QV 58: in this regard,

¹²⁶¹ Isisneferet I (great king's wife), Maathorneferura (great king's wife), Isisneferet II (great king's wife), Baketuernel (king's wife), and Suteriry (king's wife): see Grajetzki 2005, 65-71.

¹²⁶² Satra Tameri (likely wife of Sethnakht), Teye Merenisis (likely wife of Sethnakht), Habadjilat (king's wife), Nubkhesed (great king's wife), Nefetera (king's wife), Tahenuwati (king's wife), Tueretenro (king's wife), Henut (king's wife), and Baketuernel II (king's wife): see Grajetzki 2005, 72-76.

¹²⁶³ Satefmira and Nesmut, both king's wives.

¹²⁶⁴ Kitchen 2012, 560.

Thomas detected a cartouche (at present lost) at the entrance of that tomb and described the discernible hieroglyphs, some of which are the same included within Satefmira's name. Even more challenging is to identify the tomb of Queen Nesmut, perhaps one of those located on the southern slope of the main *wadi*, the ownership of which has not been determined yet. Concerning the other "lost" queens, it cannot be ruled out that some were buried outside Egypt (for instance, the foreign queens),¹²⁶⁵ some might have been buried in the Memphite area (not far from the royal residence), and some in the Kings' Valley (as mentioned above). Therefore, the Queens' Valley was most likely the main queens' necropolis, with possible exceptions. Double burials may be excluded, as suggested by the decorative program of the tomb walls, since this is always focused on one individual only. The only exception is provided by tomb QV 42, where the entombment of Prince Paraheruenemef in Minefer's tomb was possibly a "last-minute" decision due to the unexpected death of the prince (rather than being a planned act).

Archaeological evidence also attests to an early reuse of some 18th-dynasty tombs already during the Ramesside Period (*e.g.* QV H and QV I). This aspect is not surprising since the Deir el-Medina workmen and the necropolis administration should have known the location of the shaft tombs, as evident by the fact that tomb collisions rarely occurred in this necropolis. When such collisions took place [QV 36 (19th Dyn.) and QV 37 (18th Dyn.); QV 34 (19th Dyn.) and QV 87 (18th Dyn.); QV 25 (20th Dyn.) and QV 24 (18th Dyn.)], it is highly probable that the tomb of the preceding phase was pilfered and some objects were taken in the course of "legal" robberies.

The great tomb robberies affected the Queens' Valley from the late 19th/early 20th Dynasty, as evidenced by pap. Salt 124/BM EA10055:¹²⁶⁶ Paneb, chief of the workmen in the Place of Truth, was accused of entering Queen Henutmira's tomb (QV 75) and taking away one *sr*-goose.¹²⁶⁷ The reassessment of the textual evidence (*i.e.* *Tomb Robbery Papyri* and the *Journal of the Theban Necropolis*) shows that this necropolis was the subject of plundering activity, particularly towards the end of the 20th Dynasty, between the reigns of Ramses IX and Ramses XI. The tombs of Queen Isis and Queen Tyti are mentioned several times within these documents, along with other tombs that cannot be identified (such as those of Baketuernel, Nesmut, and Habadjilat) but were set within the Queens' Valley. After the wave of tomb robberies of the late Ramesside Period, it is likely

¹²⁶⁵ This remains a conjecture since no burial of any pharaoh's foreign wife has been discovered outside Egypt thus far.

¹²⁶⁶ Černý 1929.

¹²⁶⁷ Černý 1929, note n. 45 (p. 250); Leblanc 1988, 132

that the priestly personnel moved, during the 21st Dynasty, some of the Queens' Valley deceased and relating burial assemblages to safe caches, which are still unidentified.¹²⁶⁸ Priestly personnel likely controlled the Queens' Valley and this may explain how, during the reign of Osorkon II (22nd Dynasty), the high priest Harsies could reuse the stone sarcophagus of Queen Henutmira.¹²⁶⁹

In the Third Intermediate Period the administration of the necropolis may have granted the permission to be buried within these tombs, thus starting the phenomenon of tomb reuse. The examination of the published data has revealed that only a few tombs were not reused after the New Kingdom, likely because their location was lost (QV 46, QV 47, QV 55, QV 66, QV 94, QV 97, and QV J). As the findings from tombs QV 43 and QV 44 have highlighted, the new people buried in the Queens' Valley were mainly staff members employed in the estate of the temples as overseers, gardeners, and lotus cultivators, as well as a number of their family members. Mostly were the tombs of the main *wadi* reused, both those decorated and undecorated. Only minor architectural alterations were carried out in some cases: new pits were excavated within the tombs (*e.g.* QV 15, QV 23, QV 34, and QV 78) and the shafts of a few 18th-dynasty tombs were transformed into a staircase entryway, in order to facilitate the access (*e.g.* QV 11, QV 16, and QV 23).¹²⁷⁰ A few tombs of the Valley of the Three Pits were reused as well, although little published information is currently available. In addition, even in the Late Period some tombs were reused, as evidenced by the archaeological materials; however, the scarce published data do not allow to understand the real extent of this phenomenon.

With regard to the Ptolemaic Period (332-30 BC), traces of the use of this burial ground are practically absent: only an *ostrakon*, which has been found in tomb QV 80 and dates to Ptolemy III/Ptolemy IV's reigns, attests to the (potential) reuse of the necropolis in that epoch. This may suggest that the Queens' Valley underwent a decline, although it was not completely abandoned. Considering that during the Ptolemaic Period the close-by village of Deir el-Medina was used as both sacred place and burial ground,¹²⁷¹ the minor use of the Queens' Valley seems unusual. A plausible explanation to this phenomenon may be suggested by looking at the weak role of Thebes during that period: Greek people settled down in the new city of Ptolemeis (in the Thinis nome), to the detriment of Thebes,¹²⁷²

¹²⁶⁸ Thomas 1966, 208.

¹²⁶⁹ Leblanc 1988, 132.

¹²⁷⁰ Lecuyot 1992/a, 91; Lecuyot 2000, 51.

¹²⁷¹ *E.g.* tombs 1126, 1233, and 1346 in the Western Necropolis: see Montserrat and Meskell 1997, 187.

¹²⁷² Vandorpe 1995, 210.

and Koptos overtook Thebes as a privileged trading crossroads connected with routes to the Red Sea.¹²⁷³ The western town of Djeme, which was set within the enclosure of the temple of Medinet Habu, hosted only the local population (which was likely buried in the close-by area), whereas Deir el-Medina hosted the houses of the workmen and priestly personnel employed in the temple of Hathor.¹²⁷⁴ This may explain the very scant presence of burials of Greek people within the Queens' Valley during the Ptolemaic Period, although this necropolis possibly continued to be used as a cemetery for the entombment of the local population.

During the Roman Period the Queens' Valley experienced a "revival". Thebes was chosen as seat of a legion of the army and was ruled by an *epistrategos*, in order to control the several rebellions that took place in the Thebaid region against the Roman domination.¹²⁷⁵ As in the preceding phase, economic activities in Thebes were limited, and, although the emperors contributed to the construction and the decoration of temples, Thebes lost also its relevance as a religious centre. Conversely, it became a tourism destination of the Classical world at this time.¹²⁷⁶ The burial grounds of Deir el-Bahri, el-Khokha, Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, the Ramesseum, and the Queens' Valley itself were among the most reused sectors of the Theban necropolis, but not the Kings' Valley¹²⁷⁷ (possibly because of restrictions imposed by the necropolis administration). Except for a new cemetery built outside the village of Djeme, only old tombs were used.¹²⁷⁸ The analysis of the Roman Period burial assemblages of the Queens' Valley indicates that there was a conscious choice aimed at imitating the ancient Egyptian burial goods, such as coffins and funerary masks.¹²⁷⁹ The Queens' Valley tombs were reused between the 1st and the first-half of the 4th centuries AD:¹²⁸⁰ a total of 1070 individuals were found within 21 tombs by the Franco-Egyptian team.¹²⁸¹ More than 30 tombs contained Roman Period pottery, as indicated within the preliminary report on the Queens' Valley pottery prepared by Lecuyot.¹²⁸² These numbers highlight the real extent

¹²⁷³ Riggs 2005, 176.

¹²⁷⁴ Vandorpe 1995, 223 and 228.

¹²⁷⁵ Vandorpe 1995, 236-237.

¹²⁷⁶ Vandorpe 1995, 237-239.

¹²⁷⁷ Likely, the Kings' Valley was impractical for burials and far away from the other cemeteries located within the Theban necropolis (I deeply thank Prof. Dr. S. Bickel for this remark).

¹²⁷⁸ Riggs 2005, 178-179.

¹²⁷⁹ In this regard, see Riggs 2005, 177.

¹²⁸⁰ Leblanc 1990, 28. The use of the necropolis during the Roman Period is located between the 2nd and 4th centuries AD by Lecuyot (1993, 263).

¹²⁸¹ Lecuyot 1999, 38.

¹²⁸² Lecuyot 1996.

of the tomb reuse that occurred in the Roman Period. The presence of a sanctuary dedicated to the God Montu, built during the reign of Antoninus Pius, contributed to the revival of the Queens' Valley. This site was therefore used not only as a burial ground but also as a sacred place visited by the living.

Finally, during the Coptic Period, the Queens' Valley lost its function of burial ground and became a place of refuge for Christian monks. This "conversion", from a necropolis into a place of spiritual meditation, heavily affected the Queens' Valley. The Christians reused the tombs and transformed them into dwellings and shelters for meditation. In doing so, they obliterated and damaged the original wall decoration of the Ramesside Period tombs and disposed of the mummies and grave goods, in order to make room and "purify" the interior spaces. After the Arabic conquest, the Queens' Valley continued to be used by the Copts, as attested by the archaeological evidence. In addition, the necropolis was used by the Arabs, as attested, for example, by Arabic graffiti that have been detected within tomb QV U2.¹²⁸³

The Queens' Valley was never fully abandoned up to modern epoch: in this regard, Schiaparelli reports on the fact that, slightly before the beginning of the Italian archaeological mission, Carter expelled the last Christians who were still living in the necropolis.¹²⁸⁴ All these events (robberies and reuse) that occurred within the Queens' Valley from the late New Kingdom up to the modern times explain why the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* was confronted with an overlapping and chaotic stratification of archaeological and anthropological materials. It was therefore impossible to carry out stratigraphic excavations, as later clearly remarked even by the members of the Franco-Egyptian team.¹²⁸⁵

The archival research constituted a relevant part in the framework of the reassessment of the Queens' Valley necropolis. This documentation, produced by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* (mostly by Ballerini), includes excavation diaries, photographs, notes, tomb plans, drawings, sketches, copies of inscriptions (even on tracing paper), and maps - all materials that are almost completely unpublished. The analysis of the unpublished documents allowed this author to retrieve lost information and integrate it with what has been published by Ballerini and Schiaparelli, in order to rewrite a new history of the Italian archaeological mission in the Queens' Valley and to determine which tombs were actually

¹²⁸³ Demas and Agnew 2016, 126.

¹²⁸⁴ Schiaparelli 1903, *Relazione*.

¹²⁸⁵ Lecuyot 1996, 145.

investigated. Indeed, checking the *Notizia Sommaria* by Ballerini and the *Esplorazione della Valle delle Regine* by Schiaparelli, it seemed that not so many tombs were investigated by the Italian team. This impression was confirmed by Leblanc, who attributed the discovery of only 13 tombs to the Italian mission.¹²⁸⁶ Through the examination of the archival documents, the scenario looked like much more complex. In 1903 and 1904, about 70 tombs were identified and investigated. Among them, circa 57 tombs were examined for the first time.

The Italian team did not take this credit, since Ballerini and Schiaparelli did not publish all the results concerning the archaeological campaigns carried out in the Queens' Valley. In addition, it is even probable that the Italian team discovered more tombs than those identified during this PhD research, as the author's thoughts about the current QV-numbering system have pointed out. Indeed, as evident from the 1906 edition of Baedeker's guide, in 1905 or 1906 (but not later), the Department of Antiquities numbered the tombs located on the southern slope of the main *wadi*, tombs that the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* had recently identified. Nefertari's tomb, which was discovered by the Italian team in 1904, is mentioned by the name of the deceased (and not by number). The tomb with the highest number is QV 55, therefore, this means that at least 55 tombs were discovered and identified on the southern slope/western sector of the main *wadi*, a number that is much higher than the 35 tombs recorded by Ballerini in the same sector. What about the other 20 tombs? Considering that 55 tombs are enumerated in Baedeker's guide, it seems that there is no other option than to accept that such tombs had been identified by the Italian team (*i.e.* those numbered from 1 to 55). Therefore, it is reasonable to suggest that the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* identified more than 70 tombs, but only those recorded by Ballerini were *de facto* investigated. Tomb QV 81 has a higher number than QV 55 and apparently was not given a number by the Department of Antiquities, although according to this author's reconstruction, it may have been investigated by the Italian team. The location of this tomb (above on the small hill that separates the main *wadi* from the Valley of Prince Ahmose) possibly escaped the notice of the people charged with the inventorying of the tombs. In any case, it is worth remarking that the position of tomb QV 81 was known, since it is indicated (without number) on the map provided by Porter and Moss.¹²⁸⁷

¹²⁸⁶ Leblanc 1989/b, 39-43.

¹²⁸⁷ Porter and Moss 1964 (PM I²), pl. XV.

Even though Schiaparelli was the director of the archaeological mission, the majority of the documentation was produced by his right-hand man Ballerini, who was the responsible of all the works and the most expert of this necropolis. Halfway between a joke and a truthful tone, Schiaparelli himself defined Ballerini as “*il Re della Valle delle Regine*”:¹²⁸⁸ the published and unpublished documentation clearly presents a multi-functional Ballerini who worked as an archaeologist, draftsman, photographer, and coordinator of the works, and Schiaparelli recognized the priceless contributions of his collaborator. Ballerini looked at this necropolis with a critical eye and was aware that the modern expression “Queens’ Valley” was in a way misleading. Indeed, the discovery of the princes’ tombs and of the several shaft tombs not intended for queens pointed out that the social identity of the tomb owners of the necropolis was more complex than previously thought. Within a letter sent in 1903 to his family, Ballerini remarked: “...*La Valle delle Regine che minacciava di diventare come vi dissi la Valle dei Principi...*”.¹²⁸⁹ Thanks to the combination of unpublished archival documents and published works, it was possible to clarify some points. For instance, the three tombs discovered in 1903 in one of the lateral valleys are those located in the Valley of the Rope, and not in the Valley of the Three Pits as previously assumed.¹²⁹⁰ These are the two shaft tombs QV 92 and QV 93 and the tomb with stepped entryway, QV 97. Demas and Agnew stated that QV 92 and QV 93 were investigated by the Italian team,¹²⁹¹ however, they did not have any evidence in this regard. At present, through the comparison of the tomb plans made by Ballerini and those prepared by Marcel Kurz, it is possible to confirm such an identification. This observation suggests that the Valley of the Three Pits was not investigated. Despite the presence of abundant archival documentation, the reconstruction of the Italian discoveries is anything but simple. Not all the tombs recorded on the excavation documents could be identified. For instance, tomb I, which was discovered on the northern slope of the main *wadi*, does not match any known tomb so far. The same is valid for “*ⲡⲟⲗⲗⲟ 5*”, the position of which is not indicated by Ballerini on any of his maps. In addition, checking Schiaparelli’s account concerning the tombs discovered “*sulla sinistra del torrente asciutto*”,¹²⁹² the director of the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* mentions some “*tombe incominciate e non fnite*”.¹²⁹³ The

¹²⁸⁸ Letter of the 11th of February 1903: see Consonni and Quirino 2012, 110.

¹²⁸⁹ Quotation from Consonni and Quirino 2012, 125 (letter from Giza, 10th March 1903).

¹²⁹⁰ Leblanc and Siliotti 1997, 193, endonte 31.

¹²⁹¹ Demas and Agnew 2016, 129.

¹²⁹² He means the northern slope of the main *wadi*.

¹²⁹³ Quotation from Schiaparelli 1924, 40.

tombs in question might be QV 56, QV 57, and QV 83, thus confirming that Ballerini did not record all the tombs identified on the *wadi* floor. Those tombs were actually commenced but left unfinished.

Checking Ballerini's notes, it is evident that the Italian team did not carry out any stratigraphic excavation and the tombs were not cleared in depth. Indeed, Ballerini sometimes remarks that "nothing" was found inside the tombs, or that a number of tombs were found "empty". However, it was not so, since subsequent investigations led by the Franco-Egyptian team have detected the presence of archaeological materials inside the same tombs that the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* had already investigated, indicating that the Italian team did not completely clear them.¹²⁹⁴ Therefore, the expressions "empty" or "nothing was found" must be re-evaluated in the light of the priorities of the Italian mission, among which the need to find archaeological materials to increase the collection of the Regio Museo di Antichità (at present Museo Egizio) of Turin. Time and logistic issues also played a relevant role in the framework of the recording activity. Ballerini was the only responsible, he had to do his own work, supervise the workmen, check the discoveries, draft the excavation diaries, and produce drawings. This explains why his notes appear to have been taken hastily. In addition, it is worth noting that some of his remarks concerning the aspect of the tombs should be reevaluated, in light of recent geological assessment carried out by the *Getty Conservation Institute -Valley of the Queens Project*. Indeed, Ballerini often defines the tomb walls as roughly cut, however, the rough appearance depends on the type of rock into which the tombs were cut. Tomb reuse, water infiltration, and fires have caused changes in the structure of the rock over time. Therefore, the current state of preservation, as well as that at the time of Ballerini, may be rather different from what these tombs looked like when they were prepared in the New Kingdom.

Among the unpublished documents, there is the *Giornale d'Entrata*, which is a list of the objects found in the Queens' Valley and brought to the Regio Museo di Antichità of Turin. Intriguing results were obtained thanks to the combined analysis of the *Giornale d'Entrata*, excavation diaries, and Ballerini and Schiaparelli's publications. By "digging" into the archives, some findings were re-contextualized within their original find-spot and other interesting information came up. In 1903, the Italian team found a fragmented

¹²⁹⁴ For instance, with regard to QV 14, Ballerini recorded that nothing was found since the tomb was filled with *trab* up to the ceiling ("*non vi si trovò nulla*"); the Franco-Egyptian team managed to explore it and found several materials (Loyrette pointed out that the excavation of this tomb was difficult due to the cemented debris: Loyrette 2011, 183).

canopic jar, bearing the name of a queen Satefmira. Traces of this object were lost and there was no mention of it within the *Giornale d'Entrata*. Leblanc hypothesized that Ballerini had misread the name of the queen, suggesting that the correct reading might have been that of Satra. However, the piece in question was rediscovered among the canopic materials, and recourse to white-and-black filters allowed to read the faded inscription and confirm Ballerini's reading of the cartouche. This is an important achievement, since the queen in question is not otherwise known from other sources. In addition, the find-spot of this object can be retraced, thanks to the description provided by Ballerini within his *Notizia Sommaria*, in the sector between tombs QV 44 and QV 45. Furthermore, the Museo Egizio houses the faience shabti of Queen Nesmut, who was known through the *Tomb Robbery Papyri* only. This object strongly suggests that this queen was buried in the Queens' Valley, although her tomb has not been identified so far. Some objects attributed to the tomb of an unknown prince were re-contextualized as well: the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* found them in a tomb located within the Valley of Prince Ahmes, likely QV 98. This identification is invaluable since it adds an anonymous prince and an overseer of the treasury (Qenatum) to the list of the 18th-dynasty tomb owners.

To conclude, a number of research questions were addressed in the course of this dissertation. The *fil rouge* revolved around the social analysis focused on the New Kingdom tomb owners. The analysis of the excavation documents of the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* and the examination of selected findings from the Queens' Valley housed at the Museo Egizio of Turin contributed to the innovative outcome of this multi-directional research, offering an up-to-date picture of this necropolis. As highlighted in the framework of archival research, there are tombs found by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* that are still missing on the current QV-maps [e.g. the four tombs discovered in the Valley of Prince Ahmose, tomb I, *poꜣꜣo* 5, tombs *mem* (𓄎), *nun* (𓄎), *samek* (𓄎), and *koff* (𓄎)]. Supposedly these tombs are still concealed under debris and only new surveys may unravel this mystery. Moreover, due to time constraints, both objects and archival documents were selected and, during this author's last visit in Turin, other documents previously unknown were quickly checked (which are not included here): a continuation of the archival research may add new results. Finally, the members of the Franco-Egyptian team did not publish all the results of their investigations. Thus, access to the unpublished reports of the CNRS may allow to intertwine the documentation produced by the two most important archaeological missions that have worked in the Queens' Valley so far. This last remark

highlights that the research does not end here: it is evident that there is still space for the continuation of this investigation, with the hope that other tiles of the Queens' Valley-mosaic may be put together in the future.

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University of Basel

Department of Ancient Civilizations

**Re-exploring the Queens' Valley:
Archival, Archaeological, and Social Research**

Volume II: Catalogue of the Tombs

Candidate

Emanuele Casini

Matr. Number 16-053-027

First PhD advisor:

Prof. Dr. S. Bickel (University of Basel)

Second PhD advisor:

Prof. M. Betrò (University of Pisa)

Third PhD advisor:

Dr. Ch. Greco (Museo Egizio, Torino)

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Catalogue of the tombs

A catalogue of the Queens' Valley tombs is not something completely new. Francesco Ballerini and Ernesto Schiaparelli did not work on a draft of a catalogue of all the investigated tombs, that was certainly not their purpose. Not even did Christian Leblanc publish a catalogue of the tombs that the Franco-Egyptian team had cleared. It is not possible to know whether he planned to include a catalogue of the tombs within one of the yet to be published volumes of the series *Ta Set Neferou*.¹ In 2006, the Getty Conservation Institute (GCI) inaugurated the *Valley of the Queens project*, led in collaboration with the Supreme Council of Antiquities (SCA). The aim of the project was a reassessment of the state of preservation of the tombs, in order “to develop and implement a comprehensive plan for the conservation and management of the Valley”.² One of the results of this reassessment was a catalogue of the tombs, the purpose of which was to provide a “condition summary of the 111 tombs from the 18th, 19th, and 20th Dynasties in the Valley of the Queens and subsidiary valleys”; in particular, Martha Demas and Neville Agnew focused on a “summary of tomb architectural development, the geological and hydrological context of the tombs, and the technology of the wall paintings of the 19th and 20th Dynasties”.³ The GCI catalogue is therefore oriented towards the description of the geologic composition of the burial ground, the current state of preservation of the tombs, and the evaluation of the damages inside the tombs themselves. The final objective consists in the elaboration of a strategy aimed at restoring and preserving the tombs and making them available to tourists.

Checking the GCI catalogue, it is evident that there is a disparity of information between the 18th-dynasty tombs and those dating to the Ramesside Period. With regard to the 18th-dynasty tombs, Demas and Agnew provide a brief description, focussing on the state of preservation and deterioration factors, whereas information about the archaeological materials is little and bibliographical references are incomplete. One of the most interesting aspects of the CGI catalogue is the following: Demas and Agnew provided, for the first time, the plans of almost all the Queens' Valley tombs. Indeed, the two authors and their collaborators had access to the unpublished excavation reports of the CNRS and to the tomb plans prepared by the Franco-Egyptian team and those elaborated by the Theban Mapping Project. Conversely, Demas and Agnew have directed

¹ Volumes II, III, and IV are still waiting to be published: see Leblanc 1989/b, 2.

² Reference from Demas and Agnew 2016, 1.

³ Quotation from Demas and Agnew 2016, 2.

much and in-depth attention to the 19th- and 20th-dynasty tombs: bibliographical references are abundant and the section concerning the geological assessment and the analysis of the state of preservation of the tombs is detailed.

QV 2 – Anonymous

General Description

QV 2 is a shallow pit lying on the southern edge of the paved visitor path and is almost entirely filled with debris. The tomb was similarly filled in the time of E. Thomas' inspection. The tomb was last cleared in 1987 by the Franco-Egyptian team.

Condition

Because the pit is filled with debris, it was inaccessible for assessment. The rock above and around the shaft opening is friable.

Deterioration Factors

Flood debris and erosion had gradually reburied most of the tomb by the time of the assessment in 2007.

General Recommendations

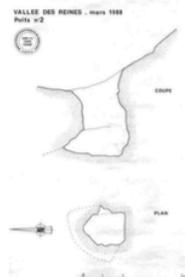
As QV 2 is already largely filled, it is recommended to rebury the tomb, so as to better protect it from water infiltration and debris fill. In 2009, the SCA filled remainder of the tomb with scree.

Archaeological Materials

None.

References

Thomas 1966.



Overview of pit adjacent to visitor path.



View of entrance in 2007, prior to SCA reburial.



The tomb following reburial with scree by SCA in 2009.

An example of a descriptive chart concerning an 18th-dynasty tomb (after Demas and Agnew 2016, 32; © Demas and Agnew).

The aim of the present catalogue is to provide information about all the Queens' Valley tombs, by integrating the data drawn from papers, monographs, the GCI catalogue, and the unpublished digging diaries of the *Missione Archeologica Italiana (MAI)*. Concerning each tomb, this author elaborated a table including the most relevant data: name of the New Kingdom tomb owner(s),⁴ epithets and titles, family relationship, epoch of the tomb construction, information about the reuse of the tomb, its location, the geological context, information about traces of fire, the old designation, tomb type (based on Leblanc's typology),⁵ and information about the type of wall decoration (undecorated; decorated: sunken or raised relief).⁶ In addition, there are a picture of the tomb plan, when it is available, and bibliographical references. Finally, there is a description including the most

⁴ This is the epoch that this author focused on, in the course of this PhD dissertation.

⁵ See Volume I, *Chapter V.2-a*.

⁶ This author did not provided a description of the content of the decorative program of the Ramesside Period tombs, which can be found in detail within the publication by Elleithy and Leblanc (2016).

relevant information about the discovery of the tomb, its architectural layout, and archaeological findings.

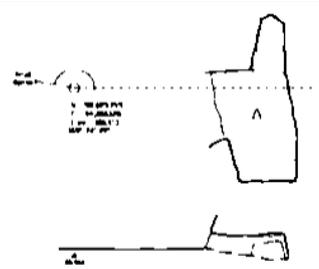
Tomb plan	NK tomb owner(s)	
	Epithets/titles	
	Family relationship	
	Epoch of tomb construction	
	Reuse	
	Location	
	Geology	
	Traces of fire	
	Old designation	
	Tomb typology	
	Tomb walls	
Most relevant bibliographical references		

Example of the table included within the *Catalogue of the Tombs*. © E. Casini.

Not always was information about all the above-mentioned aspects known (in that case, this author put a hyphen/“-” in the box). With regard to the terminology, it was distinguished between “commenced” and “unfinished” tombs. “Commenced” are defined the tombs, the construction of which was started but interrupted in the early stages, after the cut of the shaft or of the first corridor, or of part of the first chamber. It therefore deals with tombs that show an incomplete architectural layout and were, very likely, not used. On the contrary, tombs are labelled as “unfinished” when they show a (more or less) complete architectural layout, but have wall decoration that is not completed or it is absent (for instance, tombs with plastered but not painted walls).

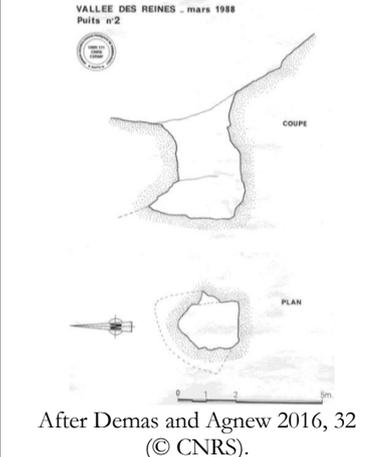
To conclude, the present catalogue is the outcome of the collection of data carried out during this PhD research. It does not claim to replace the catalogue elaborated by Demas and Agnew but it was conceived as a quick supporting tool for the reader, in order to be consulted when a tomb is mentioned in the course of *Volume I: Text* of this dissertation.

QV 1

 <p style="text-align: center;">After Demas and Agnew 2012, 334 (© TMP).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	Pharaonic Period?
	Reuse	Coptic Period
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , southern slope
	Geology	Marl and shale rock
	Traces of fire	Not detected
	Old designation	-
	Tomb typology	Commenced tomb? Few stone steps leading to a rectangular-shaped room
	Tomb walls	Undecorated
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2012, 333-335. Leblanc 1989/b, pls. XXXVIII ad XXXIX. Lecuyot 1996, 158. Lecuyot 1999, 45-46. Lecuyot 2000, 55. Thomas 1966, 200, 209-210.	

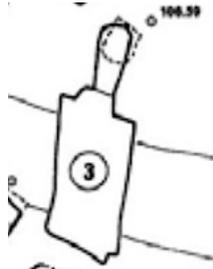
The architectural layout of QV 1 does not resemble that of a tomb. It was likely used as hermit shelter by Christian monks during the Coptic Period. Yet, it cannot be ruled out that QV 1 may have been planned as a tomb: its construction might have started in the New Kingdom, or in the Third Intermediate Period, but was never completed. According to Demas and Agnew, QV 1 may be a natural cavity reworked and adapted as shelter. Thus, it is also possible that QV 1 was a natural cavity used as guard post already in the dynastic period. Traces of *muna* have survived on its walls, but no trace of decoration. Outside the tomb, there is still part of a masonry wall and a few stone steps lead to the tomb entrance. Archaeological findings are not recorded.

QV 2

 <p>After Demas and Agnew 2016, 32 (© CNRS).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty
	Reuse	Roman Period
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , southern slope
	Geology	Friable rock above and around the shaft entrance
	Traces of fire	Not detected
	Old designation	<i>MAI</i> = <i>aleph</i> (Ⲁ)
	Tomb typology	Commenced shaft tomb
Tomb walls	Undecorated	
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2016, 32. Lecuyot 1996, 155-157. Lecuyot 1999, 46. Thomas 1966, 185-186, 209.	

Tomb QV 2 was investigated for the first time in 1904 by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana*. When Thomas explored the Queen's Valley, the shaft was filled and she was not able to enter this tomb. Afterwards, in 1987, QV 2 was investigated and cleared by the Franco-Egyptian team. Focussing on its architectural plan, it seems very likely that QV 2 was a commenced tomb: indeed, it consists of a shaft with square section and there is no burial chamber. The Getty Conservation Institute team could not investigate this tomb because the shaft had been reburied and filled till the top by the SCA in 2009. Archaeological findings from this tomb are not recorded.

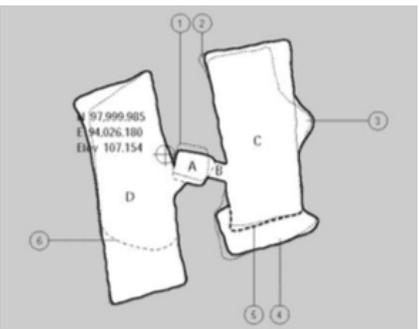
QV 3

 <p>After Demas and Agnew 2016, 33 (© CNRS).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty
	Reuse	Roman Period
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , southern slope
	Geology	Shaft cut into Member I; burial chamber cut into shale
	Traces of fire	Not detected
	Old designation	<i>MAI</i> = <i>beth</i> (⌵)
	Tomb typology	Shaft tomb Leblanc's type A.1
	Tomb walls	Undecorated
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2016, 33. Leblanc 1999, 834. Lecuyot 1996, 155-157. Lecuyot 1999. Thomas 1966, 185-186.	

Tomb QV 3 was investigated for the first time by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* in 1904 and, afterwards, it was cleared by the Franco-Egyptian team between 1984 and 1985. A small hole into the rear wall of the burial chamber puts QV 3 in connection with tomb QV 81. The burial chamber of QV 3 is approximately rectangular. The structure of the shaft is stable because it is cut in the solid Member I. The ceiling of the burial chamber as well consists of a marl slab, but the chamber is cut in the friable shale of the Esna Formation, this being the reason why the walls have collapsed and it is difficult, at present, to detect the ground floor.

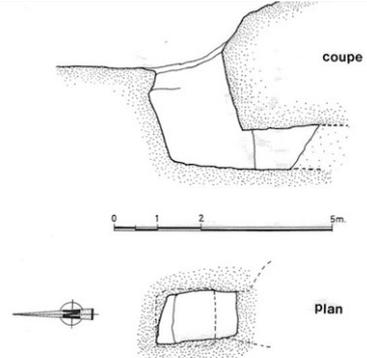
The results of the investigation of this tomb have not been published by the Franco-Egyptian team, therefore, it is impossible to know what was found inside. However, little information can be gathered from different sources: Thomas mentions a bovine skull and some potsherds whilst Lecuyot mentions fragments of bell-shaped vases, which are connected with the burial of sacred birds.

QV 4

 <p style="text-align: center;">After Demas and Agnew 2016, 35 (© TMP).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
Family relationship	-	
Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty	
Reuse	-	
Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , southern slope	
Geology	Cut into shale (chamber C) and marl (ceiling of chamber C)	
Traces of fire	Not detected	
Old designation	-	
Tomb typology	Shaft tomb Leblanc's type B.4	
Tomb walls	Undecorated	
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2016, 34-35. Leblanc 1999, 834. Thomas 1966, 185-186.	

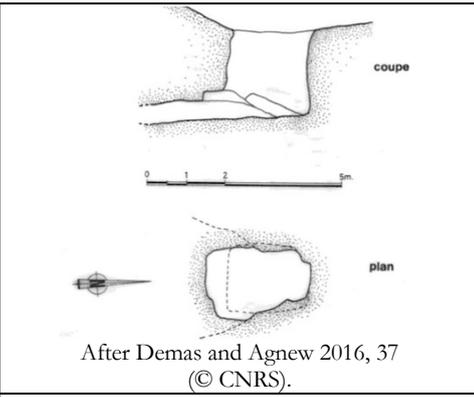
Tomb QV 4 may have been investigated by the Italian mission in 1904, although there is no concrete evidence within the unpublished digging diaries that may confirm it. This tomb consists of a shaft leading into two opposite burial chambers. Looking at the tomb plan, it is possible to see that between the bottom of the shaft and room C there is a short corridor (B). Currently this tomb is invisible since the shaft has been reburied by the SCA in 2010. Archaeological findings are not recorded.

QV 5

 <p style="text-align: center;">After Demas and Agnew 2016, 37 (© CNRS).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty
	Reuse	-
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , southern slope
	Geology	Cut into poor-quality marl
	Traces of fire	Not detected
	Old designation	-
	Tomb typology	Shaft tomb Leblanc's type A.1
Tomb walls	Undecorated	
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2016, 36-37. Thomas 1966, 185-186.	

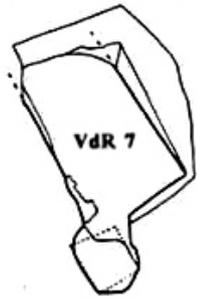
Tomb QV 5 may have been investigated by the Italian mission in 1904, although there is no evidence within the unpublished digging diaries that may confirm it. Thomas explored this tomb and remarked that tombs QV 3, QV 5, and QV 6 were interconnected, although the investigation led by the Getty Conservation Institute team has not proved such interconnection. Thomas also remarked that the rock of the ceiling fell down as a consequence of the poor quality of the rock and that there was not any object inside the tomb. Actually, archaeological findings are not recorded.

QV 6

 <p style="text-align: center;">After Demas and Agnew 2016, 37 (© CNRS).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty
	Reuse	-
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , southern slope
	Geology	Cut into poor-quality marl
	Traces of fire	Not detected
	Old designation	-
	Tomb typology	Shaft tomb Leblanc's type A.1
Tomb walls	Undecorated	
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2016, 36-37. Thomas 1966, 185-186.	

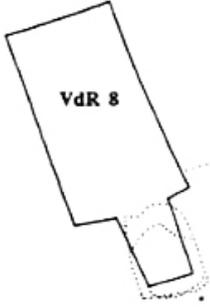
Tomb QV 6 may have been investigated by the Italian mission in 1904, although there is no evidence within the unpublished digging diaries that may confirm it. Thomas explored this tomb and remarked that tombs QV 3, QV 5, and QV 6 were interconnected, although the investigation led by the Getty Conservation Institute team has not confirmed it. She also remarked that there was not any object inside the tomb. In this regard, archaeological findings are not recorded.

QV 7

 <p style="text-align: center;">After Lecuyot 1992/a, 90 (© CNRS/G. Lecuyot).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty
	Reuse	Saitic-Persian Period
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , southern slope
	Geology	Ceiling cut into marl, chambers into shale
	Traces of fire	Not detected
	Old designation	<i>MAI</i> = <i>daleth</i> (ⲧ)
	Tomb typology	Shaft tomb Leblanc's type A.1
Tomb walls	Undecorated	
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2016, 38-39. Lecuyot 1992/a, 90. Thomas 1966, 185-186, 210.	

Tomb QV 7 was explored for the first time by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* in 1904 and it was cleared in 1985 by the Franco-Egyptian team. It consists of a shaft leading to a burial chamber, which is characterized by a bent axis. A second roughly-cut burial chamber may have been added during a later stage, when the tomb was reused. At the bottom of the shaft, there were remains of a mudbrick wall that was possibly erected in the Saitic-Persian Period, in order to obstruct the access to the tomb. Among the findings, materials dating to the first stage of use (*i.e.* the 18th Dynasty) have not been brought to light, except for some fragments of wooden coffin that might belong to that epoch.

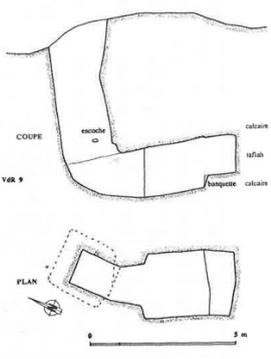
QV 8

 <p>After Lecuyot 1992/a, 90 (© CNRS/G. Lecuyot).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	Amonemusekhet (<i>jmn-m-wšht</i>) Hori (<i>hrj</i>) Anonymous princess
	Epithets/titles	<i>s3.t nsw</i> , king's son (Hori) <i>s3.t nsw</i> , king's daughter (anonymous princess)
	Family relationship	<i>ms n nb.t pr j'h</i> ..., born of the mistress of the house, Ah...? (Amonemusekhet)
	Epoch of tomb construction	Early 18 th Dynasty (before the reign of Thutmose III)
	Reuse	Not specified
	Location	Main <i>nadi</i> , southern slope
	Geology	Shaft and ceiling cut into marl, chamber cut into shale
	Traces of fire	Not detected
	Old designation	-
	Tomb typology	Shaft tomb Leblanc's type A.1
	Tomb walls	Undecorated
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2016, 40-41. Franco 1988, 71-82. Lecuyot 1992/a, 90. Loyrette 1997, 182. Macke <i>et al.</i> 2002, 27. Thomas 1966, 185-186, 191.	

Tomb QV 8 may have been investigated by the Italian mission in 1904, although there is no evidence within the unpublished excavation notes that may confirm it. It was excavated by the Franco-Egyptian team in 1984-1985, but not completely cleared: indeed, the CNRS and the SCA investigated the tomb in 2010 and found bones (six bags) and fragments of wood (one bag): this means that some materials were left inside the tomb. This tomb consists of a shaft entrance leading to a single burial chamber, which hosted the burials of three individuals: fragments of inscribed linen shrouds, which preserve some chapters of the Book of the Dead, attest to Prince Hori, an anonymous princess, and Amonemusekhet. Thanks to the paleographic analysis, these fragmented shrouds have been dated to the early 18th Dynasty, before the reign of Thutmose III. Regarding the tomb owners, Franco proposed two scenarios: the *s3.t nsw* and Amonemusekhet may be the same person, thus being Amonemusekhet the daughter of a member of the royal family (a royal son?) and of a *nb.t pr*; otherwise, the *s3.t nsw* and Amonemusekhet may be two distinct individuals, thus suggesting that Amonemusekhet was a woman close to Hori and the *s3.t nsw* (possibly, a wet nurse).

Among the findings, the Franco-Egyptian team brought to light some ornamental strands of hair, six fragmentary mummies, six skulls, and bones of 13 adults and 17 children: these anthropological materials may belong to a later phase of reuse (or they may have been found in other tombs and stored here in this tomb).

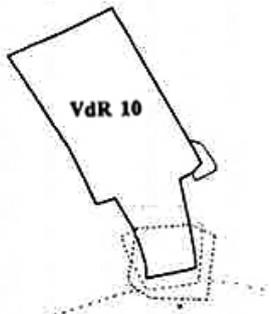
QV 9

 <p>After Lecuyot 1992/a, 91 (© CNRS/G. Lecuyot).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	Early 18 th Dynasty (reign of Thutmosis I)
	Reuse	Third Intermediate Period Roman Period
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , southern slope
	Geology	Shaft cut into marl, chamber cut into interbedded layers of marl and shale
	Traces of fire	Not detected
	Old designation	<i>MAI = be</i> (ḥ)
	Tomb typology	Shaft tomb Leblanc's type A.1
Tomb walls	Undecorated	
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2016, 42-43. Leblanc 1999, 834. Lecuyot 1992/a, 97-99. Lecuyot 1996, 148-149, 155-157. Lecuyot 2000, 46. Thomas 1966, 185-186.	

Tomb QV 9 was explored for the first time by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* in 1904. Afterwards, between 1984 and 1987, it was cleared by the Franco-Egyptian team. This shaft tomb was likely part of the same construction project that included tombs QV 10, QV 11, and QV 12. A bench has been carved in the rock of the southern wall, on the opposite side of the bottom of the shaft. A little notch cut in the rock of the eastern wall of the shaft might have used to facilitate the way down/up and vice versa. Stones belonging to the original blocking system were found inside the tomb, not *in situ*, but sparsed over the ground and covering the materials belonging to the different stages of tomb occupation.

The archaeological findings belong to the three different phases of use: 1) the 18th Dynasty [fragments of an arrow, fragments of decorated leather possibly belonging to a case for arrows, two fragmented flat lids made of alabaster, a terracotta lock pertaining to a wig, a potsherd inscribed with the name of King Thutmosis I, three terracotta bowls decorated by means cord imprints, and some storage jars]; 2) the Third Intermediate Period [fragments of wooden coffins (coated with linen, stuccoed, and painted), a number of beads pertaining to nets, and about 40 terracotta shabtis]; 3) the Roman Period [terracotta amphoras with pointed end and handles]. Furthermore, this tomb included ibis and falcon mummies as well.

QV 10

 <p style="text-align: center;">After Lecuyot 1992/a, 90 (© CNRS/G. Lecuyot).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty (Thutmoseid Period)
	Reuse	Third Intermediate Period Roman Period
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , southern slope
	Geology	Shaft cut into marl, chamber cut into interbedded layers of marl and shale
	Traces of fire	Not detected
	Old designation	<i>MAI = naw</i> (I)
	Tomb typology	Shaft tomb Leblanc's type A.1
Tomb walls	Undecorated	
Bibliographical references	Leblanc 1999, 834. Demas and Agnew 2016, 42-43. Lecuyot 1992/a, 99-100. Lecuyot 1996, 148, 155-157. Thomas 1966, 185-186.	

Tomb QV 10 was explored by the Italian team in 1904. Afterwards, it was cleared by the Franco-Egyptian team in 1985. This shaft tomb is likely part of the same construction project that concerned the preparation of tombs QV 9, QV 11, and QV 12.

QV 10 consists of a vertical shaft leading to a single burial chamber. The shaft was cut into marl, but the chamber was carved into interbedded layers of marl and shale. The archaeological findings belong to the three phases of use: 1) the 18th Dynasty [handle of a mirror, part of a curved wooden cane covered with pink painted leather and provided with rebating assembly, fragments of pink and green coloured leather, fragment of a terracotta lock pertaining to a blue painted wig, and fragments of a terracotta globular pot for ointment]; 2) the Third Intermediate Period [wooden anthropoid coffins with painted decoration, beads belonging to funerary nets, fragments of two shabtis (one made of faience and the other made of terracotta), and bowls and cups]; 3) the Roman Period [kettles, terracotta amphoras, and bell-shaped vases used for the burial of ibis and falcon mummies]. Furthermore, 13 terracotta amphoras and one kettle were found outside the tomb. The CNRS found anthropological materials attesting to at least nine children and 12 adults.

QV 11

<p>After Lecuyot 1992/a, 90 (© CNRS/G. Lecuyot).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty (Thutmoside Period)
	Reuse	Third Intermediate Period (25 th Dyn.) Roman Period
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , southern slope
	Geology	Cut into clay-rich shale and marl
	Traces of fire	Some areas of the walls are blackened
	Old designation	<i>MAI = z_{gjn} (r)</i>
	Tomb typology	Shaft tomb (entrance modified) Leblanc's type A.1
Tomb walls	Undecorated	
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2016, 44-45. Leclant and Clerc 1988, 359-360. Lecuyot 1987. Lecuyot 1992/a, 100-108. Lecuyot 1996, 148, 155-157. Lecuyot 2000, 51. Thomas 1966, 185-186. Wagner <i>et al.</i> 1990, 366-367.	

Tomb QV 11 was explored by the Italian team in 1904. Afterwards, it was cleared by the Franco-Egyptian team between 1985 and 1986. This tomb is likely part of the same construction project that concerned the preparation of tombs QV 9, QV 10, and QV 12.

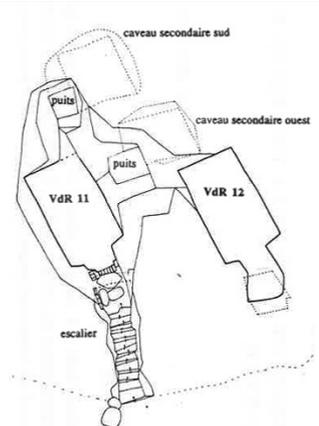
QV 11 was cut into friable rock and part of the ceiling and of the walls have collapsed over time. Consolidation was carried out already in ancient times by means of the construction of threshold and doorposts made of mud bricks. The tomb plan has been modified during the Third Intermediate Period, when a staircase was cut into the rock, thus transforming the original shaft entrance. In addition, two small shafts were cut close to the western and southern walls of the burial chamber, both of them leading to small rectangular *caveaux*. The connection between tombs QV 11 and QV 12 caused a mixture of the archaeological materials, which mirror the three phases of use (although some of them could not be dated): 1) the New Kingdom [fragment of pink granite stone bearing some engraved hieroglyphs and likely belonging to a sarcophagus of the 19th or 20th Dynasty (it is an intrusive element), a potsherd decorated with a black painted motif, and the bottom part of a terracotta canopic jar], 2) the Third Intermediate Period [from the main chamber: fragments of stuccoed and painted wooden coffins (among which the most interesting is the one preserving part of a funerary genius and the name of the deceased [*jm*]-*n-n3ht-jnpw-d3*), elements of funerary bead net(s), several terracotta shabtis,

and pottery; from the southern *caveau*: fragments of wooden coffins, a wooden wig likely belonging to a Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statuette, a wooden rectangular box containing 256 terracotta shabtis, beads pertaining to funerary nets, and pottery; from the western *caveau*: the 25th-dynasty burial of Pajryjah (no title is preserved) and his burial equipment including limestone canopic jars, fragments of two nested wooden coffins, the base of a Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statuette, two wooden boxes each containing around 200 blue-painted terracotta shabtis]; 3) the Roman Period [fragments of painted wooden coffins, part of a wooden label pertaining to a mummy, fragments of decorated shrouds that wrapped mummies, two mummy masks, pottery (fragments of amphoras, some of which bearing traces of inscriptions; the fragmented neck of a pot preserving the name of an individual called Petosiris, who was entombed in the 2nd century AD), and a number of *ostraca*].

During the Roman Period this tomb hosted a mass grave, as attested by the several mummies: indeed, among the anthropological remains brought to light from QV 11, there are 48 human mummies, 33 skulls, 25 mandibles, and bones attesting to 117 adults and 29 children. Outside the tomb, other archaeological materials were found: a blue-painted terracotta lock pertaining to a wig, beads pertaining to funerary nets, fragments of two shabtis, a fragmented leg of a bed, pottery sherds pertaining to oil lamps, kettles, and 69 bottom parts of amphoras.

The CNRS and the SCA re-investigated the tomb in 2010 and found potsherds, remains of plaster, and fragments of wood.

QV 12

 <p style="font-size: small;">After Lecuyot 1992/a, 90 (© CNRS/G. Lecuyot).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty, reign of Thutmosis II
	Reuse	Third Intermediate Period Roman Period
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , southern slope
	Geology	Cut into clay-rich shale and marl
	Traces of fire	Some areas of the walls are blackened
	Old designation	<i>MAI</i> = <i>teth</i> (ⲓ)
	Tomb typology	Shaft tomb Leblanc's type A.1
Tomb walls	Undecorated	
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2016, 46-47. Lecuyot 1992/a, 108-109. Lecuyot 1996, 148 (footnote 9), 155-157. Macke <i>et al.</i> 2002, 28. Thomas 1966, 185, 187.	

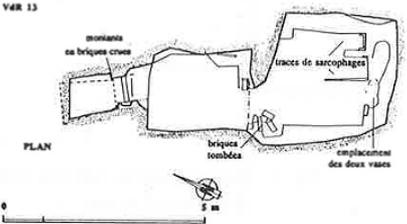
Tomb QV 12 was explored by the Italian team in 1904. Afterwards, it was cleared by the Franco-Egyptian team between 1986 and 1987. This tomb is likely part of the same construction project that concerned the preparation of tombs QV 9, QV 10, and QV 11.

The archaeological findings correspond to three phases of use: 1) the New Kingdom [fragments of three arrows, a small fragment of wooden coffin bearing part of a cartouche that includes the hieroglyph *ms*, and a knob of a sceptre with the cartouche of King Thutmosis II (the inscription reads *ntr nfr 3-hpr-n-rꜥ mrj jmn-rꜥ*, “*the perfect god, Aakhepernra, beloved by Amon-Ra*”)]; 2) the Third Intermediate Period [fragments of a wooden coffin, beads pertaining to funerary nets (fragments of an amulet shaped as the funerary genius Qebhsenuf), and terracotta shabtis]; 3) the Roman Period [fragments of decorated shrouds that wrapped mummies, elements pertaining to mummy masks, and pottery].

Among the materials that have not been dated, there is a fragmented offering table made of sandstone, equipped with two spouts and decorated on the top with a *hs*-vase and foodstuffs. Furthermore, tomb QV 12 contained several anthropological remains: five fragmentary mummies, seven human skulls, and bones belonging to 12 adults and five children.

The CNRS and the SCA cleared the tomb in 2010 and found bones, linen wrappings, and three large jars.

QV 13

 <p>PLAN</p> <p>montants en briques crues</p> <p>traces de sarcophages</p> <p>briques tombées</p> <p>emplacement des deux vases</p> <p>0 5 m</p> <p>After Lecuyot 1992/a, 94 (© CNRS/G. Lecuyot).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty
	Reuse	25 th -26 th Dynasties Roman Period
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , southern slope
	Geology	Cut into friable rock, interbedded shale, and marl
	Traces of fire	Blackened ceilings in both the rooms
	Old designation	<i>MAI = heith</i> (n)
	Tomb typology	Shaft tomb Leblanc's type A.2
Tomb walls	Undecorated	
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2016, 48-49. Lecuyot 1992/a. Lecuyot 1996, 155-157. Macke <i>et al.</i> 2002, 28. Thomas 1966, 185, 187.	

Between 1984 and 1985, the Franco-Egyptian team cleared tomb QV 13 and found a piece of an Italian newspaper bearing the date of year 1903: this clue strongly indicates that the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* had already explored the tomb. Following the excavation diaries, it seems that the Italian team discovered tomb QV 13 in 1904 (see Volume I: *Text*, p. 141) and not in 1903. Thus, that piece of newspaper may be intrusive. Otherwise, one should assume that this tomb had been discovered already in 1903 but investigated one year later.

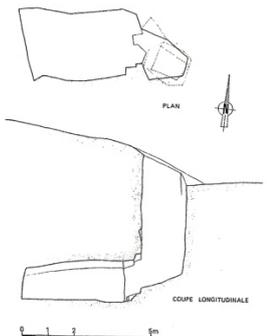
At present, part of the ceiling and of the walls are collapsed, due to the fact that this tomb was cut into poor-quality friable rock. The shaft, not very deep, leads to the first, small burial chamber, which in turn leads to a second, larger room. The ceiling of the two chambers displays different heights. There are traces of a mudbrick masonry construction pertaining to doorposts, in the passage between the bottom of the shaft and the first room. Furthermore, some bricks are still *in situ*, close to the passage between the two burial chambers, thus suggesting that a similar mudbrick masonry was also built there.

Tomb QV 13 was affected by robberies, reuse, and fire: all these events explain why the archaeological materials (fragmented mummies, shrouds, and pottery) are badly preserved. Under the collapsed ceiling, there are impressions of two coffin cases, but the wood has not preserved. Outside the tomb, within the most ancient layers, the Franco-Egyptian team found the bottom parts of two jars for libation datable to the 25th-26th Dynasties; the second layer included three oil lamps, fragments of a terracotta sarcophagus, fragments of terracotta amphoras and of kettles, all materials that are datable

between the 2nd and 4th century AD; finally, the third and most recent layer contained the bottom part of seven amphoras and eight kettles, fragments of mummies and linen shrouds, parts of bead nets (datable between 21st and 26th Dynasties), two terracotta shabtis, and a pottery sherd bearing a demotic inscription. Still outside the tomb, the Franco-Egyptian team found a wooden shabti that is damaged but bears some traces of black substance. All these findings correspond to three phases of use (18th Dynasty, Third Intermediate Period, and Roman Period), although there are some that cannot be dated. With regard to the anthropological remains, this tomb included 23 human skulls with mandibles, 68 fragmentary mandibles, and five fragmentary mummies; in addition, outside the tomb even 18 mummies were found.

In 2010 the CNRS and the SCA cleared the tomb and found human and animal bones, fragments of human mummies, and one pottery vessel.

QV 14

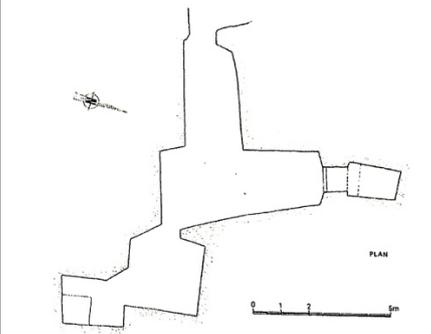
 <p>After Loyrette 2011, 182 (© CNRS/Y. Laurent).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Dating	18 th Dynasty
	Epoch of tomb construction	Third Intermediate Period Roman Period
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , southern slope
	Geology	Ceiling cut into the marl, room cut into the orange-coloured shale
	Traces of fire	Fragments of burnt coffin
	Old designation	<i>MAI</i> = <i>yod</i> (?)
	Tomb typology	Shaft tomb Leblanc's type A.1
Tomb walls	Undecorated	
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2016, 50-51. Lecuyot 1996, 155-157. Loyrette 2011, 182-183. Thomas 1966, 187.	

In 1904, the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* identified tomb QV 14 but it did not manage to investigate the inside since it was filled up with cemented debris (*trab*). Therefore, Ballerini reported that “nothing” was found inside it. Even Thomas explored the tomb and could hardly assess the architectural layout, since the tomb was still almost completely filled up with *trab*. Between 1986 and 1987, the Franco-Egyptian team cleared QV 14 and found several archaeological materials.

Tomb QV 14 consists of a vertical shaft leading to a single burial chamber. The peculiarity of this tomb consists in the orientation of its east-west main axis, with the shaft situated to the east. The ceiling has been cut into the compact marl, conversely, the chamber into the friable shale. The upper level of the tomb filling contained pottery of the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD (amphoras made of brown terracotta with smooth surface and pointed base), cups, small bowls, and fragments of bell-shaped jars (similar to those found in QV 10, which contained remains of mummified birds). Fragments of pottery datable to the New Kingdom and the Third Intermediate Period have been found within the underlying layers. Furthermore, traces of burnt wood imprinted on the floor allowed the Franco-Egyptian team to detect the contour of an anthropoid coffin.

The CNRS and the SCA cleared QV 14 in 2010 and found several potsherds (three boxes and three bags) and bones (one bag).

QV 15

 <p style="text-align: center;">After Loyrette 2011, 182 (© CNRS/Y. Laurent).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty
	Reuse	Third Intermediate Period Roman Period
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , southern slope
	Geology	Cut into marl
	Traces of fire	Blackened surfaces of the rock
	Old designation	-
	Tomb typology	Shaft tomb Leblanc's type A.1
Tomb walls	Undecorated	
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2106, 52-53. Lecuyot 1996, 155-157. Loyrette 2011, 182, 184-188. Thomas 1966, 185-187. Wagner <i>et al.</i> 1990, 367.	

According to Thomas, tomb QV 15 was possibly investigated by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* since the trapezoid seemed to have been excavated irregularly and there was also an intrusive small pit that seemed to be the result of a quick survey. Ballerini's unpublished digging diary does not bear information about this tomb, however, the current QV-numbering system may suggest that the tomb was indeed explored by the Italian team (see Volume I: *Text*, section III.6). In 1987, the Franco-Egyptian team cleared it.

Tomb QV 15 consists of a short shaft leading to a rectangular-shaped burial chamber. During the Third Intermediate Period, the tomb was reused and its original plan was extended: an opening was made in the eastern wall and two subsequent chambers were cut to the East. Within the easternmost chamber, another pit was excavated (which was discovered completely filled with human remains). Furthermore, a corridor was excavated in the western wall of the original burial chamber, thus joining QV 15 and QV 16: this structural change likely occurred during the Roman Period.

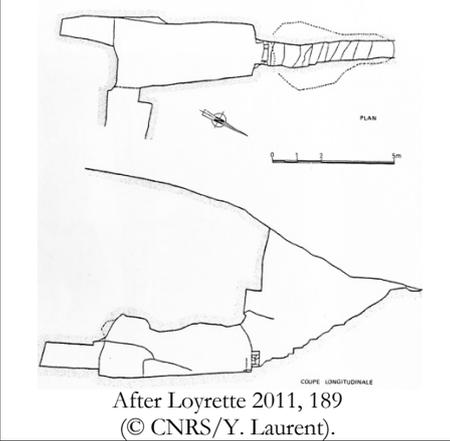
The archaeological findings mirror the different phases of reuse of the tomb: 1) the 18th Dynasty [three fragments of terracotta canopic jar lids]; 2) the Third Intermediate Period [fragments of coffins, along with a wooden coffin mask, a fragmented lid of coffin (with depiction of Nut on the inner surface), a feathered head-dress belonging to a Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statuette, the bottom part of a shrine, and an intact funerary bead-net]; 3) the Roman Period [a fragment of a cartonnage mask (bearing traces of the depiction of a mummification scene), a strip of bandage (which is inscribed with the owner's name "Mouthertès, daughter of Pnèbis"), and two wooden mummy labels that belonged to female individuals and are datable between the 1st and 3rd centuries AD]. Within the

intrusive pit, the Franco-Egyptian team found several human remains (a total of 17 skulls) along with fragments of decorated shrouds that wrapped mummies, few Third Intermediate Period fragmented objects, and two Roman Period mummy masks [a fragment of cartonnage female mask, and a male cartonnage mask modelled over the mummy (covering the head and the chest), which bears traces of the depiction of the deceased in front of Osiris].

With regard to the anthropological materials, no distinction has been made between QV 15 and QV 16: among the materials found within the two tombs, there are 77 fragmentary mummies, 74 human skulls, and bones belonging to 204 adults and 36 children.

The CNRS and the SCA cleared QV 15 in 2008 and found parts of mummies, animal bones, and potsherds.

QV 16

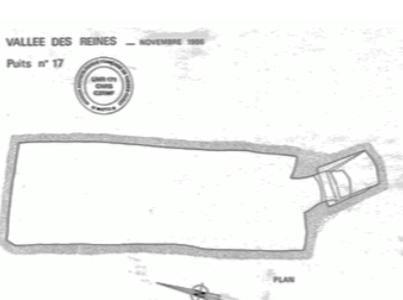
 <p style="text-align: center;">After Loyrette 2011, 189 (© CNRS/Y. Laurent).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epoch/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty
	Reuse	Third Intermediate Period Roman Period
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , southern slope
	Geology	Cut into marl
	Traces of fire	Blackened surfaces of the rock
	Old designation	<i>MAI</i> = <i>lamed</i> (7)
	Tomb typology	Shaft tomb Leblanc's type A.1
Tomb walls	Undecorated	
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2106, 52-53. Lecuyot 1992/a. Lecuyot 1996, 155-157. Loyrette 2011, 189-191. Thomas 1966, 185, 187.	

The unpublished excavation diaries record that the Italian team explored tomb QV 16 in 1904. Between 1985 and 1986, QV 16 was cleared by the Franco-Egyptian team. This tomb is provided with a staircase entrance, which leads to a rectangular chamber. According to Lecuyot, the staircase would be the result of an architectural modification that occurred during the Third Intermediate Period, when the original 18th-dynasty shaft was transformed into a stairway. The finding of three wooden element at the bottom of the staircase suggests that there was a closing system consisting of a door. During the Roman Period, the plan of this tomb was enlarged: a corridor was excavated in order to put QV 16 in connection with QV15.

The archaeological findings mirror the different stages of use of the tomb: 1) the 18th Dynasty [only a few materials, among which two legs of wooden a bed]; 2) the Third Intermediate Period [about 30 fragmented shabtis]; 3) the Roman Period [oil lamps and fragments of decorated shrouds that wrapped mummies]. With regard to the anthropological materials, no distinction has been done between QV 15 and QV 16. The Franco-Egyptian team found within the two tombs 77 fragmentary mummies, 74 human skulls, and bones belonging to 204 adults and 36 children.

The CNRS and the SCA cleared QV 16 in 2008 and found parts of mummies, bones, and fragments of wood.

QV 17

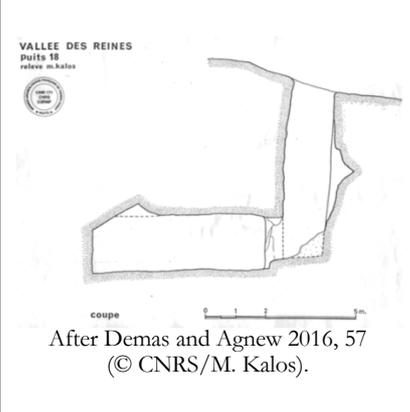
 <p style="text-align: center;">After Demas and Agnew 2016, 55 (© CNRS).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	Merytra (<i>mrj.t-rʿ</i>) Urmerutes (<i>wr-mrw.t=s</i>)
	Epithets/titles	<i>s3.t nsw</i> , king's daughter (Urmerutes)
	Family relationship	Daughter(s) of Amenhotep III(?)
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty (likely, reign of Amenhotep III)
	Reuse	Roman Period
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , southern slope
	Geology	Cut into high-quality marl
	Traces of fire	Not detected
	Old designation	-
	Tomb typology	Shaft tomb Leblanc's type A.1
Tomb walls	Undecorated	
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2016, 54-55. Lecuyot 1996, 155-157. Loyrette 1987, 38-42. Loyrette 2011, 183. Thomas 1966, 185, 187.	

Elizabeth Thomas was not able to explore tomb QV 17 in-depth, however, she hypothesised that the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* had investigated it since there was no visible object therein. Even though the unpublished excavation notebooks of the Italian team do not mention the discovery of this tomb, the current QV-numbering system may suggest that the tomb was actually investigated by the *MAI* (see Volume I: *Text*, section III.6). The tomb was cleared by the Franco-Egyptian team in 1986.

Tomb QV 17 consists of a shaft entrance leading to a single burial chamber. Concerning the 18th-dynasty findings, the Franco-Egyptian team found remains of the original burial equipment outside the tomb, around the shaft entrance and even near tomb QV 14. Among these, there were fragments of an inscribed limestone canopic jar that belonged to Princess Urmerutes. Other fragments of three limestone canopic jars were found within the tomb, but these belonged to another individual called Merytra, who allegedly was close to Urmerutes. According to Loyrette, the canopic ensemble destined to Merytra shows more elegance, thus suggesting that she was a princess too or a woman of higher rank position. Based on the formula on Urmerutes' canopic jar, the slender shape of the jar, and the facial lineaments of the canopic jar lids, Loyrette suggests dating this burial to the mid-18th Dynasty, more specifically to the reign of King Amenhotep III. In addition, likely intrusive fragments of bell-shaped vessels, similar to those found in QV 10 (which contained remains of mummified birds), were found within this tomb.

The CNRS and the SCA cleared QV 17 in 2010 and found mummified human remains, bones (five bags), pottery (three baskets), and wood (two bags).

QV 18

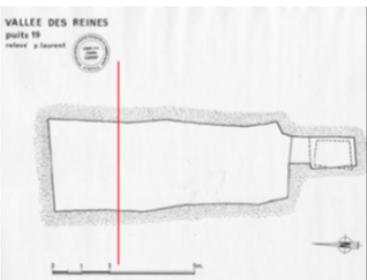
 <p>After Demas and Agnew 2016, 57 (© CNRS/M. Kalos).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty (reigns of Amenhotep II/Thutmose IV or reign of Amenhotep III)
	Reuse	Third Intermediate Period Roman Period
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , southern slope
	Geology	Cut into marl (and partly into shale)
	Traces of fire	Blackened walls
	Old designation	<i>MAI = resh</i> (᷎)
	Tomb typology	Shaft tomb Leblanc's type A.1
Tomb walls	Undecorated	
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2016, 56-57. Lecuyot 1996, 148, 155-157. Loyrette and Fekri 1991. Thomas 1966, 187.	

Elizabeth Thomas was not able to explore in-depth this tomb, however, she hypothesized that the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* had explored it because of the seemingly absence of archaeological evidence. Actually, in 1904 the tomb was investigated by the Italian team, which found stones, fragments of mummies, and unspecified zoological materials. Between 1987 and 1988, it was cleared by the Franco-Egyptian team.

QV 18 consists of a shaft and a single burial chamber. Among the excavated materials, the Franco-Egyptian team found several pottery sherds dating to two phases of use, the 18th Dynasty and the Third Intermediate Period. The Roman Period potsherds do not attest to a reuse of the tomb but they are more likely intrusive. Considering its location close to tombs QV 17 and QV 22, which have been dated to the reign of King Amenhotep III, the preparation of tomb QV 18 possibly dates to the same epoch. Among the 18th-dynasty pottery, there is a jar that shows a peculiar decoration consisting of a band of prancing horses; its bichrome black-and-red decoration is a mark typical of the reigns of Amenhotep II/Thutmose IV. Even the undecorated pottery dates to the reigns of these abovementioned kings.

The CNRS and the SCA cleared the tomb in 2010 and found potsherds and bones.

QV 19

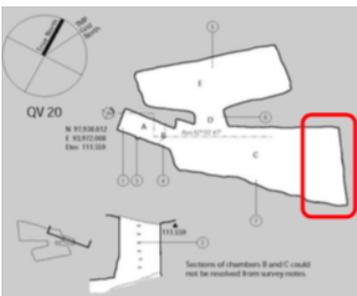
 <p>After Demas and Agnew 2016, 58-59 (© CNRS/Y. Laurent, M. Kalos).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty
	Reuse	?
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , southern slope
	Geology	Cut into marl
	Traces of fire	Not detected
	Old designation	-
	Tomb typology	Shaft tomb Leblanc's type A.1
Tomb walls	Undecorated	
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2016, 58-59. Thomas 1966, 187.	

According to Thomas, the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* investigated QV 19 since there were apparently no archaeological materials. Although this tomb is not recorded within Ballerini's excavation diaries, the current QV-numbering system would suggest that the Italian team could have explored it (see Volume I: *Text, section III.6*). The Franco-Egyptian team cleared the tomb in 1987.

Very little information is known about QV 19. It consists of a shaft and a rectangular burial chamber.

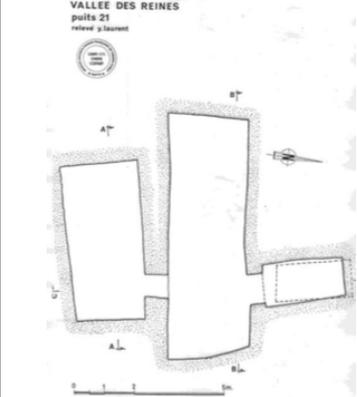
The CNRS and the SCA cleared the tomb in 2010 and found fragments of human bones and mummy wrappings.

QV 20

 <p>After Demas and Agnew 2016, 61 (© TMP).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty
	Reuse	Roman Period
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , southern slope
	Geology	Cut into shale (orange/brown colour) and marl (cream-coloured)
	Traces of fire	Not detected
	Old designation	-
	Tomb typology	Shaft tomb Leblanc's type A.3
Tomb walls	Undecorated	
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2016, 60-61. Thomas 1966, 187. Lecuyot 1999.	

Tomb QV 20 is located on the southern slope of the main *wadi* and in part underlies tomb QV 19 (the part highlighted in red on the above picture). Thomas assumed that the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* investigated this tomb since she found only few potsherds within the *trab*. Actually, as the unpublished digging diaries confirm, the tomb was explored by the Italian team in 1904. Afterwards, in 1986, the Franco-Egyptian team partially cleared the tomb, but it could not complete the excavation works due to the unstable ceiling and walls. This obstacle did not make it possible to assess the archaeological potential of the tomb. The reuse of QV 20 during the Roman Period is strongly suggested by the finding of fragments of Roman Period decorated shrouds that were used to wrap mummies.

QV 21

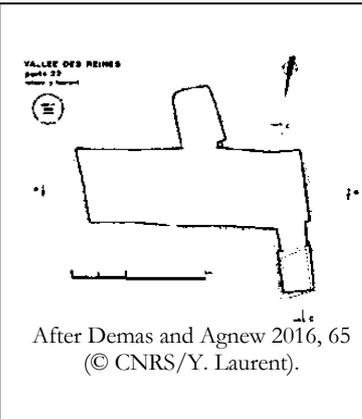
 <p>After Demas and Agnew 2016, 63 (© CNRS/Y. Laurent).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty
	Reuse	Third Intermediate Period Roman Period Coptic Period
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , southern slope
	Geology	Cut into marl and shale
	Traces of fire	Not detected
	Old designation	<i>MAI</i> = <i>shin</i> (ψ)
	Tomb typology	Shaft entrance Leblanc's type B.2
Tomb walls	Undecorated	
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2016, 62-63. Lecuyot 1996, 155-157. Macke <i>et al.</i> 2002, 28. Thomas 1966, 185 and 187.	

Tomb QV 21 was investigated for the first time by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* in 1904. During her survey, Thomas recorded several findings: bones, potsherds, three pieces of uninscribed canopic jars, and one piece of a decorated canopic jar. In 1986, the Franco-Egyptian mission cleared the tomb.

Concerning the architectural features, the tomb consists of a shaft entrance and two rectangular burial chambers, both displaying perpendicular axis compared to that of the shaft entrance. Based on the archaeological materials, it was possible to detect the different phases of reuse over time (Third Intermediate, Roman, and Coptic Periods).

The CNRS and the SCA cleared the tomb in 2008 and found potsherds and bones.

QV 22

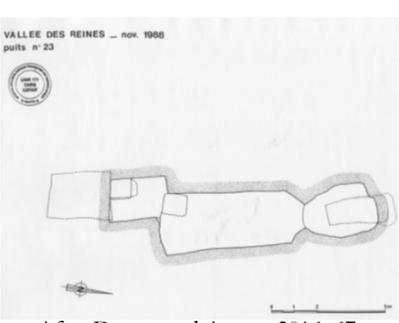
	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty (reign of Amenhotep III)
	Reuse	Third Intermediate Period Roman Period Coptic Period
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , southern slope
	Geology	Cut into marl and shale
	Traces of fire	Not detected
	Old designation	<i>MAI = tꜣadi</i> (𓄏)
	Tomb typology	Shaft tomb Leblanc's type B.1
Tomb walls	Undecorated	
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2016, 64-65. Lecuyot 1996, 158, 155-157. Schumann Antelme 1995. Schumann Antelme 1999. Thomas 1966, 185, 187.	

Tomb QV 22 was investigated by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* in 1904. Thomas explored it and found several objects: the well-preserved unwrapped mummy of a dog, potsherds, a clay jar sealing, fragments of wood, bones, and rope, and other sherds of possibly canopic jars. Afterwards, the tomb was cleared by the Franco-Egyptian team between 1986 and 1987.

This tomb consists of a shaft entrance, which leads to a rectangular burial chamber, which is provided with a niche/annex side. Among the archaeological findings recorded by the Franco-Egyptian team, there are about ten clay jar stoppers, all coated with stucco. They bear the impression of the name of *nb-mꜣꜥ.t-rꜥ*/Amenhotep III, thus making the dating of the tomb apparent. One of these shows the cartouche of the king placed upon a *nb*-hieroglyph and flanked by gazelles (or antelopes). According to Schumann Antelme, the (wine) jars might have been a funerary offering granted by the king in favour of a noble woman or a high-ranked man. Among the pottery, the Franco-Egyptian team found fragments of about ten big jars used for storage purposes, several pinkish-beige terracotta sherds painted in red, blue, black and green, which show a decoration imitating the veining of the stone, and a fragmented big ovoid vase with the handles substituted by human faces in relief (dating to the 6th-7th century AD). A Third Intermediate Period large jar was found outside the tomb, in front of the shaft entrance: this finding may attest to funerary rituals performed on behalf of the deceased.

The CNRS and the SCA cleared the tomb in 2008 and found bones (11 bags and one basket), linen (ten bags), wood (one box), pottery (three bags), and one mummy.

QV 23

 <p>After Demas and Agnew 2016, 67 (© CNRS).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty (reign of Amenhotep III)
	Reuse	Third Intermediate Period Roman Period
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , southern slope
	Geology	Cut into both marl and shale
	Traces of fire	Blackened walls and ceiling
	Old designation	<i>MAI = pee</i> (9)
	Tomb typology	Shaft tomb Leblanc's type A.1
	Tomb walls	Undecorated
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2016, 66-67. Lecuyot 1992/a. Lecuyot 1996, 155-157. Thomas 1966, 208-210.	

The *Missione Archeologica Italiana* investigated tomb QV 23 in 1904, however, little information is provided within the unpublished excavation diaries. Thomas investigated this tomb but did not provide much information about it; she only remarked that the walls and ceiling were blackened. The Franco-Egyptian team investigated QV 23 between 1987 and 1988.

Like tombs QV11 and QV16, QV 23 is provided with a staircase entryway, which was cut during the Third Intermediate Period, when the tomb was reused in order to host new burials. The staircase entryway was not the only change affecting the architectural layout: the pit inside the second room is certainly intrusive. Based on the examination of the archaeological remains, it is evident that this tomb was reused during the Third Intermediate and the Roman Periods. Among the anthropological materials, the Franco-Egyptian team removed 67 fragmented mummies, 61 skulls, and bones pertaining to 89 adults and 28 children.

The CNRS and the SCA cleared QV 23 and found remains of mummies, linen (nine bags), pottery (seven bags), wood (one bag), straw (one bag), and other unspecified fragments (one basket).

QV 24

 <p style="text-align: center; font-size: small;">After Demas and Agnew 2016, 167 (© Demas and Agnew).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	20 th Dynasty
	Reuse	-
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , southern slope
	Geology	Cut into marl
	Traces of fire	Not detected
	Old designation	-
	Tomb typology	Commenced tomb
Tomb walls	-	
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2016, 167. Leblanc 1989/a, 239. Thomas 1966, 187, 209-210, 225.	

Not much can be said about this tomb, which consists of a commenced staircase entryway only. Looking at the picture above, it is apparent why the construction of this tomb was abandoned: during the excavation works, the workmen stumbled upon the shaft of tomb QV 25 (the white arrow indicates the small break into the shaft). This accident suggests that the position of QV 25 was unknown to the architect/workmen.

Thomas surveyed QV 24 and found it mostly filled up with debris. Afterwards, it was investigated by the Franco-Egyptian team in 1986. Considering the shape of the staircase entryway, Leblanc dated it to the 20th Dynasty.

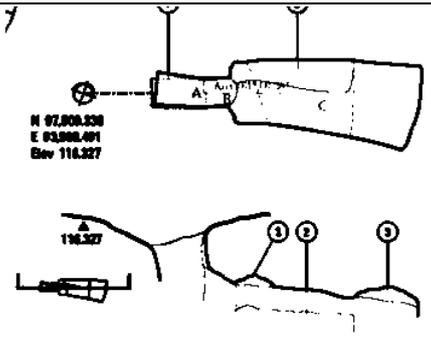
QV 25

<p style="text-align: center;">After Demas and Agnew 2016, 69 (© TMP).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty
	Reuse	-
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , southern slope
	Geology	Cut into marl and shale
	Traces of fire	Blackened walls and ceiling
	Old designation	<i>MAI = tau (T)</i>
	Tomb typology	Shaft tomb Leblanc's type A.1
Tomb walls	Undecorated	
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2016, 68-69. Thomas 1966, 185, 187, 208, 210.	

Tomb QV 25 was investigated by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* in 1904 and afterwards by Thomas. It consists of a shaft which leads to a single burial chamber. As evident from the break into the wall of the shaft, this tomb was already discovered in ancient times (20th Dynasty), when the workmen were cutting the ramp of a new tomb (QV 24). The burial chamber has blackened walls and ceiling.

During the clearance of the tomb undertaken by the CNRS and the SCA in 2010, a portion of a mummified body was found.

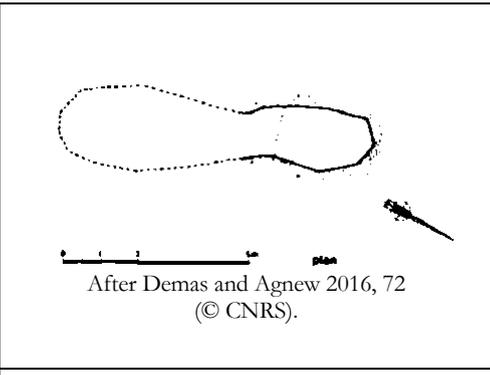
QV 26

 <p style="text-align: center;">After Demas and Agnew 2016, 71 (© TMP).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty
	Reuse	-
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , southern slope
	Geology	Cut into shale
	Traces of fire	Not detected
	Old designation	<i>MAI</i> = final- <i>num</i> (I)
	Tomb typology	Shaft tomb Leblanc's type A.1
Tomb walls	Undecorated	
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2016, 70-71. Thomas 1966, 185, 187.	

Very likely, tomb QV 26 was discovered and investigated by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* in 1904. Among the materials recorded by Ballerini, there are pieces of linen shrouds, fragments of mummies (six skulls), and potsherds. Thomas explored it but she did provide very little information. The Franco-Egyptian team cleared this tomb, although the results have not been published thus far.

QV 26 consists of a shaft leading to a rectangular burial chamber. The ceiling of the burial chamber is rather low and has collapsed in some areas due to the poor quality and friable rock. Only a fragment of a human skull has been brought to light by the CNRS and SCA during the clearing works carried out in 2010.

QV 27

 <p>After Demas and Agnew 2016, 72 (© CNRS).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty
	Reuse	-
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , southern slope
	Geology	Cut into shale
	Traces of fire	Not detected
	Old designation	Wilkinson = n. 24
	Tomb typology	Shaft tomb Leblanc's type A.1?
Tomb walls	Undecorated	
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2016, 72. Thomas 1966, 200 (fig. 20), 209, 211.	

The current QV-numbering system would suggest that tomb QV 27 was at least identified by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana*, although there is no information about it within the unpublished excavation diaries (see Volume I: *Text*, section III.6).

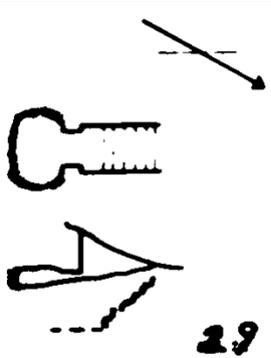
Little information is known about this tomb. The shaft entrance is large since its mouth underwent erosion and deterioration. The burial chamber was filled with debris and Thomas was not able to explore it. However, she prepared the plan of QV 27 providing it with a supposed staircase entryway. The Getty Conservation Institute could not investigate the tomb because it was filled up with debris; therefore, only a hypothetical architectural plan is available. Thomas defined QV 27 a “corridor tomb”, thus interpreting it as a likely decorated tomb (“*perhaps inscribed*”). Nothing is known about any archaeological findings.

QV 28

 <p style="font-size: small;">After Thomas 1966, 200, fig. 20.</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty
	Reuse	?
	Tomb location	Main <i>wadi</i> , southern slope
	Geology	-
	Traces of fire	Not detected
	Old designation	Wilkinson = n. 23 <i>MAI</i> = <i>ayin</i> (V)
	Tomb typology	Unfinished tomb? Staircase entrance
Tomb walls	-	
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2016, 27, 31. Thomas 1966, 200 (fig. 20), 209, 211, 225.	

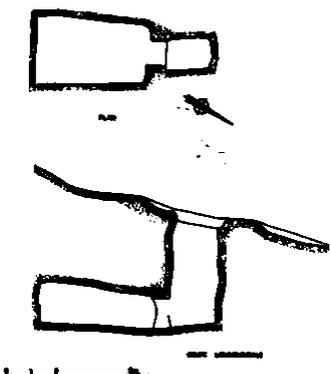
Tomb QV 28 was likely investigated by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* in 1904. Little information is available from Thomas, who was not able to explore it because the tomb was filled up with debris. She reproduced the plan by indicating a staircase entryway, and hypothesized that the architectural layout was similar to QV 27. Moreover, she listed it as likely “type Ib”, that means, according to her typology, a tomb with staircase entryway and decorated walls. This tomb is not included within the catalogue of Demas and Agnew because it was not identifiable: at present, it probably lies under the modern guard house.

QV 29

 <p style="font-size: small;">After Thomas 1966, 200, fig. 20.</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty
	Reuse	Roman Period
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , southern slope
	Geology	Cut into shale
	Traces of fire	Not detected
	Old designation	Wilkinson = n. 22
	Tomb typology	Shaft tomb (?)
	Tomb walls	Undecorated
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2016, 73. Lecuyot 1996, 155-157. Thomas 1966, 200 (fig. 20), 209, 211, 225.	

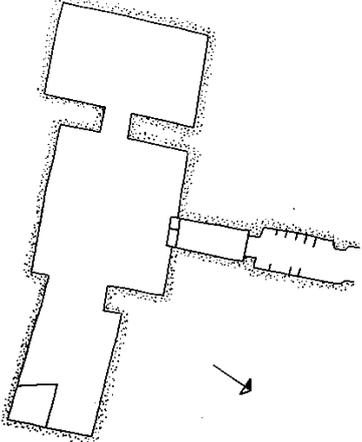
The shaft entrance shows irregular shape due to erosion of the friable shale into which the tomb was cut. The ceiling of the room has collapsed. Thomas could not investigate this tomb, which interpreted, along with QV 27 and QV 28, as a 19th-dynasty decorated sepulcher. She reproduced the plan by indicating a staircase entryway and suggested that it was left unfinished. The current QV-numbering system would suggest that the tomb was investigated by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* (see Volume I: *Text, section III.6*).

QV 30

 <p style="text-align: center;">After Demas and Agnew 2016, 75 (© CNRS).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	Nebiry (<i>nb-jry</i>) Anonymous individual
	Epithets/titles	<i>hrj jh.w</i> , stable master (Nebiry)
	Family relationship	Father of the Mayor of Thinis Amenhotep? (Nebiry)
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty (reign of Thutmose III or before)
	Reuse	Roman Period
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , southern slope
	Geology	Cut into shale
	Traces of fire	Not detected
	Old designation	-
	Tomb typology	Shaft tomb Leblanc's type A.1
Tomb walls	Undecorated	
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2012, 27. Demas and Agnew 2016, 74-75. Dolzani 1982, 18-19. Donadoni Roveri 1988, 148. Leblanc and Siliotti 1997, 85-86, 182. Porter and Moss 1927, 49. Porter and Moss 1964 (PM I ²), 749. Schiaparelli 1924, 35-39. Thomas 1966, 185-186.	

Tomb QV 30 was discovered by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* in 1904. It consists of a shaft entrance and a single burial chamber. The shale into which the tomb has been cut is of poor quality and this is the cause of the deterioration of its walls. Thanks to the inscribed findings, the Italian team managed to attribute the tomb to the stable master Nebiry and dated it to the reign of Thutmose III. Among the findings, there are fragmented whitewashed jars (called “*zjrt*”), four limestone canopic jars with human-headed lid, pottery [which includes a fragmented grey/yellow slip jug with geometric decoration (typical of the reign of Thutmose III) and Syrian-Palestinian potsherds that mirrors the wealthy status of the tomb owner]. In addition, fragments of four terracotta canopic jars with human-headed lid were found. According to Schiaparelli, these canopic jars belonged to a person of humbler condition (*i.e.* a servant), whose mummy, smashed in pieces, was found within the same tomb. According to Thomas, Nebiry was the original tomb owner of tomb QV 30, which was plundered by the reign of Thutmose III. Therefore, following her suggestion, it might be assumed that QV 30 was reused, at a later stage, for the reburial of another individual (*i.e.* the owner of the terracotta canopic jars).

QV 31

 <p style="text-align: center;">After Leblanc and Siliotti 1997, 182 (© CNRS).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	Anonymous queen
	Epithets/titles	<i>s3.t nsw</i> , king's daughter <i>hm.t nsw wr.t</i> , great royal wife <i>nb.t t3.wj</i> , lady of the Two Lands <i>hnw.t sm'w mhw</i> , mistress of Upper and Lower Egypt
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	19 th Dynasty (reign of Sety I?)
	Reuse	Ramesside Period Third Intermediate Period Roman Period
	Location	Main <i>nadi</i> , southern slope
	Geology	Tomb cut into the lower part of Member I; the chamber added after the New Kingdom is cut into the shale of the Esna Formation
	Traces of fire	Some areas within the intrusive pit are blackened
	Old designation	Wilkinson = n. 21? Champollion = n. 9 Lepsius = n. 15 Bugsch = n. 10
	Tomb typology	Stepped ramp, multi-chambered tomb Leblanc's type I
Tomb walls	Plastered, painted shallow relief	
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2016, 168-179. Elleithy and Leblanc 2016, 13-17. Leblanc and Siliotti 1997, 182. Lecuyot 1996, 155-157. Macke <i>et al.</i> 2002, 28. McCarthy 2007, 107. Porter and Moss 1964 (PM I?), 749-750. Thomas 1966, 200 (fig. 20), 208-209, 211-213, 224-225.	

QV 31 belongs to a group of tombs that were likely cut at the beginning of the 19th Dynasty. It has been dated to the reign of Sety I due to its location and architectural plan. The tomb was investigated by the explorers of the 19th century. Afterwards, the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* likely investigated it. Thomas visited and documented QV 31, and finally the Franco-Egyptian team cleared the tomb in 1986-1987.

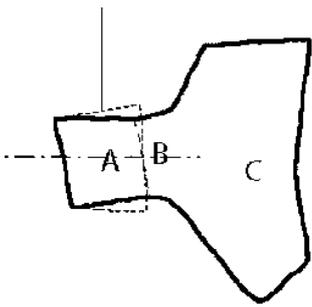
The original architectural plan of QV 31 included a stepped ramp, a short corridor, and three chambers. Inside the eastern one, there is a pit that has been cut during the Roman Period. The main, central chamber was decorated: there remains of portions of plaster coating and of a *hkr*-frieze, under which there is an inscribed band and part of the decoration; the ceiling is plastered but not painted. The cartouche has been left blank, therefore, the tomb owner remains anonymous. A picture of the inside of the tomb published by Demas and Agnew clearly shows a blackened area due to fire within the intrusive pit.

The presence of hieratic graffiti within the tomb indicates that QV 31 was visible and accessible during the 20th Dynasty. No pieces of funerary furniture datable to the

Ramesseid Period were found therein, however, it seems curious that a tomb was cut, prepared, decorated, and then not used; actually, the absence of the name within the cartouche is not a telling factor in favour of the non-use of this tomb. The mudbrick structures datable to the Ramesseid Period, placed along the sides of the ramp and within the tomb, as well as the infill material applied into the ceiling, seems to suggest a reuse of the tomb during the Ramesseid Period itself. The only Ramesseid Period object found within QV 31 has nothing to do with the original burial: it deals with a door jamb decorated by means of carved hieroglyphs, dating to the reign of Ramses III, which may have been recycled from the temple of Medinet Habu. Traces of overplastering that hides the paintings are a clue that suggest the reuse of this tomb by the Copts, although no trace of Coptic pottery (or any other objects) has been recorded.

Except for the door jamb, other archaeological remains are not mentioned. Concerning the anthropological remains, the assessment made by the Franco-Egyptian team lists one fragmentary mummy, six skulls, other eight skulls found within the pit, along with one mummy.

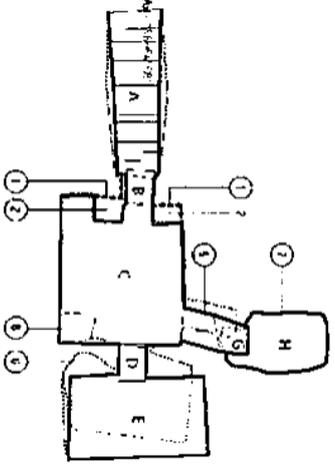
QV 32

 <p style="text-align: center;">After Demas and Agnew 2016, 77 (© TMP).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty
	Reuse	Likely not reused
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , southern slope
	Geology	Shaft cut into the shale, chamber cut into the marl
	Traces of fire	Not detected
	Old designation	Brugsch = n. 8?
	Tomb typology	Shaft tomb Leblanc's type B.1
Tomb walls	Undecorated	
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2016, 76-77. Koenig 1988, 126. Lecuyot 1996, 151. Thomas 1966, 200 (fig. 20), 209, 212, 225.	

QV 32 was discovered for the first time by Brugsch. There is no mention of this tomb within the unpublished excavation diaries of the *Missione Archeologica Italiana*, although, based on the current QV-numbering system, it is likely that it was at least identified (see Volume I: *Text, section III.6*). Thomas could not investigate the tomb because it was filled up with debris; she hypothesized that the original owner was a royal consort. Afterwards, the tomb was cleared by the Franco-Egyptian team in 1985.

This tomb consists of a shaft, which is cut into shale, and a single burial chamber, which is cut into marl. The shaft is short and its walls are irregularly cut. The Getty Conservation Institute team detected mud on the rock of the ceiling, a clue suggesting that the tomb was affected by rainwaters; in addition, wasp nests are attached to the ceiling, thus indicating that the tomb was left open for an unidentified time-span. Concerning the findings, Lecuyot mentions pottery dating to the late 18th Dynasty/beginning of the 19th Dynasty, including an inscribed amphora. The absence of pottery dating to the Third Intermediate Period, as well as Late, Roman, and Coptic Periods, seems to suggest that the tomb was not reuse.

QV 33

 <p style="text-align: center;">After Demas and Agnew 2016, 183 (© TMP).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	Tanedjemy (<i>t3-ndmy</i>)
	Epithets/titles	<i>s3.t nsw</i> , king's daughter <i>hm.t nsw</i> , king's wife <i>hnw.t šm'w mh'w</i> , mistress of Upper and Lower Egypt
	Family relationship	Daughter of Ramses I?
	Epoch of tomb construction	19 th Dynasty (reign of Sety I?)
	Reuse	Late Period (26 th Dynasty) Roman Period
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , southern slope
	Geology	Cut into Member I and Esna shale
	Traces of fire	Blackened walls and ceiling in some sectors of the tomb
	Old designation	Wilkinson = n. 20 Lepsius = n. 14 Brugsch = n. 9
	Tomb typology	Stepped ramp, multi-chambered tomb Leblanc's type I
	Tomb walls	Plastered, painted raised relief
	Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2016, 180-191. Elleithy and Leblanc 2016, 19-22. Leblanc 1980. Leblanc and Hassanein 1985, 27-28. Lecuyot 1996, 155-157. Lepsius 1900, 236 (n. 14). McCarthy 2007, 107. Porter and Moss 1927, 39 (wrongly numbered as n. 37). Porter and Moss 1964 (PM I?), 751. Thomas 1966, 201 (plan), 208-209, 211-213, 218, 224-225. Troy 1986, 170.

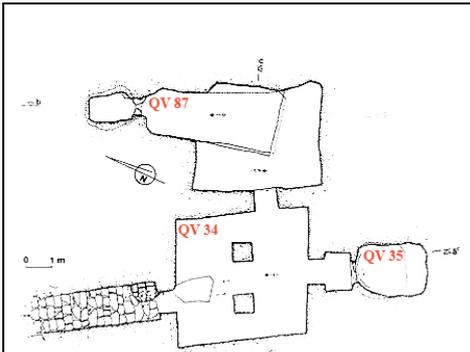
Tomb QV 33 had been explored in the 19th century by Wilkinson, Lepsius, and Brugsch. This tomb can be attributed to the reign of Sety I due to its location and architectural plan. Thomas misread the name of the queen inside the cartouche and assigned tomb QV 33 to Mutnedjemi, wife of King Horemheb. When she surveyed the Queens' Valley, the tomb in question was not completely accessible, this also causing her wrong attribution to that 18th-dynasty queen. Instead, Queen Tanedjemy is the original tomb owner. This queen was unknown within the written sources before the identification of her tomb in the Queens' Valley. According to Leblanc, Tanedjemy was a daughter of Ramses I and wife of Sety I: the stylistic analysis of the wall decoration suggests a dating to the early 19th Dynasty. Conversely, Troy interpreted this queen as a daughter-wife of Ramses II.

The tomb plan consists of a stepped ramp entryway, a main burial chamber and a second chamber, both placed along the same axis. The pit, that can be accessed from the main chamber, is datable to a phase of reuse of the tomb after the New Kingdom. The majority of the wall decoration was destroyed by the fire that occurred within the tomb. The first robbery likely affected QV 33 towards the end of the 20th Dynasty. Material evidence dating to the 19th Dynasty has not been found. After the tomb robbery, QV 33 was reused, as attested by the archaeological evidence. Among the materials dating to the

26th Dynasty, there are tubular and spherical beads, winged scarabs and amulets shaped as Horus' sons (all elements belonging to bead-nets), fragments of terracotta and wooden coffins, as well as pottery.

Afterwards, tomb QV 33 was reused as a mass burial during the Roman Period, between the 1st and 4th century AD, as evident from the several corpses and archaeological materials (a small bottle for unguent, fragments of decorated shrouds that wrapped mummies, and pottery). Within the pit that is in the lateral annex cut into the northern wall of the burial chamber, the Franco-Egyptian team found 12 mummies; one of this, belonging to an adolescent, still wore a mummy mask preserving traces of the name of the deceased (Horus, son of Psenmonthes), and could be dated to the 2nd-3rd century AD.

QV 34

 <p style="text-align: center;">After Fekri and Loyrette 1998, 122 (© CNRS/F. Bouilloc). Tomb numbers added in red.</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	Anonymous queen
	Epithets/titles	<i>hm.t nsw</i> , king's wife
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	19 th Dynasty (reign of Sety I?)
	Reuse	Third Intermediate Period (21 st and 22 nd -24 th Dyn.) 26 th Dynasty Roman Period
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , southern slope
	Geology	Cut into Member I and Esna shale
	Traces of fire	Not detected
	Old designation	-
	Tomb typology	Staircase entryway, pillared burial chamber Leblanc's type I
	Tomb walls	Plastered, painted raised relief and incised relief
	Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2016, 192-202. Elleithy and Leblanc 2016, 23-2. Fekri and Loyrette 1998. Lecuyot 1996, 155-157. Schiaparelli 1924, 110-111. Thomas 1966, 209, 212, 225.

According to Thomas, the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* investigated this tomb and then filled it because of the instable and unsafe ceiling and walls. Actually, it is not clear whether the Italian mission investigated QV 34: the unpublished digging diaries do not include any clue to this tomb. Only the current QV-numbering system may suggest that the tomb had been explored, or even simply identified, by the Ballerini and Schiaparelli (see Volume I: *Text*, section III.6). Between 1987 and 1988, the Franco-Egyptian team cleared it.

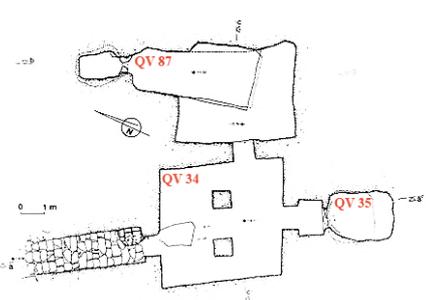
The position of QV 34, close to QV 38, may depend on the fact that Queen Satra, consort of Ramses I, was interpreted as a sort of *Stammutter*: a tomb close to the first Ramesside royal consort may have been ideologically relevant. The tomb has been cut into the lowermost part of Member I, which consists of marl, above which there is a layer of shale (which constitutes the upper part of the Esna formation). A stepped ramp leads to the pillared burial chamber, which is at present open-air because of the collapse of the ceiling, due to the bad quality and friability of the limestone and to the presence of *taflab*. The excavation of the southern annex was interrupted due to the collision with the commenced shaft of QV 35. The north-eastern annex is large, and include the volume of the 18th-dynasty tomb QV 87, as a result of another tomb collision. The double tomb collision suggests that the position of QV 35 and QV 87 was unknown to the architect that designed tomb QV 34. It is impossible to identify the original tomb owner. The finding of a fragment of calcite canopic jar with the final part of a cartouche and the *m3^c.t*

hrw-epithet speaks in favour of a princess or a queen. In the recent publication by Elleithy and Leblanc, it is stated that the title *hm.t nsw* is preserved on a fragmented canopic jar. On the jamb of one of the doors there is a formula which reads: *dj.w m hst hr nsw n s3.t=f n h.t=f*, “done by the grace of the king for his natural daughter”, which is a specific formula that occurs even within other tombs associated to Ramses II’s daughters.

The archaeological materials found in QV 34 mirror the different stages of use of the tomb: 1) the 19th Dynasty [some blue glass-frit strands that were likely part of the wig of an anthropoid coffin, fragments of calcite canopic jar(s), remains of three stone vessels, several broken pottery sherds (some of which bearing pot marks known at Deir el-Medina), fragments of an inscribed terracotta bowl, some small vessels used by the painters to apply the pigments and paint, and one *ostrakon* with some hieroglyphs, among which an *‘nh* holding in its hands lotus flowers]; 2) the Third Intermediate Period [remains of three 21st-dynasty anthropoid coffins (the decoration of which is characterised by the typical *horror vacui* that was *en vogue* in that period), glazed beads belonging to funerary nets, wings of the same material belonging to a winged scarab, and fragmented pottery]; 3) the Roman Period [wooden coffins, some decorated linen shrouds that wrapped mummies, cartonnage masks, a faience amulet in the shape of the god Bes, a female wooden statuette, and pottery].

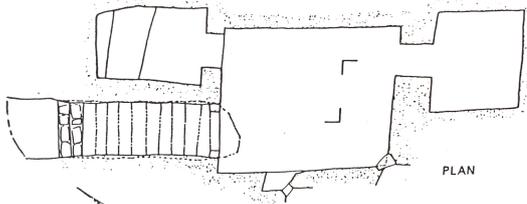
The assessment of the anthropological remains made by the CNRS lists 42 mummies, 34 skulls, and bones attesting to 110 adults and 16 children.

QV 35

 <p>After Fekri and Loyrette 1998, 122 (© CNRS/F. Bouilloc). Tomb numbers in red added.</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty
	Reuse	Roman Period
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , southern slope
	Geology	Cut into fractured marl
	Traces of fire	Not detected
	Old designation	-
	Tomb typology	Commenced tomb
Tomb walls	Undecorated	
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2016, 78-79. Fekri and Loyrette 1998, 136, footnote 4. Lecuyot 1996, 155-157. Thomas 1966, 209, 212, 225.	

QV 35 consists of a commenced shaft only, which is 4,70 m deep. Its location was unknown at the beginning of the 19th Dynasty, as evident by the fact that when tomb QV 34 was cut, the workmen stumbled upon the shaft of QV 35. The fractured nature of the marl, that characterised even the rock of QV 34, partly depends on the episodic floodings. Thomas could not explore this shaft since it was filled up with debris.

QV 36

 <p style="text-align: center;">After Loyrette and Sayed 2016, 133 (© CNRS/G. Lecuyot and J. Buffel du Vaure).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets / titles	<i>s3.t nsw n h.t=f mr(.t)=f</i> , king's daughter of his body, beloved by him
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	19 th Dynasty (reign of Sety I?)
	Reuse	-
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , southern slope
	Geology	Cut into marl
	Traces of fire	Not detected
	Old designation	<i>MAI</i> = n. 7 or 8
	Tomb typology	Staircase entrance, three chambers Leblanc's type I
Tomb walls	Traces of painted raised relief within the main chamber, traces of unpainted carved relief within the southern side chamber	
Bibliographical references	Ballerini 1903, 9-10. McCarthy 2007, 107. Ballerini, <i>Miss. Arch.</i> Porter and Moss 1927, 39. Demas and Agnew 2016, 203-216. Porter and Moss 1964 (PM I?), 750-751. Elleithy and Leblanc 2016, 29-35. Schiaparelli 1924, 109-110. Loyrette and Sayed 1992-1993, 119-134. Thomas 1966, 187-188, 208-209, 212-213. Thomas 1967, 163.	

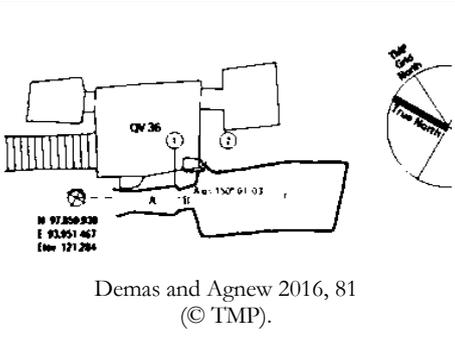
Tomb QV 36 was discovered by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* in 1903. Albeit unfinished, it was likely used to host the burial of a female member of the royal family: the lack of any trace of cartouches may suggest that a princess was the original tomb owner, although Ballerini assigned it to an anonymous royal consort. Furthermore, according to him, the tomb construction was interrupted due to the friable rock. The tomb location and its proximity to Satra's tomb (QV 38), as well as its architectural plan, speak in favour of a dating in the early 19th Dynasty.

A staircase made of fourteen steps leads to the main chamber, which is the only one that has been decorated (at present, the paintings are not well preserved because of the bad quality of the rock). The walls of the southern side chamber were plastered but the engraved decoration was not completed. Finally, the side chamber that is on the same side of the tomb entrance has been only cut within the rock. The ceiling is light-black painted.

Ballerini did not mention any archaeological finding within the unpublished volume of his *Missione Archeologica in Egitto*, nor in the unpublished excavation diaries.

The CNRS and the SCA cleared the tomb in 2008 and found potsherds and stone fragments; nothing is said about anthropological remains.

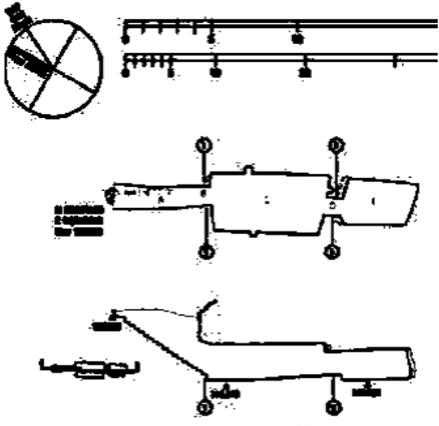
QV 37

 <p style="text-align: center;">Demas and Agnew 2016, 81 (© TMP).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty
	Reuse	-
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , southern slope
	Geology	Cut into marl
	Traces of fire	Not detected
	Old designation	<i>MAI</i> = n. 7 or 8
Tomb typology	Shaft tomb Leblanc's type A.1	
Tomb walls	Undecorated	
Bibliographical references	Ballerini 1903, 10-11. Demas and Agnew 2016, 80-81. Leblanc and Siliotti 1997, 194 (endnote 115). Thomas 1966, 184, 188.	

Tomb QV 37 was discovered by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* in 1903. Afterwards, Thomas explored it and the Franco Egyptian team cleared it in 1985. It consists of a shaft entrance leading to a single burial chamber and is located very close to QV 36, with which it is put in connection through a break cut in the rock. Likely, such a break was the result of an accident that occurred during the cutting of QV 36. This means that the architect who designed the project of tomb QV 36 did not know the exact position of QV 37.

Ballerini remarks that no materials were found within the tomb. However, the CNRS and SCA investigated QV 37 in 2008 and found potsherds (undefined quantity), thus suggesting that actually the tomb was not empty.

QV 38

 <p>From Demas and Agnew 2016, 220 (© TMP).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	Satra (<i>s3.t-rʿ</i>)
	Epithets/titles	<i>ḥm.t nsw</i> , king's wife <i>ḥm.t ntr</i> , god's wife <i>mw.t ntr</i> , god's mother <i>mw.t nsw wr.t</i> , king's grandmother <i>nb.t t3.wj</i> , lady of the Two Lands <i>ḥmw.t šmʿw mhꜣw</i> , mistress of Upper and Lower Egypt
	Family relationship	Wife of Ramses I Mother of Sety I
	Epoch of tomb construction	19 th Dynasty (reigns of Ramses I/Sety I)
	Reuse	Coptic Period
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , southern slope
	Traces of fire	-
	Old designation	Wilkinson = n. 19 Champollion = n. 7 Lepsius = n. 13 Brugsch = n. 7 Ballerini, <i>Miss. Arch.</i> = tomb n. 4
	Tomb typology	Stepped entryway, multi-chambered tomb Leblanc's type I
	Tomb walls	Plastered walls, preliminary drawing (in red and black); unfinished decoration; no trace of carved/raised relief
Bibliographical references	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 45%;"> <p>Ballerini 1903, 7-9, 11. Ballerini, <i>Miss. Arch.</i> Champollion 1844, 394-395. Demas and Agnew 2012, 36-38. Demas and Agnew 2016, 217-227. Elleithy and Leblanc 2016, 37-42. Franco and el-Fikri 1990, 30-31. Gauthier 1914, 9. Leblanc 2009, 168-173.</p> </div> <div style="width: 45%;"> <p>Leblanc and Siliotti 1997, 72-73, 183. Lepsius 1900, 235-236. Maspero 1888-1889, 190-194. McCarthy 2007, 107. Schiaparelli 1924, 105-107. Porter and Moss 1964 (PM I²), 751. Porter and Moss 1927, 39. Thomas 1966, 209, 211, 213, 224-225.</p> </div> </div>	

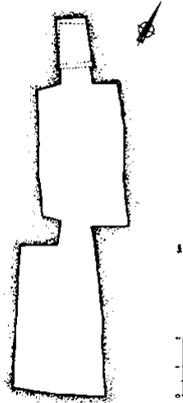
Tomb QV 38 was investigated by the 19th-century explorers (Wilkinson, Champollion, Lepsius, and Brugsch) and afterwards rediscovered by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* on the 31st of January 1903. This is the first decorated tomb within the Queens' Valley. Its owner is Queen Satra, wife of Ramses I and mother of Sety I. Nothing is known about her origin, but she likely came from the Delta region.

The tomb consists of a staircase entryway leading to two chambers, which are positioned along the same axis of the entrance, one after the other. Only the first room is decorated, although the decoration has not been completed: the preliminary drawing is roughly sketched in red pigment and it has been corrected in black paint; the ceiling is painted in light grey and it includes a depiction of a yellow-painted Nut. The decorative program is simple, it includes only funerary geniuses and gods, as well as the (only known) depiction of the queen. Four small niches are cut into the walls of the first chamber, in line with the cardinal points: they served to host the magical bricks. The second chamber is roughly cut and its walls have not been plastered. The tomb was left unfinished likely

because of the unexpected death of the queen. It was reused during the Coptic period, as evident from the presence of crosses painted on the walls.

Schiaparelli wrongly suggested that Satra was a wife of Sety I, since the queen in question is indicated as *hm.t nsw* in an inscription within Sety I's tomb (KV 17). In addition, Ballerini remarks that Schiaparelli identified her as Mut-Tuy. Archaeological findings from QV 38 are not recorded by Ballerini and Schiaparelli. The Franco-Egyptian team found fragments of different type of materials, whereas nothing is said about anthropological remains.

QV 39

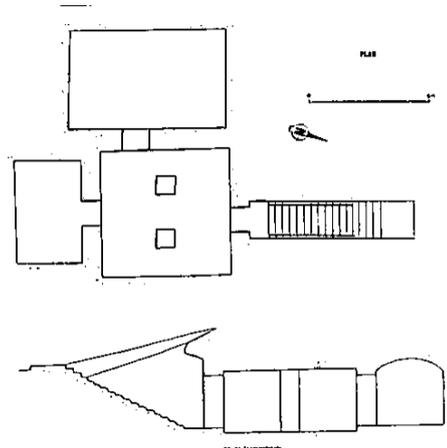
 <p style="font-size: small;">From Demas and Agnes 2016, 83 (© CNRS).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty
	Reuse	Roman Period Coptic Period
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , southern slope
	Geology	Cut into marl
	Traces of fire	Walls and ceilings of both chambers are blackened
	Old designation	<i>MAI</i> = n. 33
	Tomb typology	Shaft tomb Leblanc's type A.2
Tomb walls	Undecorated	
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2016, 82-83. Macke <i>et al.</i> 2002, 28. Thomas 1966, 184-185, 188, 208, 212, 191.	

Tomb QV 39 was discovered in 1904 by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana*. It is described by Ballerini as the shaft tomb within which unspecified “jewels” were found. The only objects that can be considered as “jewels” are the pieces of gold leaves (which have not been brought to the Museo Egizio) and a lotus-shaped pendant (Turin ME S. 05108).

This tomb consists of a deep shaft leading to two burial chambers, which are positioned on the same axis, in a row. Thomas remarked that the walls and ceiling were blackened, as the result of the Coptic fumigation, and that the tomb was filled with mummies so that it was not possible not to step on them. No archaeological evidence was recorded by Thomas, although she stated that materials likely lay under the *trab*. She also hypothesised that QV 39 might have hosted the burial of Prince Uadjmes, due to the proximity of this tomb to that of this prince’s tutor, the vizier Imhotep (QV 46).

The Franco-Egyptian team removed from the tomb 31 mummies (dated to the Roman Period), 51 skulls, fragmented bones, fragments of terracotta canopic jars, and fragments of painted coffins. In 2008 the CNRS and the SCA cleared the tomb and found two piles of mummies, pottery, and wood.

QV 40

 <p style="text-align: center; font-size: small;">Demas and Agnew 2016, 233 (© CNRS/G. Lecuyot).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	Anonymous queen
	Epithets/titles	<i>s3.t nsw</i> , king's daughter <i>hm.t nsw wr.t</i> , great royal wife <i>nb.t B.wj</i> , lady of the Two Lands <i>hnw.t sm'w mhw</i> , mistress of Upper and Lower Egypt
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	19 th Dynasty (reign of Sety I?)
	Reuse	-
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , southern slope, western end
	Geology	Cut into marl
	Traces of fire	-
	Old designation	Hay of Linplum = 4 th western tomb Wilkinson = n. 18 Champollion = n. 6 Lepsius = n. 12 Brugsch = n. 6 <i>MAI</i> = n. 60
	Tomb typology	Stepped ramp, pillared chamber, two side chambers Leblanc's type I
Tomb walls	Painted plaster, raised relief	
Bibliographical references	Brugsch 1855, 318. Champollion 1844, 391-394. Demas and Agnew 2016, 230-241. Leblanc and Siliotti 1997, 183. Loyrette and Mohammed 1993, 119. McCarthy 2007, 107. Porter and Moss 1927, 39. Porter and Moss 1964 (PM I ²), 751-752. Schiaparelli 1924, 108-109. Thomas 1966, 208-209, 211, 213-214.	

Tomb QV 40 was explored in the course of the 19th century by Hay de Linplum, Wilkinson, Champollion, Lepsius, and Brugsch. The *Missione Archeologica Italiana* investigated it in 1904, however, not much documentation was elaborated. The cartouches are left blank and this makes the identification of the tomb owner not possible.

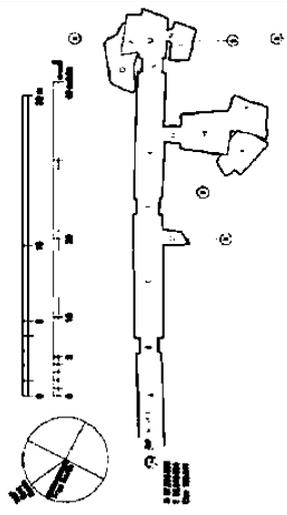
QV 40 displays the same plan as tomb QV 34, although the larger side chambers are situated to the west and to the east respectively. The main chambers of both these tombs include two pillars. Therefore, these two tombs were likely prepared concomitantly, in the early 19th Dynasty, along with other tombs that show similar plans but do not have pillars in the main chamber (*e.g.* QV 36, QV 33, and QV 31). According to McCarthy, tomb QV 40 shows a more complex plan and decorative program, elements that suggest postponing its dating to the reign of King Ramses II. Even Schiaparelli proposed to date this tomb to the reign of Ramses II, although the style of the wall decoration was of inferior quality in comparison to that of Queen Nefertari's tomb.

The entrance of the tomb consists of a stepped ramp, which leads to the pillared burial chamber. Both the pillars - only one has preserved - were made of stone masonry. There

is a western side chamber and another side chamber on the same axis of the entrance, which is provided with vaulted ceiling (this being the earliest occurrence of such an architectural feature within the Queens' Valley). The decoration consists of painted raised relief carved onto the layer of plaster that covers the walls. Despite the loss of several portions of decoration, all the chambers bear traces of paintings. According to Demas and Agnew, the rougher style and limited colour palette of the western (and larger) side chamber may indicate that the wall decoration was not finished.

Hieratic graffiti within the pillared chamber date to the reign of King Ramses III and they therefore attest that tomb QV 40 was accessible during the 20th Dynasty. If it means that the tomb had never been used or that had been the subject of an early looting activity, this is not possible to say. In this regard, it is worth remarking that archaeological materials have not been recorded.

QV 41

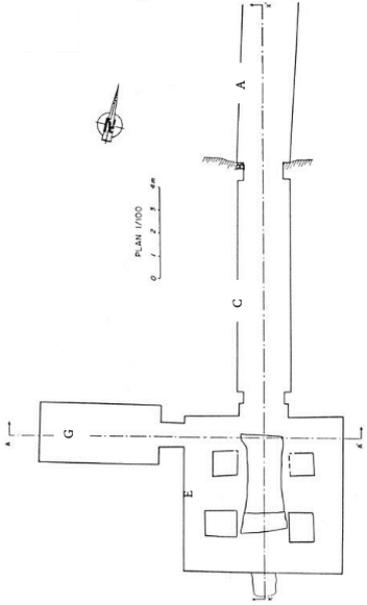
 <p style="text-align: center;">Demas and Agnew 2016, 245 (© TMP).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	20 th Dynasty?
	Location	Western end of the southern slope of the main <i>wadi</i>
	Geology	Cut into marl
	Traces of fire	Blackened walls and ceiling
Old designation	Hay of Linplum = western tomb Wilkinson = n. 17 Lepsius = <i>Grab mit roten Wänden</i> Brugsch = n. 5	
Tomb typology	Syringe type Leblanc's type III	
Tomb walls	Walls are only plastered, not painted; a bird is incised on the western wall of the doorway between the two corridors	
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2016, 242-251. Lepsius 1900, 235. McCarthy 2007. Redford 2002, 35-36. Thomas 1966, 208-209, 215 (plan), 219-220, 222, 225.	

Tomb QV 41 was explored by Hay of Linplum, Wilkinson, Lepsius, and Brugsch in the course of the 19th century. Its position in the western sector of the southern branch and the architectural layout as well speak in favour of a dating to the 20th Dynasty.

This tomb consists of an entrance ramp leading to two corridors provided with vaulted ceiling, and finally to the burial chamber. West of the second corridor, there is a side chamber, which leads to another chamber, within which an intrusive pit has been excavated. Another intrusive pit was excavated close to the east wall of the rear chamber. The tomb is unfinished: indeed, the walls have been plastered but not painted. Therefore, nothing is known about the person for whom the tomb was prepared. Thomas suggested that prince Pentauer (son of Ramses III) may have been buried within this tomb. Redford suggests that this tomb, due to the vicinity to the tombs of Princes Paraheruenemef (QV42), Sethherkhepeshef (QV43) and Khaemuaset (QV44), may belong to Tiye, the queen implicated in the conspiracy against Ramses III. Notwithstanding, according to Leblanc, tomb QV 40 was not used during the Ramesside Period. The blackened walls and the intrusive pits seem to indicate that the tomb was (re)used in later periods.

In 2008, the CNRS and the SCA cleared the tomb and found anthropological remains (two mummies, half torso of another mummy, fragments of linen and bones), potsherds, and the skeleton of a fox.

QV 42

 <p>After Demas and Agnew 2016, 256 (© CNRS/IGN PARIS).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	Paraheruenemef (<i>p3-r^c-hr-wnm=f</i>) Minefer (<i>mj-nfr</i>)
	Epithets/titles	Paraheruenemef: <i>s3 nsw</i> , king's son <i>s3 nswt tpj n hm.f</i> , king's son, the first of his Majesty <i>kdn n p3 jh.t 3 n r^c-ms.s hk3-jwnw</i> , charioteer of the Great Stable of Ramses-Heqa-Iunu Minefer: <i>mw.t nsw</i> , king's mother
	Affinity	Paraheruenemef: Son of Ramses III (and Minefer?)
	Epoch of tomb construction	20 th Dynasty
	Location	Western end of the southern slope of the main <i>nadi</i>
	Geology	Cut into the marl (under which there are layers of shale)
	Traces of fire	Blackened walls and ceiling
	Old designation	Hay of Linplum = n. 1 Wilkinson = n. 16 Champollion = n. 8 Lepsius = n. 11 Brugsch = n. 4
	Tomb typology	Syringe-type, pillared chamber Leblanc's type III
	Tomb walls	Painting on plastered coating, sunken relief (the scene depicting Minefer is only painted)
Bibliographical references	Ballerini 1903, 11-12. Brugsch 1855, 317-318. Champollion 1844, 395-397. Demas and Agnew 2012, 65-68. Demas and Agnew 2016, 252-268. Dodson and Hilton 2004, 194. Elleithy and Leblanc 2016, 53-61. Gauthier 1914, 176 (5). Leblanc 1988, 133 (n. 7). Leblanc 2001-2002, 199-200, 209. Lepsius 1900, 234-23. Porter and Moss 1927, 40. Porter and Moss 1964 (PM I ²), 752-753. Schiaparelli 1924, 115-116, 121-123. Thomas 1966, 208-209, 219-221, 223-225.	

The tomb was investigated for the first time by Hay of Linplum and afterwards by Wilkinson, Champollion, Lepsius (who identified the male tomb owner), and Brugsch. It was rediscovered by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* in 1904. Information about Prince Paraheruenemef is offered by his tomb and inscriptions on the wall decoration of his father's temple at Medinet Habu. According to Redford, Prince Paraheruenemef was the son of King Ramses III and Queen Tiye. Leblanc assumed that Queen Minefer was the mother of this prince.

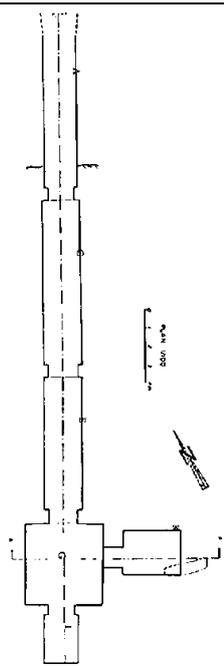
The syringe-type plan is an architectural feature typical of the time of Ramses III. There is a ramp that leads to a long corridor, which ends up into the pillared chamber. This is provided with a side room to the western wall; in the middle of the south wall there is a small niche. The ceiling of the pillared chamber is characterised by three barrel vaults that run east-west. The painted decoration is executed through sunken relief technique over

the plastered coating. Thomas detected hieratic graffiti, these clearly indicating that the tomb was open and accessible in the late 20th Dynasty.

This tomb was damaged by the thieves and the individuals who reused it as a burial and as a dwelling over time. On the upper part of the walls and on the ceiling, there are marks of blackening due to fire. Despite this, the wall paintings are still visible. The Italian team found parts of an anthropoid sarcophagus made for a queen (Turin ME S. 05435). Among the tombs prepared during the reign of Ramses III, QV 42 is the only one that displays a pillared room, a feature that characterises the tombs prepared during the reigns of Sety I and Ramses II. A portion of the wall decoration that is executed through painting technique depicts an anonymous queen in front of Osiris. This anonymous queen has been identified as the *mw.t nsw* Minefer, based on the finding of inscribed terracotta shabtis found among the debris in QV 42.

Paraheruenemef likely did not die when he was a child since the title of “charioteer of the great stable of Ramses-Heqa-Iunu” was not only honorific but also functional: therefore, he must have been at least an adolescent at the date of his death. It may be possible that the unexpected death of the prince forced the necropolis administration to reuse this burial, thus changing the original decoration but leaving a part of it (that including the worshipping queen). This hypothesis may be confirmed by the fact that QV 42 is the only 20th-dynasty tomb that has a pillared burial chamber.

QV 43

 <p style="text-align: center;">After Demas and Agnew 2016, 273 (© CNRS/IGN PARIS).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	Sethherkhepeshef (<i>sth-hr-hpš=f</i>)
	Epithets/titles	<i>s3 nsw</i> , king's son <i>s3 nsw tpj n hm=f</i> , king's son, the first of his Majesty <i>s3 nsw smsw</i> , elder king's son <i>kdn n p3 jh.t 3 n wsr-m3t-rꜥ mrj-jmn</i> , charioteer of the Great Stable of Usermaatra Meriamon <i>kdn n hm-f rꜥ-ms.s hk3-jwnw</i> , first charioteer of the Majesty Ramses Heqa-Iunu
	Family relationship	Son of Ramses III
	Epoch of tomb construction	20 th Dynasty
	Reuse	Third Intermediate Period 26 th Dynasty
	Location	Western end of the southern slope of the main <i>wadi</i>
	Geology	Cut into marl (which is part of a tilted geological block)
	Traces of fire	Blackened walls and ceiling
	Old designation	Ballerini, <i>Miss. Arch.</i> = n. 3
	Tomb typology	Syringe-type Leblanc's type III
	Tomb walls	Painting on plastered coating, sunken relief
Bibliographical references	<p>Ballerini 1903, 12, 14-17, 19-22, 29. Ballerini, <i>Miss. Arch.</i> Demas and Agnew 2016, 269-283. Dodson and Hilton 2004, 194. Elleithy and Leblanc 2016, 63-77. Gauthier 1914, 176 (4).</p>	<p>Leblanc and Siliotti 1997, 82. Porter and Moss 1927, 40. Porter and Moss 1964 (PM I²), 753-754. Redford 2002, 35-36. Schiaparelli 1924, 124-142. Thomas 1966, 208-209, 219-225.</p>

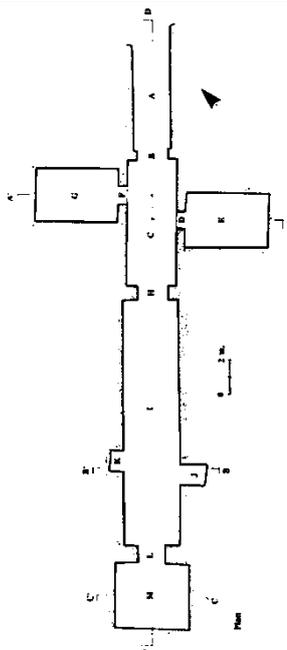
Tomb QV 43 was discovered by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* in 1903. It contained several coffins since this tomb was used during the Third Intermediate Period and the 26th Dynasty as a sepulchre for non-elite individuals working at the temple of Amon. The analysis of the wall decoration revealed that the tomb was prepared for Prince Sethherkhepeshef, one of the several sons of King Ramses III. Sethherkhepeshef played an important role in the framework of the royal cavalry, which was absolutely decisive during the reign of Ramses III. It is worth remarking that neither grave goods datable to the 20th Dynasty nor a stone sarcophagus were found within QV 43. The only finding that refers to the Sethherkhepeshef is an *ostrakon* (ME S. 05637), which depicts a young prince, on one side, and bears an inscription, on the other side: *s3 nsw n ht=f mrj=f sth-hr-hpš=f*, *the royal son, begotten by him, his beloved, Seth-her-khepeshef*. According to Ballerini and Schiaparelli, as well as Dodson, Hilton and Redford, Sethherkhepeshef was not buried within this tomb since he took the throne as Ramesses VIII; therefore, he was likely buried within the King's Valley, even though there is no certainty concerning his tomb.

According to Leblanc, Sethherkhepeshef/Ramses VIII was the son of another Sethherkhepeshef, who was the individual for whom QV 43 was prepared.

QV 43 shows the typical syringe-form of the 20th-dynasty tombs: a ramp leads to two consecutive long corridors, which are divided by means of a door; the second corridor leads to the square burial chamber, which is provided with two small side rooms, one to the east and the other one to the south.

The tomb was re-used during the Third Intermediate Period and then plundered in the Late Period (and later), as suggested by the chaotic position of coffins, mummies, and pieces of funerary furniture scattered all over the floor. Damages have also been caused by wild animals, which used QV 43 as a shelter. In addition, a fire (or more) caused damages to the wall decoration. Voluntary mutilations affected the name of the original tomb owner, Sethherkhepeshef; these were carried out by means of chisels and hammers in order to delete the hieroglyph of the “Seth”-animal. This *damnatio memoriae* towards the god Seth, which is evident even in the temple of Medinet Habu, occurred during the Third Intermediate Period, when the tomb was reused: the new occupants likely wanted to delete the image of a god considered inauspicious. The findings belonging to the phase of reuse include several coffins, mummies, and fragmentary grave goods, which are datable from the 22nd to the 26th Dynasties.

QV 44

 <p style="text-align: center;">From Demas and Agnew 1997, 288 (© CNRS).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	Khaemuaset (<i>h^c-m-w3s.t</i>)
	Epithet/titles	<i>s3 nsw</i> , king's son <i>s3 nsw tpj n h.t=f</i> , first king's son <i>t'j-hw hr wnmj n nsw</i> , fan-bearer at the right side of the king <i>stm n Pth 3 rsj jnb=f nb nh-t3.wj</i> , sotem priest of Ptah, the great who is south of his wall, lord of Anekh-Tauj
	Family relationship	Son of Ramses III and Queen Tyti
	Epoch of tomb construction	20 th Dynasty
	Reuse	Third Intermediate Period 26 th Dynasty
	Location	Western end of the southern slope of the main <i>wadi</i>
	Geology	Cut into the lower portion of Member I
	Traces of fire	Not detected
	Old designation	Ballerini, <i>Miss. Arch.</i> = n. 2
	Tomb typology	Syringe tomb Leblanc's type III
Tomb walls	Painted sunken relief	
Bibliographical references	<p>Ballerini 1903, 11-18, 20-22. Ballerini, <i>Miss. Arch.</i> Campbell 1910, 23-61. Demas and Agnew 2012, 69-72. Demas and Agnew 2016, 285-300. Hassanein <i>et al.</i> 1997.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Porter and Moss 1927, 40. Porter and Moss 1964 (PM I²), 754-755. Gauthier 1914, 177 (8). Schiaparelli 1924, 124-142, 183-206. Thomas 1966, 209, 215, 219-225.</p>	

Tomb QV 44 was discovered by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* on the 15th of February 1903. Three days later, the tomb had already been emptied, under the supervision of Howard Carter, who was the inspector for the monuments in Upper Egypt. The Italian team found coffins and mummies scattered all over the ground, along with a few grave goods. The wall paintings were well preserved.

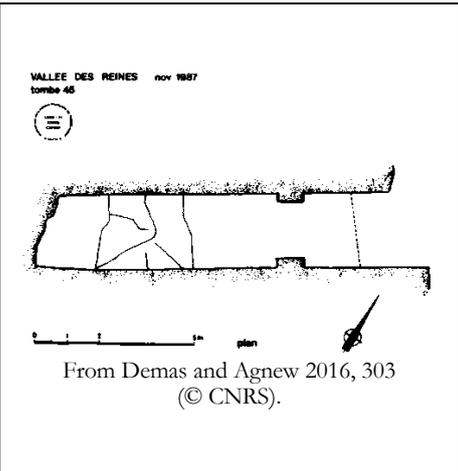
This tomb develops along a straight axis and belongs to the syringe-type typical of the 20th Dynasty. An entrance ramp leads to a first corridor, which is provided with two side rooms; a second corridor, which has one niche on both long sides, leads to the rear chamber. The second corridor has vaulted ceiling, an evident clue to the fact that this was used as burial chamber; moreover, a pit cut into the floor of the second corridor, evidently hosted the sarcophagus. This tomb has been cut into high-quality rock; indeed, a few infill materials and plastered corrections were applied in order to make the wall surface flat for the decoration.

It is not possible to distinguish between what has been found in QV 44 and QV 43 (with a few exceptions). Among the objects found within QV 44, there is the fragmented

sarcophagus lid of Prince Khaemuset, made of pink granite of Assuan (Turin ME S. 05215): the figure of the prince, executed in raised relief, shows a wig with long frontal lappets, crossed arms upon the chest, and holds the *ḥk3*-scepter with the left hand and the *flagellum* with the right one; an inscription on the side of the lid mentions king Ramses IV: *jw nḏ ḥr-j jn Wsr nsw nb t3.wj ḥk3 m3^c.t r^c stp n jmn s3 r^c nb ḥ(w) r^c-ms...*, *I am greeted by the Osiris-king, lord of the two Lands, Heqa-Maat-Ra-Setep-en-Amon, son of Ra, lord of crown, Ramses*: this indicates that the sarcophagus was a gift from the side of King Ramses IV, during whose reign Khaemuset likely died. Demas and Agnew mention a canopic jar belonged to the prince, which is currently kept at the Cairo Egyptian Museum (however, neither Ballerini nor Schiaparelli mentioned such an archaeological finding).

With regard to the phases of reuse of the tomb, the archaeological evidence is quantitatively large. After the earlier looting activity likely occurred in the end of the New Kingdom, the tomb was reused during the Third Intermediate Period. The analysis of the floor under the coffins highlighted that, after the robberies of the late 20th Dynasty, the tomb was left open and debris entered within it. Afterwards, when QV 44 was reused, the tomb was not cleared and the coffins were placed directly upon the debris. The tomb was sealed through a dry masonry wall and the entrance got forgotten (material evidence of the Roman Period completely lacks). Afterwards, the tomb was discovered by the Copts. It is not to exclude that also during the Arabic Period the tomb was visited. Among the findings of the Third Intermediate Period/26th Dynasty, Demas and Agnew list: a bead-net provided with winged scarab and amulets shaped as the four sons of Horus, 50 glass-frit scarabs, 49 wooden coffins [dated to the 22nd-23rd Dynasties (22 pieces), to the 24th Dynasty/first half of 25th Dynasty (14 pieces), and to the 25th-26th Dynasties (13 pieces)], two Coptic vessels (they are actually more, as indicated by the *Giornale d'Entrata*) and a wooden chisel dated to the Coptic Period as well.

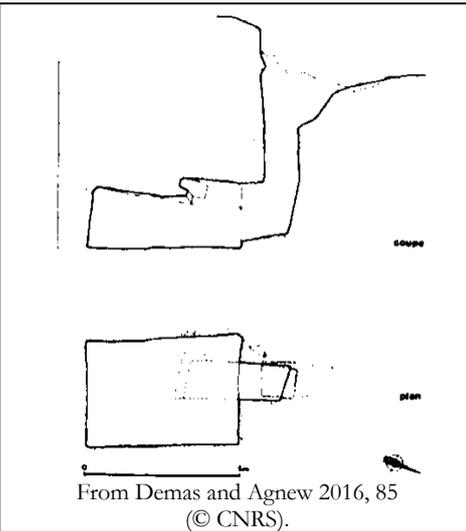
QV 45

	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	20 th Dynasty - Reign of Ramses III?
	Reuse	-
	Location	Western end of the southern slope of the main <i>wadi</i>
	Geology	Ramp and entrance cut into Member I (marl)
	Traces of fire	Not detected
	Old designation	Hay of Linplum = 2 nd Western tomb Wilkinson = n. 15? Champollion = n. 5
	Tomb typology	Short ramp entrance, corridor Commenced tomb
Tomb walls	Traces of plastering	
Bibliographical references	Ballerini 1903, 31. Champollion 1844, 391. Demas and Agnew 2016, 301-304. Leblanc 1989/a, 228. Thomas 1966, 208-209, 215 (plan), 219-220, 222-223, 225.	

Tomb QV 45 was explored by Hay of Linplum, Wilkinson, and Champollion. It is a commenced tomb that was cut during the reign of Ramses III, as its position as well as (incomplete) tomb plan seem to suggest. During the cutting of the tomb, the walls of the sloping entrance corridor and the doorway were plastered, but then the tomb construction was interrupted, likely due to the risk of collapse of the ceiling.

Thomas assigned QV 45 to Queen Satefmira, based on the fragmented canopic jar of the queen (Turin ME S. 05446) found close to this tomb by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana*. The clearly unfinished state of the tomb would suggest that it was never used for any burial.

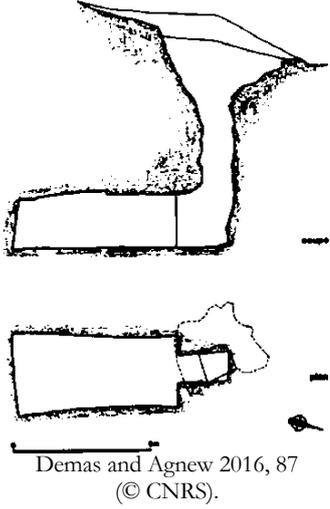
QV 46

 <p style="text-align: center;">From Demas and Agnew 2016, 85 (© CNRS).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	Imhotep (<i>jj-m-htp</i>)
	Epithets/titles	<i>jmy-r3 njw.t</i> , governor of the City <i>ḥty</i> , vizier <i>s3b t'yty</i> , chief judge <i>jt mn'y</i> , foster father
	Family relationship	Son of first prophet of Amun Khonsuemheb and father of the first prophet of Amun Hapuseneb(?)
	Epoch of tomb construction	Early 18 th Dynasty (reign of Thutmosis I)
	Reuse	Reused for a later burial?
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , southern slope
	Geology	Both shaft and tomb cut into shale
	Traces of fire	Not detected
	Old designation	<i>MAI</i> = D; n. 53
	Tomb typology	Shaft entrance, single burial chamber Leblanc's type A.1
Tomb walls	Undecorated	
Bibliographical references	Daressy 1900. Demas and Agnew 2012, 28. Demas and Agnew 2016, 84-85. Dolzani 1982, p. 17 (19001). Donadoni Roveri 1988, 148. Lefebvre 1929, 64-65.	Mond 1905, 69. Porter and Moss 1927, 49. Porter and Moss 1964 (PM I ²), 755. Roehrig 1990, 22-26. Schiaparelli 1924, 25-34. Thomas 1966, 185-186, 188.

The *Missione Archeologica Italiana* discovered tomb QV 46 in 1904. After the clearance, this tomb was used to store fragments of Third Intermediate Period coffins that had been found within tombs QV 43 and QV 44. Later, in 1984, the Franco-Egyptian reinvestigated QV 46 and found these fragments of coffins.

QV 46 consists of a shaft leading to a single burial chamber. There are still the stones of the original blocking inside the tomb. Several findings were found in this tomb (from Turin ME S. 05066 to ME S. 05107): the mummy, which was unwrapped by the tomb robbers; a few cartonnage fragments with some traces of blue colour and gold leaf, which according to Schiaparelli belonged to a gilded mummy mask; wooden fragments with black coating and yellow decoration belonging to the coffin set; some fragments of a wooden (canopic?) chest; an inscribed alabaster canopic jar without stopper; a big basket; a small alabaster plaque, with name and titles of the deceased; several wooden meat boxes. The finding of fragments of wooden coffin(s) (or of a canopic chest) coated with black substance and decorated with yellow pigment poses a problem of dating: in fact, coffins with this type of decoration showed up starting from the joint reign of Hatshepsut/Thutmosis III, while this tomb is dated to the reign of Thutmosis I. Therefore, it may be possible that QV 46 included another burial (still datable to the 18th Dynasty or more likely to the 22nd Dynasty).

QV 47

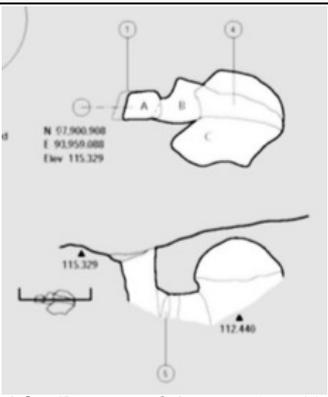
 <p style="text-align: center;">Demas and Agnew 2016, 87 (© CNRS).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	Princess Ahmes (<i>j^h-ms</i>)
	Epithets/titles	<i>s3.t nsw</i> , king's daughter <i>sn.t nsw</i> , king's sister
	Family relationship	Daughter of Seqenenra Taa and Queen Satdjewthy
	Epoch of tomb construction	Early 18 th Dynasty
	Reuse	-
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , southern slope
	Geology	Shaft cut into shale (the rock into which the room is cut is not specified)
	Traces of fire	Not detected
	Old designation	-
	Tomb typology	Shaft tomb Leblanc's type A.1
	Tomb walls	Undecorated
	Bibliographical references	<p>Demas and Agnew 2012, 28. Demas and Agnew 2016, 11, 86-87. Donadoni Roveri 1988, 148. Leblanc and Siliotti 1997, 186. Lecuyot 1996, 155 (footnote n. 77). Porter and Moss 1927, 49.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Porter and Moss 1964 (PM I²), 755-756. Ronsecco 1996 and 1975. Schiaparelli 1924, 13-21. Thomas 1966, 185-186, 191. Vandersleyen 1971, 214-215.</p>

Tomb QV 47 was discovered by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* in 1904 and later reinvestigated and cleared by the Franco-Egyptian team in 1984. This undecorated tomb consists of a shaft leading to a single burial chamber. Princess Ahmes was entombed therein likely during the reign of King Thutmose I. According to Thomas, it cannot be excluded that this happened slightly before, during Ahmose or Amenhotep I's reigns.

Among the findings brought to light by the Italian team (from Turin ME S. 05050 to ME S. 05065) there are: Ahmes' mummy (the mummy should have worn a golden necklace made of many strings, the traces of which have remained imprinted upon the linen bandages); fragments of a cartonnage funerary mask; small pieces of green-coloured leather, likely part of a pectoral made of leather bands sewn together; fragments of inscribed linen shrouds; a golden ring, which was an adornment for the wig; remains of a wig; fragments of an undecorated rectangular wooden coffin; fragments of a canopic chest; a pair of leather sandals; a comb; two roughly-made wooden shabtis. With regard to the lack of canopic jars, Thomas assumed that QV 47 might have not been the original burial of the princess: indeed, among the grave goods, the canopic jars were not marketable, therefore they were often left within burial contexts.

Finally, it is worth remarking that there is no mention about a reuse of this tomb after the original burial; however, Demas and Agnew talk about evidence of reuse in the Roman Period, without specifying the nature of the relating findings.

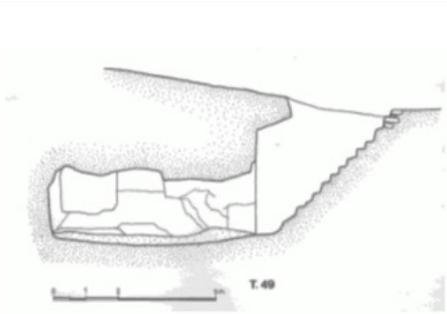
QV 48

 <p>After Demas and Agnew 2016, 89 (© TMP).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty
	Reuse	?
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , southern slope
	Geology	Cut into marl and shale
	Traces of fire	Not detected
	Old designation	-
	Tomb typology	Shaft tomb Leblanc's type A.1
Tomb walls	Undecorated	
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2016, 88-89. Thomas 1966, 185, 188.	

Likely, the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* explored tomb QV 48 in 1904, as suggested by the current QV-numbering system (see Volume I: *Text, section III.6*). This tomb was filled up with debris when Thomas surveyed the Queens' Valley. The Getty Conservation Institute did not manage to fully investigate the tomb since there was still debris on the ground floor; this may suggest that the Franco-Egyptian team did not clear it. The peculiar feature of this single-chambered tomb is the “dome-shaped” roof cut into the rock.

With regard to the archaeological materials, Demas and Agnew inform that the CNRS found fragments of wood.

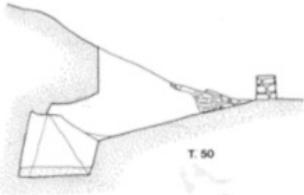
QV 49

 <p style="text-align: center;">After Demas and Agnew 2016, 306 (© CNRS).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	Beginning of the 19 th Dynasty
	Reuse	-
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , western sector (y-shaped junction of the two side branches)
	Geology	Cut into marl
	Traces of fire	Not detected
	Old designation	Wilkinson = n. 14 Brugsch = n. 3?
Tomb typology	Steep access ramp Commenced tomb	
Tomb walls	Undecorated	
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2016, 305-306. Leblanc 2001, 274-275. Thomas 1966, 209-210, 219, 223.	

The commenced tomb QV 49 was discovered by Wilkinson and afterwards likely reinvestigated by Brugsch. The entrance consists of a steep ramp leading to an unfinished corridor or room. The construction of the tomb was abandoned for unknown reasons. Actually, the tomb is cut into stable marl, thus the interruption of the tomb construction does not seem to be related to the quality of the rock.

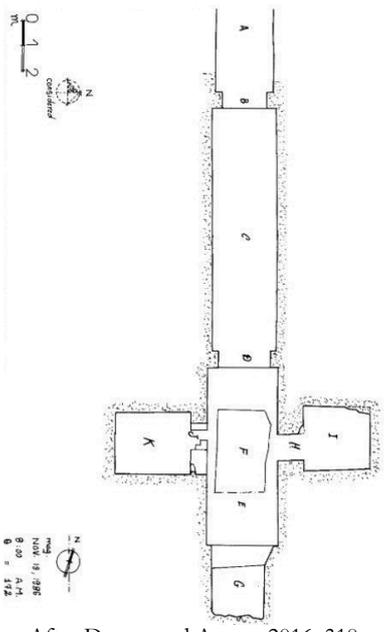
Thomas investigated this tomb and interpreted it as one of the anonymous tombs about which Schiaparelli talked about within his publication. Schiaparelli described the finding of an anonymous tomb with staircase entryway, however, he referred to tomb QV 65. The *Missione Archeologica Italiana* may have investigated QV 49, as suggested by the current QV-numbering system (see Volume I: *Text, section III.6*), however, there is no mention of it in the excavation diaries.

QV 50

 <p>After Demas and Agnew 2016, 306 (© CNRS).</p>	Owner	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	20 th Dynasty
	Reuse	-
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , western sector (y-shaped junction of the two side branches)
	Geology	Cut into marl
	Traces of fire	Not detected
	Old designation	-
	Tomb typology	Ramp access Commenced tomb
	Tomb walls	Undecorated
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2016, 305-306. Leblanc 1989/a, 239. Thomas 1966, 209-210, 219, 223.	

The 20th-dynasty tomb QV 50 is located where the main *wadi* branches into two western side valleys. A short ramp leads to a rectangular chamber, the axis of which is perpendicular to that of the ramp entrance. The excavation of QV 50 was interrupted since the workmen stumbled upon tomb QV 49 (as the current connection between the two tombs attests to).

QV 51

 <p style="text-align: center;">After Demas and Agnew 2016, 310 (© CNRS/H. EL_Mahdi).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	Isis (<i>3s.t</i>)		
	Epithets/titles	<i>hm.t nsw</i> , king's wife <i>mw.t nsw wr.t</i> , great king's mother <i>nb.t t3.wj</i> , lady of the Two Lands <i>hnw.t sm'w mhw</i> , mistress of Upper and Lower Egypt <i>mw.t ntr</i> , god's wife		
	Family relationship	Daughter of Habadjilat Wife of Ramses III Debated: mother of Ramesses IV or Ramses VI		
	Epoch of tomb construction	20 th Dynasty		
	Reuse	Roman Period		
	Location	Western sector of the main <i>wadi</i>		
	Geology	Cut into the tilted marl rock		
	Traces of fire	Heat-relating damages, alteration of the pigments and little traces of blackening		
	Old designation	Hay of Linplum = 3 rd western tomb Wilkinson = n. 13 Champollion = n. 4 Lepsius = n. 10 Brugsch = n. 2		
	Tomb typology	Syringe-type Leblanc's type III		
Tomb walls	Painted sunken relief			
Bibliographical references	<table border="0" style="width: 100%;"> <tr> <td style="vertical-align: top; width: 50%;"> Brugsch 1855, 317. Champollion 1844, 389-391. Černý 1958. Demas and Agnew 2016, 307-322. Dodson and Hilton 2004, 192. Elleithy and Leblanc 2016, 97-109. Gauthier 1914, 173-174. Grajetzki 2005, 73. Lepsius 1900, 234. </td> <td style="vertical-align: top; width: 50%;"> Macke <i>et al.</i> 2002, 29. Mahmoud Soliman and Tosi 1996. Peet 1930 (text), 33-34, 39-40. Porter and Moss 1927, 41. Rossi 2002. Schiaparelli 1924, 156-157. Thomas 1966, 209, 211, 219-220, 223-225. Troy 1986, 171. </td> </tr> </table>		Brugsch 1855, 317. Champollion 1844, 389-391. Černý 1958. Demas and Agnew 2016, 307-322. Dodson and Hilton 2004, 192. Elleithy and Leblanc 2016, 97-109. Gauthier 1914, 173-174. Grajetzki 2005, 73. Lepsius 1900, 234.	Macke <i>et al.</i> 2002, 29. Mahmoud Soliman and Tosi 1996. Peet 1930 (text), 33-34, 39-40. Porter and Moss 1927, 41. Rossi 2002. Schiaparelli 1924, 156-157. Thomas 1966, 209, 211, 219-220, 223-225. Troy 1986, 171.
Brugsch 1855, 317. Champollion 1844, 389-391. Černý 1958. Demas and Agnew 2016, 307-322. Dodson and Hilton 2004, 192. Elleithy and Leblanc 2016, 97-109. Gauthier 1914, 173-174. Grajetzki 2005, 73. Lepsius 1900, 234.	Macke <i>et al.</i> 2002, 29. Mahmoud Soliman and Tosi 1996. Peet 1930 (text), 33-34, 39-40. Porter and Moss 1927, 41. Rossi 2002. Schiaparelli 1924, 156-157. Thomas 1966, 209, 211, 219-220, 223-225. Troy 1986, 171.			

Tomb QV 51 was investigated by the explorers of the 19th century. The *Missione Archeologica Italiana* re-explored QV 51 in 1904 and the Franco-Egyptian team cleared it in 1986. The tomb plan is very similar to that of Queen Tyti's tomb (QV 52). Its construction began during the reign of Ramses III but the decoration was carried out or completed later, during the reign of Ramses IV (the tomb was a gift of this king: *dj.w m hs.wt [...] nsw nb t3.wj nb-m'3.t-r' mry-jmn*). It has been cut into marl, however, the quality of the rock is worse in the rear of the tomb: this explain the recourse to infilling by means of sherds and plastering in order to make the surface of the walls and ceiling flat and adapt for the painted decoration. It is a syringe-type tomb: an entrance ramp leads to a corridor that opens into the burial chamber, in the middle of which there is the cavity for the accommodation of the stone anthropoid sarcophagus. On two opposite sides of the burial chamber there are unfinished annexes; on the south wall, there is a third annex, but it was left unfinished: therefore, it was filled and closed, coated with plaster and painted.

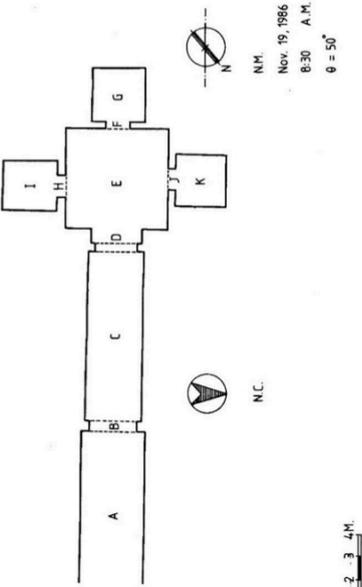
According to Hay of Linplum, this annex was excavated by the thieves who were looking for another burial chamber. The wall decoration is badly preserved.

Queen Isis likely had Asiatic origin, as suggested by her title *s3.t hblꜣnt*, “daughter of the Colchicum”. Therefore, she did not have royal blood. Her tomb is interesting for several reasons. First of all, it is one of the few Queens’ Valley tombs that are recorded within the *Tomb Robbery Papyri*. Moreover, this is the only tomb from the Queens’ Valley for which there are a description of the plan and measures (see *ostrakon* London BM EA8505).

Among the materials found by the Franco-Egyptian team, there are fragments of the queen’s stone sarcophagus, seven uninscribed wooden shabtis, fragments of at least four round and flat limestone lids (their external face is decorated with lotus petals), and eight jar stoppers (made of plaster/gypsum only or plaster/gypsum and silt mixed together).

Among the anthropological materials found within the tomb, there are four fragmentary mummies (two of which have been dated to the Roman Period) and some fragmented bones. When the CNRS and the SCA cleared QV 51 in 2008, they found several fragments belonging to the granite sarcophagus of the queen and two mummies.

QV 52

 <p style="text-align: center;">After Demas and Agnew 2016, 326 (© CNRS/H. El_Mahdi).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	Tyti (<i>tytj</i>)
	Epithets/titles	<i>s3.t nsw h.t=f mr.t=f</i> , king's daughter of his body and his beloved <i>sn.t nsw</i> , king's sister <i>hm.t nsw</i> , king's wife <i>hm.t nsw wr.t</i> , great royal wife <i>mw.t nsw</i> , king's mother <i>nb.t t3.wj</i> , lady of the Two Lands <i>hm.t ntr</i> , god's wife <i>mw.t ntr</i> , god's mother <i>hnw.t sm'w mh'w</i> , mistress of Upper and Lower Egypt
	Family relationship	Still debated: Daughter of Sethnakht, wife of Ramses III, and mother of Ramses IV? Wife of Ramses X?
	Epoch	20 th Dynasty
	Reuse	Third Intermediate Period Roman Period
	Location	Western sector of the main <i>wadi</i>
	Geology	Cut into the tilted marl block
	Traces of fire	Not detected
	Old designation	Hay of Linplum = n. 2 Wilkinson = n. 12 Champollion = n. 3 Lepsius = n. 9 Brugsch = n. 1
	Tomb typology	Syringe-tomb Leblanc's type III
Tomb walls	Painting and painted incised relief onto the plaster coating	
Bibliographical references	Ballerini 1903, 5-7. Ballerini, <i>Miss. Arch.</i> Brugsch 1855, 315-317. Bénédite 1893. Campbell 1909, 85-111. Champollion 1844, 383-389. Demas and Agnew 2012, 73-75. Demas and Agnew 2016, 323-335. Elleithy and Leblanc 2016, 111-126. Grajetzki 2005, 75. Grist 1985. Leblanc 1989/b, 25, 27, 38. Lepsius 1900, 229-233. Mohamed Sayed and Sesana 1995. Porter and Moss 1927, 41-44. Porter and Moss 1964 (PM I ²), 756-758. Schiaparelli 1924, 155-156. Thomas 1966, 208-209, 214, 219, 223-225.	

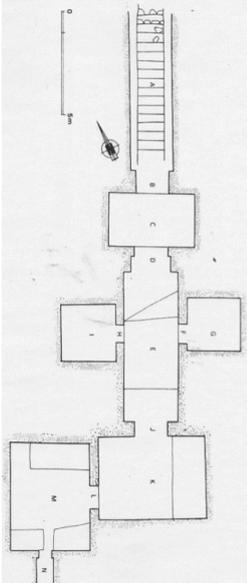
Tomb QV 52 may be the first tomb explored within the Queen's Valley in the 19th century: indeed, a graffito (currently not preserved) attests to its exploration by Belzoni in 1816. Hay of Linplum was the first one who made a plan of Tyti's tomb but he did not mention any finding within it. The tomb was investigated by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* in 1903 and in 1994 the Franco-Egyptian team cleared it. The investigation led by Leblanc's team brought to the discovery of the first known findings belonging to the original tomb owner and others attesting to its reuse at later stages, during the Third Intermediate Period and the Roman Period.

Concerning the tomb architecture, the entrance ramp is wider than the long corridor to which it leads. This corridor ends up in the square-shaped burial chamber, which is provided with three side rooms. The south-eastern side room includes a shaft that leads

to a pit, which has been likely cut during the Third Intermediate Period. The marl into which the tomb was cut is of good quality, thus the workmen managed to gain flat surfaces, with little recourse to infilling, by plastering only in case of rock fissures. The layer of plaster upon the walls is indeed thin. The ceiling has been decorated by means of white stars on a light-brown/pinkish background.

Among the findings, there are 34 fragments of the queen's pink granite sarcophagus; in two cases, part of the name of the queen has preserved. In addition, the Franco-Egyptian team found three fragments of the queen's alabaster canopic jar(s), two fragments of a round limestone lid with traces of decoration (lotus flower), some potsherds, and one *ostrakon* with hieratic inscription.

QV 53

 <p style="text-align: center; font-size: small;">After Demas and Agnew 2016, 339 (© CNRS).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	Ramses-Meryamon (<i>r^c-ms.s mry-jmn</i>)
	Epithets/titles	<i>s3 nsw</i> , kings' son <i>wr-m3w n r^c tm</i> , greatest of seers of Ra-Atum
	Family relationship	Debated: son of Ramesses III and Queen Isis Ta-Hemdjeret or Queen Tyti
	Epoch of tomb construction	20 th Dynasty
	Reuse	Third Intermediate Period Roman Period Coptic Period Arabic Period
	Location	Western sector of the main <i>wadi</i>
	Geology	Cut into clay-rich marl
	Traces of fire	Blackened walls
	Old designation	Hay of Linplum = n. 3 Wilkinson = n. 11 Champollion = n. 2 Lepsius = n. 8 Brugsch = n. 20
	Tomb typology	Chambered tomb Leblanc's type III
Tomb walls	Painted plastered walls, raised and sunken relief	
Bibliographical references	<p>Champollion 1844, 381. Demas and Agnew 2016, 336-351. Elleithy and Leblanc 2016, 127-132. Leblanc 1989/b, pl. CXXVIII. Leblanc 2001-2002, 205-206, fig. 9. Lecuyot 1996, 155-157.</p> <p>Lecuyot 2000, 54-55. Porter and Moss 1927, 44. Porter and Moss 1964 (PM I²), 759-750. Thomas 1966, 208-209, 212, 219-221, 223-225. Wagner <i>et al.</i> 1990, 42-43. Yoyotte 1958.</p>	

Tomb QV 53 was investigated by Hay of Linplum, Champollion, Lepsius, and Brugsch. It is unknown whether the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* visited this tomb (see Volume I: *Text, section III.6*), which has been cleared by the Franco-Egyptian team in 1985-1986. Yoyotte attributed this sepulchre to one of Ramses III's sons, Ramses-Meryamon. The identification of this prince is not univocal. Most of scholars have interpreted him as the son of Ramses III and Queen Isis, thus the future King Ramses IV: in this case, the tomb should not have been used to host his burial since he was buried in the Kings' Valley (KV 2). According to Leblanc, Ramses-Meryamon was a son of Ramses III and Queen Tyti; therefore, tomb QV 53 should have been used for his burial.

QV 53 is a multi-chambered tomb that does not show the typical syringe-aspect of the coeval tombs. A short ramp leads to an antechamber, then there is a corridor, flanked by a side chamber on both long sides. Finally, on the same axis of the entrance, there is the burial chamber, which is provided with a side chamber with niche. The antechamber has vaulted ceiling. All the rooms are blackened because of the fire(s) that occurred within the tomb.

Among the findings brought to light by the Franco-Egyptian team, some date to the 20th Dynasty, thus indicating that the tomb may have hosted the prince's burial: fragments of a pink granite sarcophagus, fragments of a wig made of blue glass-frit (likely part of the decoration of a coffin), fragments of blue-turquoise glass-frit pertaining to pottery, one alabaster fragment possibly belonging to canopic jar, and fragments of a granite statue that depicted the original tomb owner. The tomb was plundered and reused with certainty during the Roman Period, between the 2nd and 4th centuries AD: among the findings dating to this epoch, there are fragments of terracotta coffins, pieces of shrouds, 276 bodies, a bronze figurine of Osiris, ibis and falcon mummies. Afterwards, the tomb was possibly reused during the Coptic Period and the Arabic Period (as suggested by the presence of a grain mill).

The CNRS and the SCA cleared the tomb in 2008/2009 and found granite fragments, potsherds, a skull, and two oil lamps.

QV 54

 <p>After Demas and Agnew 2016, 353 (© CNRS).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	20 th Dynasty
	Location	Western sector of the main <i>nadi</i>
	Geology	Ramp cut into marl
	Traces of fire	Not detected
	Old designation	Hay of Linplum = 1 st western tomb Wilkinson = n. 10? Champollion = n. 1
	Tomb typology	Ramp entrance Commenced tomb
	Tomb walls	Undecorated
Bibliographical references	Champollion 1844, 381. Demas and Agnew 2016, 352-353. Leblanc 1989/a, 228. Lepsius 1900, 229. Thomas 1966, 209, 215 (plan), 219, 224.	

The construction of tomb QV 54 was interrupted at the very early stage. QV 54 consists of a sloping ramp entrance leading to a commenced corridor. According to Thomas, the tomb was planned for a queen. Furthermore, she observed that cracks in the rock had been filled with plaster: this may suggest that this tomb was not completed due to the bad quality of the rock.

QV 55

<p>After Demas and Agnew 2016, 357 (© CNRS).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	Amonherkhepeshef (<i>jmn-hr-hpš=f</i>)
	Epithets/titles	<i>s3 nsw</i> , king's son <i>jrj-p^c.t</i> , dignitary <i>sš nsw</i> , king's scribe <i>jmy-r3 ssm.t</i> , overseer of cavalry <i>jmy-r3 ssm.t wr</i> , chief commander of the cavalry <i>hrj tp t3.wj</i> , administrator of the Two Lands <i>jmy-r3 ssm.t n t3 s.t</i> , commander of the cavalry of the Palace
	Family relationship	Eldest son of Ramses III and Queen Tyti
	Epoch of tomb construction	20 th Dynasty
	Reuse	No
	Location	Western sector of the main <i>wadi</i>
	Geology	Cut into chert-rich marl
	Traces of fire	Not detected
	Old designation	-
	Tomb typology	Chambered tomb Leblanc's type III
Tomb walls	Carved relief on painted plaster (some parts of the walls are only plastered, others show preliminary drawing only)	
Bibliographical references	Altenmüller 1994. Campbell 1910, 63-81. Demas and Agnew 2012, 76-77. Demas and Agnew 2016, 354-367. Elleithy and Leblanc 2016, 133- 144. Gauthier 1914, 177 (9). Leblanc 2001-2002, 202-205, 207.	
	Leblanc 2012. Lecuyot 2000, 53. Porter and Moss 1927, 44. Porter and Moss 1964 (PM I ²), 759, 761. Schiaparelli 1904, <i>Relazione</i> . Schiaparelli 1924, 143-154. Thomas 1966, 208-210, 219, 225.	

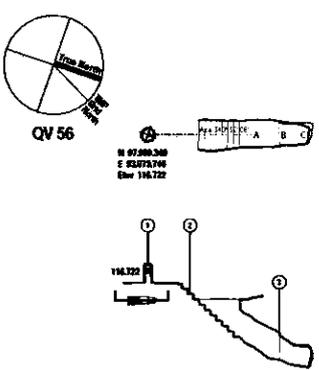
Tomb QV 55 was discovered by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* in 1904. It had been prepared for one of Ramses III's sons, Prince Amonherkhepeshef. Part of the original sealing was still *in loco* when the Italian team found the tomb. The Franco-Egyptian team re-investigated and cleared this tomb in 1988.

The entrance to this tomb is peculiar: a few steps lead, through a bent axis, to a sloping ramp. In turn, this steep ramp leads to a chamber, which is provided with a side chamber (plastered but not decorated); then, there is another corridor, which is provided with a side chamber and ends up into another chamber, the walls of which are plastered. This last room is the burial chamber and should have originally contained the prince's granite sarcophagus, although it has been found within the second sloping corridor, as clearly attested by a picture published by Schiaparelli. Based on the fact that the first sloping ramp is steeper than the more gradual ramps typical of the 20th-dynasty tombs, Thomas assumed that this tomb may have been commenced earlier (in the 19th Dynasty) and then finished according to a different architectural criterion. The decoration of the ceiling was likely never completed and it may be possible that only a wash of black paint was applied; this black wash was wrongly interpreted by Thomas as blackened remains due to fire.

Within the tomb, the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* found a stone sarcophagus (containing the mummy of a young individual) and a few archaeological materials (some fragments of yellow-painted wooden coffin, two small fragments of a piece of furniture, and some shabtis damaged because of the infiltration of water), thus suggesting that it had been robbed, re-sealed and not reused during the Third Intermediate Period or later.

Although a stone sarcophagus was found within the tomb, it is questionable whether QV 55 was used for the burial of this prince. Actually, material traces of Amonherkhepeshef's burial have been found in the Kings' Valley tomb n. 13: his name is preserved on two canopic jars; in addition, the sarcophagus of Queen Tauseret was re-fashioned for this prince. According to Altenmüller, Amonherkhepeshef was entombed within KV 13: the chancellor Bay, for whom the tomb was designed, was likely never buried there and the tomb construction was completed on the occasion of Amonherkhepeshef's burial.

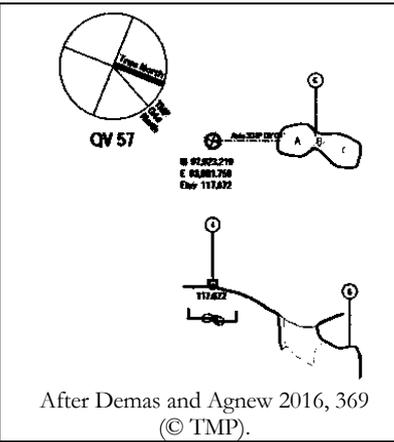
QV 56

 <p>After Demas and Agnew 2016, 369 (© TMP).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	19 th Dynasty (reign of Ramses II?)
	Reuse	Roman Period
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , northern slope
	Geology	Cut into a thick layer of fan conglomerate and marl
	Traces of fire	Not detected
	Old designation	Brugsch = n. 18
	Tomb typology	Staircase entryway Commenced tomb
Tomb walls	-	
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2016, 368-369. Leblanc 2001, 274-275. Lecuyot 1996, 155-157. Thomas 1966, 209-210, 222, 225.	

Tomb QV 56 is located close to the Ramesside workmen huts, on the northern slope of the main *wadi*. Brugsch discovered it in 1854. The *Missione Archeologica Italiana* may have investigated QV 56, although no mention of it is made within the unpublished excavation diaries. The Franco-Egyptian team cleared this tomb in 1987.

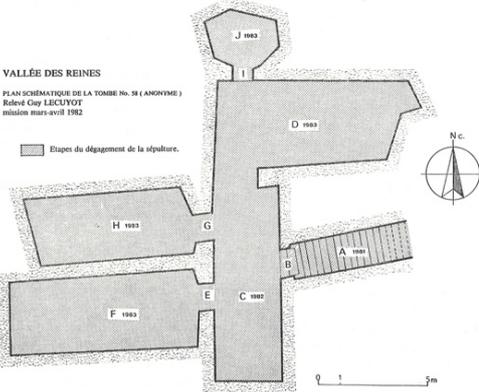
The entrance consists of a steep staircase, the first steps of which are made of stone blocks. The workmen likely interrupted the cutting of the tomb because of thick, fan conglomerate that characterises that sector of the main *wadi*.

QV 57

 <p>After Demas and Agnew 2016, 369 (© TMP).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	19 th Dynasty (reign of Ramses II?)
	Reuse	Roman Period
	Tomb location	Main <i>wadi</i> , northern slope
	Geology	Cut into a thick layer of fan conglomerate and marl
	Traces of fire	Not detected
	Old designation	Brugsch = n. 19
	Tomb typology	Staircase entrance Commenced tomb
Tomb walls	-	
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2016, 368-369. Leblanc 2001, 274-275. Lecuyot 1996, 155-157. Thomas 1966, 185, 188.	

Tomb QV 57 is a commenced tomb located on the northern slope of the main *wadi*, close to the Ramesside workmen huts. Brugsch discovered this tomb in 1854. The *Missione Archeologica Italiana* may have investigated QV 56, although no mention of it is made within the unpublished excavation diaries. The Franco-Egyptian team cleared the tomb in 1987. Likely, the workmen interrupted the tomb construction because of the thick, fan conglomerate of that sector of the main *wadi*. Thomas assumed that QV 57 may have been used as an embalming pit.

QV 58

 <p style="text-align: center;">From Leblanc 1984-1985, 55 (fig. 2) (© CNRS/G. Lecuyot).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	Queen Satefmira(?)
	Epithets/titles	<i>hm.t nsw</i> , king's wife (?)
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	19 th Dynasty
	Reuse	Third Intermediate Period Roman Period Arabic Period
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , northern slope
	Geology	Cut into tilted marl block
	Traces of fire	Blackened walls and ceiling
	Old designation	Hay of Linplum = 1 st eastern tomb Wilkinson = n. 9? Champollion = n. 10 Brugsch = n. 17 <i>MAI</i> = n. 62?
	Tomb typology	Staircase entryway, multi-chambered tomb, unfinished Leblanc's type II
Tomb walls	Traces of <i>muna</i> on the walls suggest that the tomb might have been decorated	
Bibliographical references	Brugsch 1855, 319. Champollion 1844, 397. Demas and Agnew 2016, 370-375. Leblanc 1983. Leblanc 1984-1985, 54-64.	Leblanc and Hassanein 1985, 28-29. Lecuyot 1996, 155-157. Lecuyot 1999, 39 (footnote n. 29). Lecuyot 2000, 45. Thomas 1966, 209-210.

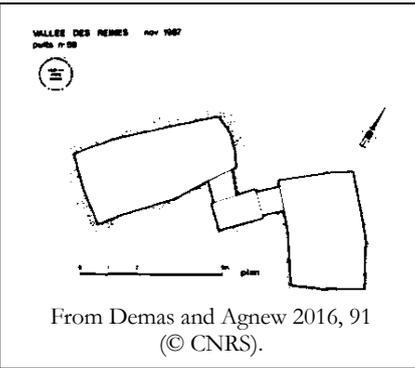
QV 58 is one of the most enigmatic tombs within the Queens' Valley. It was visited by the modern explorers of the 19th century and was likely investigated by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana*. It was cleared by the Franco-Egyptian team in 1981-1983.

Tomb QV 58 consists of a staircase entryway (A) which leads to a central chamber (C), which gives access to other three rooms (D, H, and F); a fifth room (J) opens from room D. These rooms are placed on two different levels, which differ by a few centimetres. Taking into account the tomb plan and dimensions, Leblanc suggested that this tomb was prepared for a royal wife. No trace of wall decoration has preserved, except for some traces of *muna* within chamber C and passage E. In this regard, it is worth remarking that Thomas observed the presence of a cartouche on the sector B, between the staircase A and the central chamber C: she described the faded hieroglyphs within a cartouche, likely a bird (*s3?*), a *t*-sign, a *f* or *d*, a circle (*r?*), and a *t*. Although these signs are not visible anymore, some of the hieroglyphs listed by Thomas resemble those of Queen Satefmira's cartouche. There is no drawing, nor picture, of the QV 58 cartouche, therefore this identification remains a conjecture.

The material evidence found inside and outside this tomb is relevant. Within the tomb, the Franco-Egyptian team found 1) fragments of terracotta sarcophagi, 2) about 50 *Balanites Aegyptiaca* nuts (which were perforated), 3) some faience inlaid elements likely part of the original burial (they may have been part of a coffin), 4) a limestone *ostrakon* bearing the representation of a musician playing the lute (dated to the 19th Dynasty), 5) bone elements that were likely part of some jewels (dated to the Roman/Coptic Period), and 6) fragments of decorated shrouds that wrapped Roman mummies. Among the materials found outside the tomb, there are 1) 66 shabtis made of terracotta, roughly modelled and uninscribed, 2) pieces of wood likely belonging to anthropoid coffins, some of which still bearing traces of decoration, 3) elements of funerary beads made of faience (two amulets representing Hapy and Imseti, some tubular beads, and the wing of a scarab), 4) pieces of jewellery (a child's bracelet and one earring), 5) terracotta oil lamps, and 6) pottery.

According to Lecuyot, this tomb might date to the end of the 18th Dynasty. Actually, the plan of QV 58 resembles that of the anonymous tomb n. 27 in the Kings' Valley, although the entrance of the latter consists of a shaft and the tomb clearly dates to the 18th Dynasty. The archaeological evidence confirms that QV 58 was used for the first time in the 19th Dynasty and then reused during the late Third Intermediate Period (Late Period also?) and afterwards in the Roman Period, when the tomb was adapted as mass grave. During the Arabic Period, the tomb was again plundered and transformed into a dwelling.

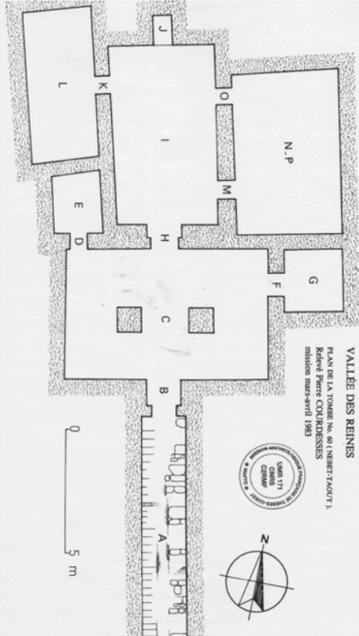
QV 59

	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty
	Reuse	-
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , northern slope
	Geology	-
	Traces of fire	Not detected
	Old designation	<i>MAI</i> = E
	Tomb typology	Shaft tomb Leblanc's type B.3
Tomb walls	Undecorated	
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2016, 90-91. Thomas 1966, 185, 188, 191 (plan).	

Tomb QV 59 was discovered by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* in 1904. Thomas investigated this tomb and remarked the similarity of its plan with that of QV 62. Tomb QV 59 consists of a shaft entrance and two separated burial chambers, both of which have bent axes (with regard to the orientation of the shaft). Thomas assumed that the Italian mission had explored QV 59 because the tomb was devoid of any archaeological material.

In 2010, the CNRS and SCA found a partial mummy and human skull within the tomb (possibly, the anthropological remains mentioned by Ballerini within the unpublished excavation notebooks).

QV 60

 <p style="text-align: center;">After Demas and Agnew 2016, 379 (© CNRS/P. Courdresses).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	Nebettau (nb.t-t3.wj)
	Epithets/titles	<i>s3.t nsw n h.t-f</i> , king's daughter of his body <i>hm.t nsw</i> , king's wife <i>hm.t nsw wr.t</i> , great royal wife <i>nb.t t3.wj</i> , lady of the Two Lands <i>hnw.t sm'w mhw</i> , mistress of Upper and Lower Egypt
	Family relationship	Daughter of Ramses II and Queen Nefertari
	Epoch of tomb construction	19 th Dynasty (reign of Ramses II)
	Reuse	Coptic Period
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , northern slope
	Geology	Cut into marl
	Traces of fire	Not detected
	Old designation	Hay of Linplum = 2 nd eastern tomb Wilkinson = n. 7? Champollion = n. 11 Lepsius = n. 6 Brugsch = n. 16 <i>MAI</i> = n. 63
	Tomb typology	Steep ramp access, multi-chambered tomb Leblanc's type II
Tomb walls	Raised relief on painted plaster Overplastering of the wall decoration during the Coptic Period	
Bibliographical references	<p>Champollion 1844, 397-399. Demas and Agnew 2012, 43-48. Demas and Agnew 2016, 376-392. Dolzani 1982, 65 (n. 19143). Gauthier 1914, 106 (5). Gosselin 2007, 94. Leblanc 1983. Leblanc 1984-1985, 64-68. Leblanc and Hassancin 1985, 29.</p> <p>Leblanc and Elleithy 2016, 145-156. Lecuyot 1996, 159. Lecuyot 1999, 45. Lepsius 1900, 228-229. Porter and Moss 1927, 45. Porter and Moss 1964 (PM I²), 760- 761. Schiaparelli 1924, 105. Thomas 1966, 188, 209-211, 214-215, 217-218, 224-225.</p>	

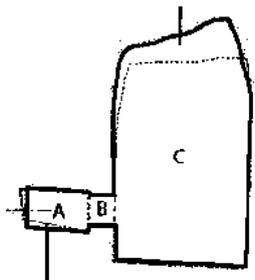
Tomb QV 60 hosted the burial of Nebettau, who was a daughter of Ramses II and Queen Nefertari and became his great wife in the later part of the father's reign. Little is known about her life, since she is attested on few documents and monuments. The images of the queen within her tomb are damaged as a consequence of the transformation of her sepulcher into a chapel during the Coptic Period. This tomb was explored for the first time by Hay of Linplum, and later by Wilkinson, Champollion, Lepsius, and Brugsch. Ballerini's tomb n. 63 may refer to QV 60, therefore, the Italian team likely explored it; furthermore, Schiaparelli referred to it within his publication, a clue to the fact that the tomb was known to the members of the *MAI*. The Franco-Egyptian team cleared it between 1981 and 1983.

QV 60 is a multi-chambered tomb, the entrance of which consists of a steep ramp, which leads to a pillared chamber positioned on the same axis of the entrance. The pillared chamber has barrel vault and is provided with two side chambers; it gives access to

another large chamber, which is on the same longitudinal axis and is in turn provided with two side chambers and a niche cut into its northern wall. The vaulted ceiling is an architectural feature that occur for the first time in the Kings' Valley within the tombs of Sety I (KV 17) and Ramses II (KV 7). Changes within this tomb were carried out during the Coptic Period: the current architectural layout is characterized by all the chambers connected with each other. In addition, the wall paintings were overplastered in order to hide the faces of the pagan gods and of the queen. Furthermore, the pillars were removed in order to increase the space. Traces of the Coptic reuse of QV 60 were also found outside the tomb.

Among the findings, there are a fragment of sandstone (a lotus flower is incised on the surface), a fragment of granite sarcophagus of Queen Merytamon, two other fragments of a granite sarcophagus, pottery (some pieces belong to pottery destined to domestic use), Greek and Coptic papyri (datable to different periods: second half of the 5th century, end of the 6th century, and beginning of the 7th century AD), bone pendants, six Coptic *ostraca*, potsherds, a fragment of shabti, a fragment of limestone likely pertaining to a statue, and other fragmented objects.

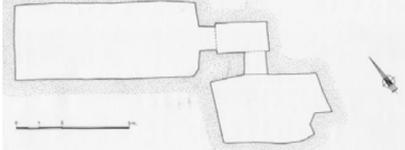
QV 61

 <p style="text-align: center;">After Demas and Agnew 2016, 93 (© TMP).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty
	Reuse	-
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , northern slope
	Geology	Cut into marl
	Traces of fire	Not detected
	Old designation	<i>MAI</i> = tomb α
	Tomb typology	Shaft tomb Leblanc's type B.1
Tomb walls	Undecorated	
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2016, 92-93. Thomas 1966, 188.	

Thanks to the assessment of the unpublished digging diaries of Ballerini, it is possible to assert that the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* discovered tomb QV 61 in 1904. Thomas investigated this tomb and listed, among the archaeological evidence, one mummy, two potsherds, and a mud fragment.

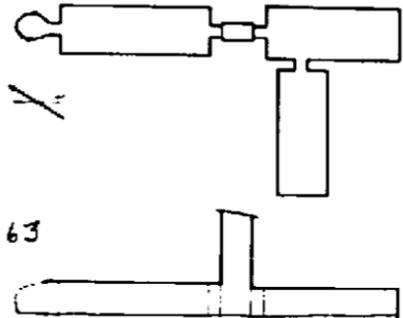
QV 61 consists of a shaft entrance and a single burial chamber characterised by bent axis. At the time of Thomas' investigation, the tomb was in a good state of preservation. However, when the Getty Conservation Institute team assessed the tomb in 2008, it remarked the presence of several losses, as well as fractures, in the rock of the walls and of the ceiling.

QV 62

 <p style="text-align: center;">After Demas and Agnew 2016, 95 (© CNRS).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty
	Reuse	-
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , northern slope
	Geology	Not specified
	Traces of fire	Not detected
	Old designation	<i>MAI</i> = tomb B
	Tomb typology	Shaft tomb Leblanc's type AB.1
Tomb walls	Undecorated	
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2016, 94-95. Thomas 1966, 185, 188, and 191.	

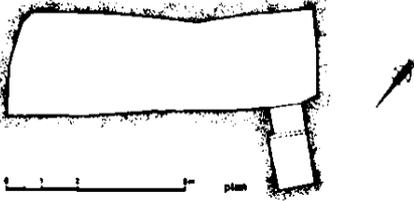
As evident from the unpublished digging diaries of Ballerini, tomb QV 62 was discovered by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* in 1904. Thomas remarked that this tomb shows a plan similar to that of tomb QV 59. Tomb QV 62 has a shaft, from the bottom of which two openings lead to two different burial chambers. Thomas observed that the walls and ceilings had been finely cut into the rock. The two chambers of tomb QV 62 have different axis, one bent and the other one longitudinal. Both Ballerini and Thomas did not mention any archaeological finding. Even Demas and Agnew do not know anything about archaeological materials from this tomb.

QV 63

 <p>After Thomas 1966, 191.</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty
	Reuse	-
	Location	Main <i>nadi</i> , northern slope
	Geology	Cut into marl
	Traces of fire	Not detected
	Old designation	<i>MAI</i> = tomb C
	Tomb typology	Shaft tomb Leblanc's type AB.2
Tomb walls	Undecorated	
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2016, 96-97. Thomas 1966, 185, 188, and 191.	

The multi-chambered tomb QV 63 was discovered by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* in 1904, as recorded by Ballerini within the unpublished digging diaries. The shaft of the tomb gives access to two separate sepulchres: one consists of two chambers and the other one of one chamber provided with a niche. Thomas remarked that the walls and ceiling of this tomb seemed to have been cut since not long ago, due to their good state of preservation. Apparently, no archaeological finding was brought to light from this tomb.

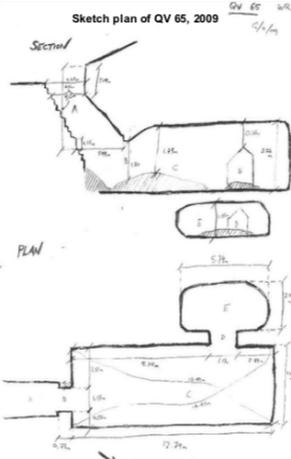
QV 64

 <p>After Demas and Agnew 2016, 99 (© CNRS).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty
	Reuse	-
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , northern slope
	Geology	Not specified
	Traces of fire	Not detected
	Old designation	<i>MAI</i> = tomb D
Tomb typology	Shaft tomb Leblanc's type B.1	
Tomb walls	Undecorated	
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2016, 98-99. Thomas 1966, 188, 191 (wrong tomb plan).	

Tomb QV 64 was discovered by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* in 1904, as evident from the unpublished excavation notebooks of Ballerini. It consists of a shaft entrance leading to a single burial chamber. Thomas remarked that the walls and ceilings had been cut into the rock rather accurately; moreover, she noted that the reduced dimension of the square-shaped shaft was unusual for the tombs located on the northern slope of the main *wadi*. However, the plan attributed by Thomas to tomb QV 64 is wrong.

The CNRS and the SCA cleared the tomb in 2010 and found a bundle of linen mummy wrappings, a fragmented bone, and part of a human skull (Ballerini had not mentioned any archaeological material).

QV 65

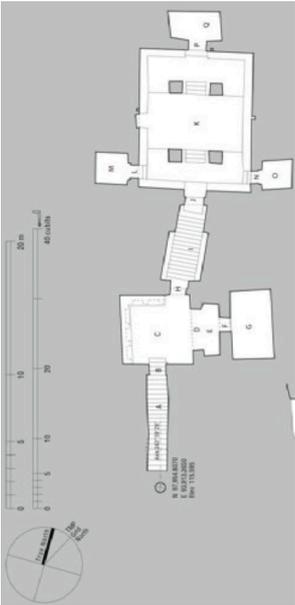
 <p style="text-align: center;">From Demas and Agnew 2016, 101 (© W. Reynolds).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty (reign of Amenhotep III?)
	Reuse	Roman Period
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , northern slope
	Geology	Cut into marl
	Traces of fire	Not detected
	Old designation	Wilkinson = n. 6 <i>MAI</i> = tomb II
	Tomb typology	Staircase entryway, single burial chamber, intrusive annex Leblanc's type A.1
Tomb walls	Undecorated	
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2016, 16-17, 100-101. Lecuyot 1996, 148, 155-157. Macke <i>et al.</i> 2002, 29. Thomas 1966, 200, 210.	

Tomb QV 65 was investigated for the first time by Wilkinson and later re-discovered by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana*. Thomas explored this tomb and assumed that the Italian team had already investigated it.

The entrance to the tomb consists of a steep staircase that leads to a rectangular burial chamber. From this one, a roughly cut door leads to another small side room, which is cut at a lower level. According to Thomas, this smaller side room was intrusive, due to the jagged doorway. Moreover, she suggested that QV 65 was never used because of the absence of archaeological findings (even Ballerini did not mention any object), assuming that the construction of the tomb had been interrupted because of the poor quality of the rock. In this regard, when the Franco-Egyptian team cleared the tomb in 1988, it was noted that the ceiling of both chambers had collapsed.

The Getty Conservation Institute assessment mentions a mummy and Roman Period pottery and amphoras as materials found in QV 65 by the CNRS.

QV 66

 <p style="text-align: center;">After Demas and Agnew 2016, 398 (© TMP).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	Nefertari-Merytenmut (<i>nfr.t-jrj mry.t-nmw.t</i>)	
	Epithets/titles	<i>jrj.t p^c.t</i> , hereditary princess <i>hm.t nsw</i> , king's wife <i>hm.t nsw wr.t</i> , great royal wife <i>nb.t t3.wj</i> , lady of the Two Lands <i>hnw.t šm^cw mh^w</i> , mistress of Upper and Lower Egypt <i>hnw.t t3.w nb.w</i> , mistress of All the Lands <i>hm.t ntr</i> , god's wife	
	Family Relationship	Wife of Ramses II and mother of four of his sons (Amonherkhepeshef, Parahuerenemef, Meryra, and Meryatum) and three of his daughters (Nefertari, Merytamon, and Nebettauy)	
	Epoch of tomb construction	19 th Dynasty (reign of Ramses II)	
	Reuse	Not detected	
	Tomb location	Main <i>wadi</i> , northern slope	
	Geology	Cut into the tilted block of the upper portion of Member I	
	Traces of fire	Not detected	
	Old designation	-	
	Tomb typology	Stepped ramp leading to a multi-chambered tomb Leblanc's type II	
	Tomb walls	Painted raised relief	
	Bibliographical references	<table border="0" style="width: 100%;"> <tr> <td style="width: 50%; vertical-align: top;"> Campbell 1909, 1-81. Demas and Agnew 2012, 49-52. Demas and Agnew 2016, 393-408. Donadoni Roveri 1988, 148-151. Elleithy and Leblanc 2016, 157-184. Gauthier 1914, 75-77. Grajetzki 2005, 66-67. Leblanc 1993. </td> <td style="width: 50%; vertical-align: top;"> Lecuyot 2000, 46. Markowitz <i>et al.</i> 1997. McCarthy 2002. Porter and Moss 1927, 45. Porter and Moss 1964 (PM I²), 762-765. Schiaparelli 1924, 51-104. Thomas 1966, 209, 213-214, 217, 219, 224-225. </td> </tr> </table>	Campbell 1909, 1-81. Demas and Agnew 2012, 49-52. Demas and Agnew 2016, 393-408. Donadoni Roveri 1988, 148-151. Elleithy and Leblanc 2016, 157-184. Gauthier 1914, 75-77. Grajetzki 2005, 66-67. Leblanc 1993.
Campbell 1909, 1-81. Demas and Agnew 2012, 49-52. Demas and Agnew 2016, 393-408. Donadoni Roveri 1988, 148-151. Elleithy and Leblanc 2016, 157-184. Gauthier 1914, 75-77. Grajetzki 2005, 66-67. Leblanc 1993.	Lecuyot 2000, 46. Markowitz <i>et al.</i> 1997. McCarthy 2002. Porter and Moss 1927, 45. Porter and Moss 1964 (PM I ²), 762-765. Schiaparelli 1924, 51-104. Thomas 1966, 209, 213-214, 217, 219, 224-225.		

The tomb of Queen Nefertari was discovered in 1904 by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana*. It was plundered in antiquity, although it is not possible to determine exactly when and how many times. However, the tomb was not reused during the Third Intermediate Period, or later, and remained forgotten until the discovery carried out by the Italian team.

Nefertari-Merytenmut was the great wife of Rameses II during the first part of his reign: she is not attested after the king's regnal year 30, this being the *terminus post quem* for the date of her death. She does not bear the *s3.t nsw*-title, this indicating that she did not have any royal origin. She may have been related to King Ay, although the kind of relationship is unclear: in this regard, a knob that was found within her tomb, and which likely belonged to a piece of furniture, bears Ay's cartouche. In any case, she was undoubtedly of noble origin, as highlighted by the epithet *jrj.t p^c.t*. She has been one of the most influential royal consorts of pharaonic Egypt. She had a whole temple dedicated

to her at Abu Simbel, in addition to the small shrine dedicated to her and to her mother-in-law Mut-Tuy within the Ramesseum. Nefertari also likely played a relevant political role, as attested by a letter (which is preserved in cuneiform writing) that she wrote to Queen Puduhepa, wife of King Hattushili III.

Tomb QV 66 is similar to that of Mut-Tuy (QV 80), although there are some different architectural features. The axis of tomb QV 66 is not straight. The entrance consists of a stepped ramp that leads to an antechamber, which is provided with ledges on two sides; in turn, an alcove leads to the side chamber. Then, from the large antechamber, a stepped ramp leads to the pillared burial chamber, which is provided with three side chambers. Furthermore, three niches (cut for the magical bricks) are set into the walls. Ideologically, the layout of the painted scenes illustrates the process of rebirth of the deceased and her transformation into an Osiris. McCarthy interpreted the antechamber and the first side chamber as the *3h.t*, *i.e.* the horizon where the sun rises and set: these rooms represented the liminal place between the earthly world and the underworld, where the queens could become a transfigured spirit and come forth by day.

Among the objects found by the Italian team (from Turin ME S. 05153 to S. 05214), there are fragments of the queen's sarcophagus lid (made of pink granite), pieces of her coffin, pottery fragments, 34 wooden shabtis coated with black substance, the lid of a polychrome wooden shabti-box, the lid of another shabti-box coated with black substance, a wooden *djed*-pillar adorned with faience inlays and gilded leaf (likely belonging to one of the magical bricks), a knob from a piece of furniture preserving the name of King Ay within a cartouche, a pair of palm-fiber sandals, fragmented wooden *djed* pillars with yellow coating, the queen's partial legs and knees, fragments of braids, a jar, and an amphora. There are also a number of objects that are currently kept at the Museum of Fine Arts of Boston and are said to have been purchased, from Mohamed Mohassib, for the museum in 1904: a silver jewellery element with the image of Anubi (inv. n. 04.1953), a fragmented bracelet made of gold, silver, and stone inlays, with the inscription *wsr hm.t nsw nfr.t-jrj mry-n-mw.t m3^c.t-hrw* (*the Osiris, King's Wife, Nefertari Merytenmut, true of voice*, inv. n. 04.1954), a belt buckle made of silver, gold, and stone inlays, bearing the inscription *wsr hm.t nsw wr.t mry.t=f hnw.t mh^w* (*the Osiris, Great King's Wife, his beloved, Mistress of Lower Egypt*, inv. n. 04.1955), four wooden shabtis coated with black substance (04.1766, 04.1767, 04.1768, 04.1769), and a lotus-shaped pendant made of copper and coated with gold leaf (04.1956); these objects were very likely found within the queens' tomb but when they were found still remains an unsolved issue.

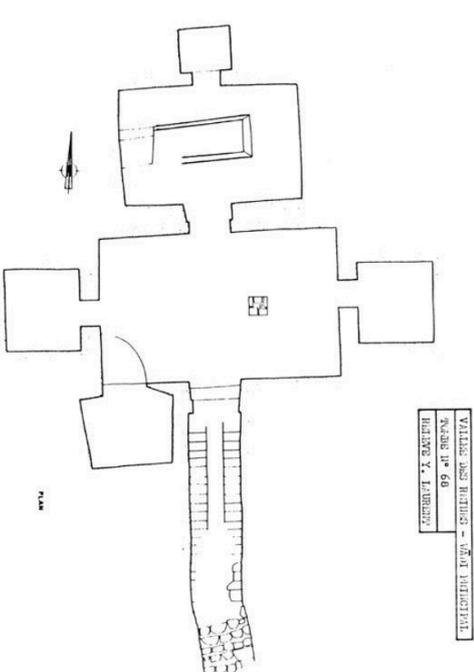
QV 67

Tomb plan not available	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty
	Reuse	-
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , northern slope
	Geology	Cut into marl (with chert inclusions)
	Traces of fire	Not detected
	Old designation	-
	Tomb typology	Shaft tomb Leblanc's type A.1
	Tomb walls	Undecorated
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2016, 16, 102-103. Thomas 1966, 185, 188, 191.	

QV 67 is a shaft tomb with single burial chamber. Among the Italian unpublished digging diaries of the *Missione Archeologica Italiana*, there is no clue concerning the discovery of this tomb. However, considering that the *Topographical Bibliography* published in 1927 by Porter and Moss mentions QV 75 as the tomb with the highest QV number, it is likely that QV 67 had been at least identified by the Italian team (see Volume I: *Text, section III.6*). When Thomas surveyed the Queens' Valley, the entrance of this tomb was visible but the shaft was filled up with debris and it was not possible to explore it. Afterwards, the tomb was cleared by the Franco-Egyptian team in 1987-1988. As remarked by Demas and Agnew, the CNRS wrongly assigned number 67 to current tomb QV 69 (which is easily distinguishable from QV 67 since QV 69 has five chambers).

Considering this confusion between QV 67 and QV 69 in the CNRS mission reports, it is not clear what was actually found in QV 67. Among the materials brought to light from QV 67 by the CNRS and the SCA in 2008, there are fragments of wood and one fragment of bone.

QV 68

 <p style="text-align: center; font-size: small;">After Demas and Agnew 2016, 413 (© CNRS/Y. Laurent).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	Merytamon (<i>mry.t-jmn</i>)
	Epithets/titles	<i>s3.t nsw</i> , king's daughter <i>s3.t nsw n h.t=f</i> , king's daughter of his body <i>hm.t nsw wr.t</i> , great royal wife <i>nb.t t3.wj</i> , lady of the Two Lands <i>hnw.t šm'w mhw</i> , mistress of Upper and Lower Egypt
	Family relationship	Daughter of Ramses II and Queen Nefertari
	Epoch	19 th Dynasty (reign of Ramses II)
	Reuse	-
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , northern slope
	Geology	Ramp cut into marl, chambers cut into poor-quality rock
	Traces of fire	Blackened walls
	Old designation	Hay of Linplum = 4 th Eastern tomb Wilkinson = n. 5 Champollion = n. 12 Lepsius = n. 5 Brugsch = n. 15
	Tomb typology	Multi-chambered tomb Leblanc's type II
Tomb walls	Painted raised relief (annex in the burial chamber and the southern side room of the pillared chambered are not decorated)	
Bibliographical references	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 45%;"> <p>Champollion 1844, 399-400. Demas and Agnew 2012, 53. Demas and Agnew 2016, 411-422. Dodson and Hilton 2004, 172. Elleithy and Leblanc 2016, 185-193. Gauthier 1914, 104-105 (4). Grajetzki 2005, 69.</p> </div> <div style="width: 45%;"> <p>Habachi 1974. Lepsius 1900, 227-228. Porter and Moss 1927, 47. Porter and Moss 1964 (PMI²), 765-766. Schiaparelli 1924, 105. Thomas 1966, 208-209, 211, 214, 217-218, 224-225.</p> </div> </div>	

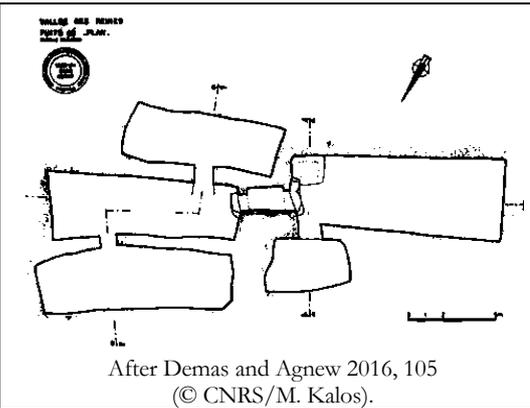
Tomb QV 68 hosted the burial of Merytamon, who was a daughter of Ramses II and Queen Nefertari and became great wife of his father after her mother's death. The tomb was visited by the 19th century explorers. The *Missione Archeologica Italiana* likely investigated this tomb (it is mentioned by Schiaparelli within the *Esplorazione della Valle delle Regine*), however, there is no mention of it within the unpublished excavation diaries. Thomas explored the tomb and suggested that small pieces of the queen's sarcophagus lay under the debris of the burial chamber; she also remarked that the tomb walls were blackened due to fire(s). Between 1971 and 1972, the Franco-Egyptian team cleared the tomb.

QV 68 is a multi-chambered tomb with a plan similar to that of the close-by tombs QV 71, QV 74, and QV 75. The entrance consists of a steep ramp (originally, there were steps at both sides of the ramp) that leads to the pillared chamber (currently, only the base of one pillar is still *in loco*). This chamber is provided with three side rooms: two of them

are certainly part of the original plan (those to the west and east sides), whereas the small room on the south-western corner is a later addition. The pillared chamber leads to the burial chamber, which is on the same axis of the entrance and has a small niche at its rear. A pit cut into the floor of the main chamber hosted the sarcophagus, the incomplete lid of which was “rediscovered” by Habachi in the Neues Museum of Berlin (Inv. N. 15274).

Little is known about the archaeological findings, except for the abovementioned red granite lid of the queen’s sarcophagus. The CNRS and the SCA cleared the tomb in 2008 and found potsherds, stamped mudbricks, other objects (which came from the Ramesseum and had been stored therein), and the fragment of a stone statue.

QV 69

 <p>After Demas and Agnew 2016, 105 (© CNRS/M. Kalos).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty
	Reuse	-
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , northern slope
	Geology	Tomb cut into marl with chert inclusions
	Traces of fire	Not detected
	Old designation	<i>MAI</i> = tomb F
	Tomb typology	Shaft tomb Leblanc's type A.5
Tomb walls	Undecorated	
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2012, 89. Demas and Agnew 2016, 104-105. Thomas 1966, 185, 188, 191.	

The multi-chambered tomb QV 69 was discovered by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* in 1904. Thomas was not able to localize the tomb since the shaft was filled up with debris till the top and it was undetectable. In 1988 was the tomb re-discovered and cleared by the Franco-Egyptian team, which found a photographic plate of the Italian team within the debris: this clue strongly confirmed that Schiaparelli and Ballerini had already investigated it. As remarked in the GCI assessment report, Leblanc and the members of the SCA moved, in 2008, the study materials from a number of (not specified) tombs to QV 69, within which they have been restored, consolidated, and stored.

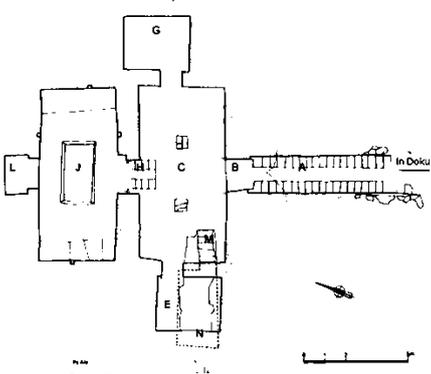
The shaft of QV 69 leads to two different burials, both of which have longitudinal axis. As evident by looking at the few pictures of the inside of the tomb, the chambers have been cut into marl of good quality. Among the materials found by the Franco-Egyptian team, there are pottery sherds, a round-shaped shroud, faience sherds, a vertebral column, and a fragment of the abovementioned photographic plate left there by the Italian team.

QV 70

Tomb plan not available	NK tomb owner(s)	Nehesi (<i>nhs</i>)
	Epithets/titles	<i>jmy-r3 ms^c</i> , commander of the troop
	Family relationships	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty (reign of Hatshepsut? Late 18 th Dynasty?)
	Reuse	-
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , northern slope
	Geology	Cut into marl (with chert inclusions)
	Traces of fire	Not detected
	Old designation	<i>MAI</i> = tomb H
	Tomb typology	Shaft tomb Leblanc's type A.1
	Tomb walls	Undecorated
Bibliographical references	Cavillier 2009, 11-13. Demas and Agnew 2016, 106. Leblanc 1989/b, 69 (endnote 98), 80 (endnote 226). Lecuyot 1992/a, 119, footnote n. 4. Lecuyot 2000, 45. Lepsius 1900, 227. Thomas 1966, 185-188, 191.	

Tomb QV 70 has been assigned to the commander of the troop Nehesi, although this attribution remains uncertain. Indeed, the limestone canopic jar attributable to Nehesi has been found by Lepsius outside this tomb. Likely, the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* investigated this single-chambered tomb, as can be assumed thanks to the unpublished excavation notebooks (see Volume I: *Text, section III.6*). When Thomas surveyed the Queens' Valley, the tomb was identifiable, although the shaft was completely filled up with debris. There is no additional information about the archaeological findings.

QV 71

 <p style="text-align: center;">After Demas and Agnew 2016, 426 (© CNRS/J. B. Du Vaure).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	Queen Bentanta (<i>b^c-n-t3-^cntj</i>)
	Epithets/titles	<i>s3.t nsw n h.t=f nry.t=f</i> , king's daughter of his body, beloved by him <i>hm.t nsw</i> , king's wife <i>hm.t nsw wr.t</i> , great royal wife <i>nb.t t3.wj</i> , lady of the Two Lands <i>hnw.t sm^cw mhw</i> , mistress of Upper and Lower Egypt
	Family relationship	Eldest daughter of Ramses II and Queen Isisneferet Wife of Ramses II and Merenptah
	Epoch of tomb construction	19 th Dynasty (reigns of Ramses II and Merenptah)
	Reuse	Third Intermediate Period Roman Period Coptic Period (?)
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , northern slope
	Geology	Ramp cut into marl; the tomb is cut into good quality rock
	Traces of fire	Blackened walls
	Old designation	Hay of Linplum = 5 th eastern tomb Wilkinson = n. 4 Champollion = n. 13 Lepsius = n. 4 Brugsch = n. 14
	Tomb typology	Chambered tomb Leblanc's type II
	Tomb walls	Painted raised relief
Bibliographical references	<p>Antelme 1991. Brugsch 1855, 319. Champollion 1844, 400-402. Demas and Agnew 2012, 54. Demas and Agnew 2016, 423-437. Elleithy and Leblanc 2016, 195-205. Gauthier 1914, 102-103 (1). Grajetzki 2005, 68-69.</p> <p>Leblanc and Siliotti 1997, 92 (fig. 2). Lecuyot 1996, 155-157. Lepsius 1900, 227. Porter and Moss 1927, 48. Porter and Moss 1964 (PM I²), 766-767. Schiaparelli 1924, 105 and 111. Thomas 1966, 185, 208-209, 211, 214, 217-218, 224-225.</p>	

Tomb QV 71 was accessible at the time of Hay of Linplum, and later was explored by Wilkinson, Champollion and Rosellini, Lepsius, and Brugsch. Schiaparelli mentions this tomb within his publication, thus suggesting that the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* knew its location (and likely explored it). It was cleared by the Franco-Egyptian team in 1971-1972.

The tomb owner is Bentanta, a daughter of Ramses II and Queen Isisneferet. This princess-queen bears a foreign name that means “daughter of Anath”, who was a Canaanite goddess. She served her father as great wife and according to Grajetzki she might have given birth to one of his several daughters: indeed, within her burial, the queen is depicted with a daughter with sidelock (caption: *s3.t nsw n h.t=f*), whose name is lost; the daughter does not bear the epithet *m3^c-hrw*, thus suggesting that she was still alive when her mother died. Bentanta may have been married to Merenptah, after his father's death: her name is incised on a statue of Merenptah, followed by the titles *s3.t nsw*, *sn.t nsw*, *hm.t nsw wr.t*.

The entrance of tomb QV 71 consists of a steep ramp which leads to a pillared chamber, which is provided with two side chambers, one to the east and one to the west. To the western side of the pillared chamber, there is a short ramp that leads to a rectangular chamber, which was provided with a vaulted ceiling that has collapsed. Thomas did not enter this room and thought that it might have been intrusive due to the gouged-out shape of its entrance; however, after having read Hay of Linplum's notes, she corrected herself, assuming that the presence of the vaulted ceiling may indicate that the room belong to the original tomb plan. Another short ramp, which is in axis with the tomb entrance, leads to the burial chamber, which is provided with a niche cut into the north wall and a pit excavated in the middle of the room in order to host the sarcophagus. Finally, four small niches for the magical bricks are cut into the walls of the burial chamber. Part of the decoration has survived, although the walls and ceilings are damaged due to the heat caused by the fire(s) and are heavily blackened.

The tomb was reused during the Third Intermediate Period and later, in the Roman/Coptic Period; in this regard, Hay of Linplum recorded pieces of a terracotta sarcophagus within his notes. Concerning the archaeological findings, Elleithy and Leblanc list only pottery and oil lamps. These are not the only archaeological materials found within the tomb: there are also some wooden shabtis coated with black resin and painted in yellow and one shabti representing the queen as a living individual. Fragments of the queen's granite sarcophagus and of the lid, which was usurped and reused, are currently kept at the Cairo Egyptian Museum; the name of Bentanta is not written within the cartouche, nor she bears the title of royal consort. It may be possible that the coffin was prepared before Bentanta became a queen (or maybe the sarcophagus belonged to another individual and was reused for the queen).

The CNRS and the SCA cleared QV 71 in 2008 and 2010 and found a stone capital, feet and torso of a mummy, fragments of painted plaster, bones, and pottery sherds.

QV 72

 <p>From Demas and Agnew 2016, 108 (© CNRS).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	Hatnefer (<i>h3.t-nfr</i>) Baki (<i>b3kj</i>)
	Epithets/titles	<i>s3.t nsw</i> , king's daughter (Hatnefer) <i>s3 nsw</i> , king's son (Baki)
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty (reign of Hatshepsut/Thutmosis III)
	Reuse	Roman Period
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , northern slope
	Geology	Cut into marl
	Traces of fire	Not detected
	Old designation	Lepsius indicated it as shaft tomb located between QV 73 and QV 74
	Tomb typology	Shaft tomb Leblanc's type A.1
	Tomb walls	Undecorated
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2016, 107-108. Koenig 1988, 128. Leblanc and Siliotti 1997, 66. Lecuyot 1996, 149-150, 155-157. Lecuyot 1999, 45.	
	Lepsius 1900, 226, 307. Macke <i>et al.</i> 2002, 29. Porter and Moss 1964 (PM I ²), 769. Thomas 1966, 188.	

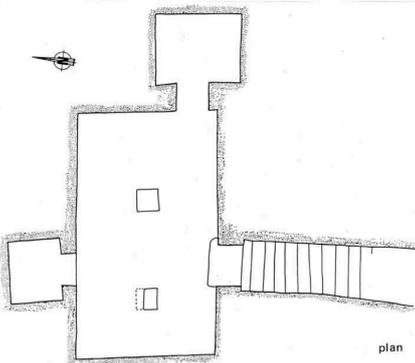
Lepsius discovered this single-chambered shaft tomb between QV 74 and QV 73, however, he provided little information about it. He found two limestone canopic jars belonging to Princess Hatnefer within the tomb (one was brought to Berlin: Inv. n. 2076/Lepsius' *Inscription alpha*; the other one was held by the merchant Triantophyllos/Lepsius' *Inscription beta*) and the fragment of another one around the shaft entrance (Lepsius brought even this to Berlin: inv. n. 2075).

Following the current QV numbering system, it may be possible that the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* investigated (or at least identified) this tomb, although information in this regard is not evident within the excavation diaries (see Volume I: *Text, section III.6*). Thomas did not manage to identify the tomb since the shaft was filled up with debris.

Princess Hatnefer was not the only individual buried within this tomb. Indeed, when the tomb was cleared by the Franco-Egyptian team in 1986, two globular jars were found: one bears part of an inscription mentioning *nhw.t*-fruits (sycamore), the other one preserves the name of the other tomb owner, Prince Baki.

As reported by Demas and Agnew, among the anthropological materials the CNRS found five fragments of bones.

QV 73

 <p style="text-align: center;">plan</p> <p style="text-align: center;">After Demas and Agnew 2016, 442 (© CNRS/G. Lecuyot and D. Escartin).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	Princess Henuttauy (<i>hnw.t-ḥ.wj</i>)
	Epithets/titles	<i>s3.t nsw</i> , king's daughter <i>s3.t nsw n h.t-f</i> , king's daughter of his body <i>nb.t ḥ.wj</i> , lady of the Two Lands
	Family relationship	Daughter of Ramses II
	Epoch of tomb construction	19 th Dynasty (reign of Ramses II)
	Reuse	Third Intermediate Period Roman Period Coptic Period
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , northern slope
	Geology	Cut into marl
	Traces of fire	Small evidence of blackening likely related to candle-burning
	Old designation	Hay of Linplum = 6 th eastern tomb Wilkinson = n. 3 Champollion = n. 14 Lepsius = n. 3 Brugsch = n. 13
	Tomb typology	Steep ramp, pillared burial chamber Leblanc's type I
	Tomb walls	Painted raised relief
Bibliographical references	Brugsch 1855, 319. Champollion 1844, 402-403. Demas and Agnew 2012, 55-56. Demas and Agnew 2016, 438-450. Leblanc 1986. Leblanc and Hassanein 1985, 29-30. Lecuyot 1996, 158. Lecuyot 2000, 49. Lepsius 1900, 227. Macke <i>et al.</i> 2002, 29. Porter and Moss 1927, 48. Porter and Moss 1964 (PM I ²), 760, 767. Thomas 1966, 214, 217-218, 224-225. Wagner <i>et al.</i> 1990, 368.	

Hay of Linplum, Wilkinson, Champollion and Rosellini, Lepsius, and Brugsch investigated tomb QV 73 during the 19th century; Lepsius attributed it to an anonymous princess, since the cartouche he detected was left blank. In addition, the tomb had been reused during the Coptic Period: its walls had been plastered in order to hide the original painted decoration, thus making the identification of the tomb owner challenging. However, Thomas detected traces of the name of the tomb owner and suggested that she could have been Henuttauy: the final part of her name, *ḥ.wj*, followed by determinative, was indeed visible. The tomb was re-investigated by the Franco-Egyptian team in 1984, which detected, on the wall decoration, one cartouche with part of the name of the tomb owner (likely, the same cartouche mentioned by Thomas). Princess Henuttauy was a daughter of Ramses II and Queen Nefertari. Lecuyot attributed to her even the title of king's wife.

The tomb architecture is simple: a steep ramp (originally, there were steps carved into the rock) leads to the pillared burial chamber, which is provided with two side chambers. The ceiling of the pillared chamber is coated through a black wash. Despite the damages occurred during the robberies and reuse, several scenes of the painted raised relief are still

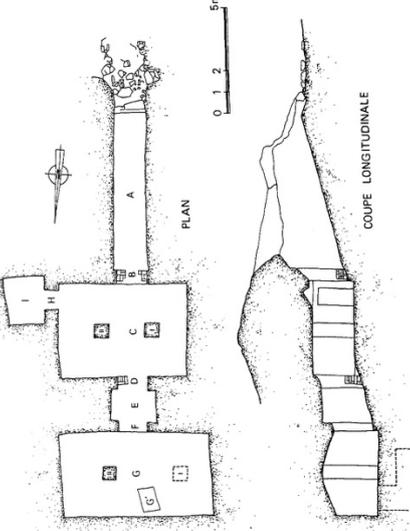
visible. The rock had been roughly carved due to its poor quality: fractures and holes were filled with rock fragments and the wall surface was coated with a thick layer of plaster, in order to have a flat surface for the realisation of the raised relief.

The findings attest to the different periods of use and reuse of the tomb. Within the pillared chamber, remains of the eastern pillar have been found along with fragments of canopic jars bearing the name of the commander of the troops Nehesi: these fragments clearly are intrusive, since Nehesi was (likely) buried in QV 70 during the 18th Dynasty. Furthermore, among the materials, there are a round-shaped stopper made of silt, with an imprinted uraeus, and a fragmentary wooden stick, both datable to the 19th Dynasty. Lepsius found a wooden shabti bearing the title of *dw^c.t-ntr nt jmn*, “divine adoratrice of Amun”, which disagrees with the so far known titles of this princess, who did not perform such a role. With regard to the material evidence dating to the Third Intermediate Period, there are: wooden fragments belonging to two different types of anthropoid coffins [one type shows black background with yellow decoration (22nd/23rd Dynasty), the other one yellow decoration on white background (probably datable to the 21st Dynasty)]; a child’s mask; some pieces of cartonnage; tubular beads; two glazed amulets representing Hapi and Qebhsenuf. Two wooden dummy canopic vases (inv. SAE nn. 240 and 241) attest to the reuse of QV 73 during the Late Period.

When the tomb was reused during the Coptic Period, the Christians threw outside of the tomb grave goods and corpses: indeed, in front of the tomb entrance, the Franco-Egyptian team found Roman Period mummies, mummy masks, decorated shrouds, fragments belonging to about one 150 amphoras, and a wooden label. During the same phase of reoccupation, the wall decoration was coated by means of a thin layer of mud, the lintel of the door was modified, the staircase was rebuilt with new blocks, and the two pillars were destroyed, in order to have more space for the Christian ceremonies.

According to the anthropological assessment, six mummies and eight skulls were found within QV 73.

QV 74

 <p>From Leblanc and Abdel-Rahman 1991, 148 (© CNRS/Y. Laurent).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	Anonymous princess (19 th Dyn.) Queen Duatentipet (<i>dw3.t-t(3)-nt-jp.t</i>) (20 th Dyn.)
	Epithets/titles	Anonymous princess: <i>s3.t nsw</i> , king's daughter Duatentipet: <i>s3.t nsw</i> , king's daughter <i>hm.t nsw</i> , king's wife <i>hm.t nsw wr.t</i> , great royal wife <i>mw.t nsw wr.t</i> , great King's mother <i>nb.t t3.wj</i> , lady of the Two Lands <i>hnw.t šm'w mh'w</i> , mistress of Upper and Lower Egypt
	Family relationship	Daughter of Ramses III Great Wife of Ramses IV Mother of Ramses V
	Epoch of tomb construction	19 th Dynasty
	Reuse	20 th Dynasty (reign of Ramses IV) Third Intermediate Period (22 nd -23 rd Dyn.) Roman Period
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , northern slope
	Geology	Cut into marl
	Traces of fire	Blackened walls
	Old designation	Hay of Linplum = 7 th eastern tomb Wilkinson = n. 2 Champollion = n. 15 Lepsius = n. 2 Brugsch = n. 12
	Tomb typology	Sloping ramp entrance, pillared chambers Leblanc's type II
Tomb walls	Plastered raised relief, painted decoration	
Bibliographical references	Brugsch 1855, 318-319. Champollion 1844, 403. Demas and Agnew 2012, 57. Demas and Agnew 2016, 451-463. Gosselin 2007, 184-192. Grajetzki 2005, 73. Kitchen 1972, 189-190. Leblanc 1989/a, 239 (n. 26). Leblanc and Abdel-Rahman 1991.	Leblanc and Elleithy 2016, 217-230. Lepsius 1900, 226-227. McCarthy 2007, 107. Peden 1994, 46 (note n. 2). Porter and Moss 1927, 48. Porter and Moss 1964 (PM I ²), 767- 768. Thomas 1966, 185, 208-209, 214, 218- 219, 224-225.

Tomb QV 74 was prepared for a 19th-dynasty princess, as attested by a preserved depiction of a king's daughter and the close-by caption (*s3.t nsw*). According to Leblanc and Abdel-Rahman, this tomb did not host the burial of the anonymous princess for whom it had been designed. Considering its position within the main *wadi*, it is likely that the tomb was prepared during the reign of Ramses II. Afterwards, during the 20th Dynasty, the tomb was reused in order to host the burial of Queen Duatentipet, wife of Ramses IV and mother of Ramses V. Queen Duatentipet was also a divine adoratrice (*dw3.t-ntj*) during the reigns of Ramses III and Ramses IV. According to Peden, the reuse of a 19th-dynasty tomb for the burial of the great wife of Ramses IV may depend on a strike that

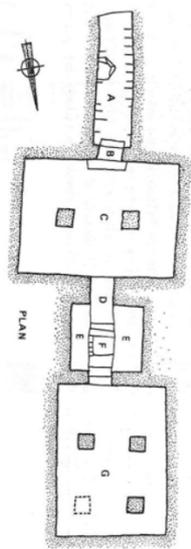
occurred during the king's regnal year 2: the scarceness of workforce may have forced the administration to reuse an already prepared tomb.

This tomb was investigated by the earlier explorers of the 19th century. The *Missione Archeologica Italiana* as well may have visited it, although no information is provided within the unpublished excavation diaries, nor Schiaparelli mentions it within his publication. The tomb entrance consists of a ramp leading to a pillared chamber, which is provided with one side chamber to the east. Some steps lead from this room to a small, intermediary room and finally to the pillared burial chamber, which has a vaulted ceiling. The burial chamber includes an intrusive pit that leads to a lower chamber, which was cut during the Third Intermediate Period. Although the tomb has been cut into marl, some localized areas needed to be filled with rock sherds and plaster in order to make the wall surface flat and smooth for the decoration. The painted raised relief is currently damaged due to the plundering activity, reuse, and fire(s) that occurred within the tomb.

With regard to the archaeological findings, several objects attest to the reuse of the tomb during the 22nd and 23rd Dynasties: 40 shabtis, a wooden figurine of a falcon with solar disc on top, fragments of a scarab made of clay, and the headdress of a wooden statuette of Ptah-Sokar. Outside this tomb, the Franco-Egyptian team brought to light foundation deposits, fragments of caning, pottery sherds, and wooden legs of a funerary bed.

As remarked by Demas and Agnew, the CNRS and SCA cleared the tomb in 2008 and recorded fragments of mummies, pottery sherds, and fragments of wood, plaster, and skulls.

QV 75

 <p style="text-align: center;">PLAN</p> <p style="text-align: center;">After Demas and Agnew 2016, 468 (© CNRS/Y. Laurent).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	Queen Henutmira (<i>hnw.t-mj-rʿ</i>)
	Epithets/titles	<i>s3.t nsw n h.t=f mry.t=f</i> , king's daughter of his body, beloved by him <i>hm.t nsw</i> , king's wife <i>hm.t nsw wr.t</i> , great royal wife <i>nb.t t3.wj</i> , lady of the Two Lands <i>hnw.t šmʿw mhw</i> , mistress of Upper and Lower Egypt
	Family relationship	Daughter of Sety I or Ramses II
	Epoch of tomb construction	19 th Dynasty
	Reuse	Third Intermediate Period Roman Period
	Location	Main <i>nadi</i> , northern slope
	Geology	Tomb cut into marl
	Traces of fire	Blackened walls
	Old designation	Hay of Linplum = 8 th eastern tomb Wilkinson = n. 1 Champollion = n. 16 Lepsius = n. 1 Brugsch = n. 11
	Tomb typology	Entrance ramp, two pillared chambers Leblanc's type II
Tomb walls	Plastered raised relief, painted decoration	
Bibliographical references	Černý 1929. Champollion 1844, 404. Demas and Agnew 2012, 58-59. Demas and Agnew 2016, 464-477. Dodson and Hilton 2004, 170. Elleithy and Leblanc 2016, 231-244. Grajetzki 2005, 69-70. Leblanc 1988. Leblanc 1999, 834. Lecuyot 2000, 49. Lepsius 1900, 225-26. Porter and Moss 1927, 49. Porter and Moss 1964 (PM I ²), 768-769. Sourouzzian 1983, 365-371. Thomas 1966, 188, 208-209, 214-215, 218, 224-225. Troy 1986, 169 (19.3).	

Tomb QV 75 was explored by Hay of Linplum, Wilkinson, Champollion and Rosellini, Lepsius, and Brugsch, however, the tomb owner was unknown to them. It is not apparent whether the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* investigated it. Within the *Topographical Bibliography* published in 1927, Porter and Moss include Henutmira's tomb in the QV-numbering system (actually, it is the last one), thus suggesting that tomb was at least identified at that time (see Volume I: *Text, section III.6*). Thomas investigated the tomb during her survey. The Franco-Egyptian team cleared it in 1986/1987 and managed to identify its owner, *i.e.* Queen Henutmira, who was sister-wife of Ramses II and likely a daughter of Sety I and Queen Mut-Tuy (according to Troy and Dodson and Hilton). According to Grajetzki, Henutmira was a daughter (and wife) of Ramses II.

The tomb entrance consists of a short ramp which leads to a pillared room. From this one, another short ramp leads to a small, intermediary chamber (which includes an intrusive shaft leading to a room), and finally there is the pillared burial chamber. The wall decoration is damaged, with only a few preserved portions. In some parts, the raised relief

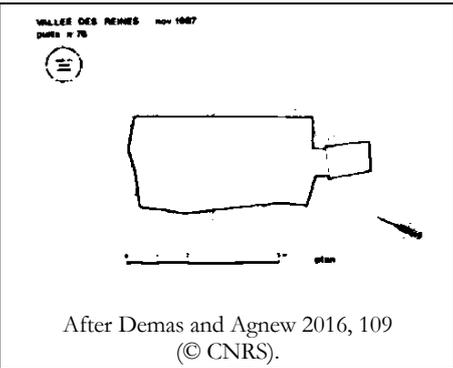
paintings are not in place, but the underlying layer of plaster is still *in situ*; in addition, the wall paintings show evident marks of damages caused by fire(s).

It is not a case that QV 75 shows such a high degree of damage: this tomb was plundered already towards the end of the 19th/beginning of the 20th Dynasty and certainly later, during the Third Intermediate Period, when the queen's sarcophagus was taken from the burial chamber and reused in the 22nd Dynasty for the burial Horsiese, High Priest of Amun, in Medinet Habu. Furthermore, the tomb was reused during the Roman Period.

With regard to the archaeological findings, the only materials datable to the Ramesside Period are an *ostrakon* decorated with a geometric pattern and a plasterer's brush. Between tombs QV 75 and QV 73, the Franco-Egyptian team found a fragmented alabaster canopic jar inscribed with name of the queen (OAE n. 341). It is worth remarking that the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* found, likely in the same sector, two fragments of two canopic jars (Turin ME S. 05577 and ME S. 05578) belonging to the same queen.

As remarked by Demas and Agnew, the CNRS and the SCA cleared the tomb in 2008 and found animal bones and potsherds therein.

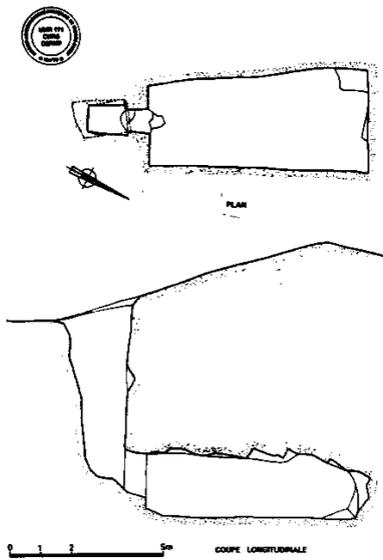
QV 76

 <p>After Demas and Agnew 2016, 109 (© CNRS).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	Princess Merytra (<i>mry.t-rꜥ</i>)
	Epithets/titles	<i>s3.t nsw</i> , King's Daughter
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb	18 th Dynasty
	Reuse	21 st /22 nd Dynasty Roman Period
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , southern slope
	Geology	-
	Traces of fire	-
	Old designation	MAI = tomb L
	Tomb typology	Shaft tomb Leblanc's type A.1
Tomb walls	Undecorated	
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2012, 26. Demas and Agnew 2016, 109. Macke <i>et al.</i> 2002, 29. Thomas 1966, 185, 188.	

Thanks to the examination of the unpublished digging diaries of Ballerini, it is possible to assert that the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* explored tomb QV 76 in 1904. Within the tomb, the Italian team found an offering table (40 x 90 cm), fragments of a polychrome-painted wooden coffin, and fragments of mats. Little information is given by Thomas, who apparently did not enter this single-chambered shaft tomb. In 1987, the tomb was cleared by the Franco-Egyptian team, which likely found archaeological materials (not published yet) inscribed with the name of the 18th-dynasty tomb owner, Princess Merytra. QV 76 was re-used during the 21st Dynasty and afterwards in the Roman Period.

As reported by Demas and Agnew, the materials found by the Franco-Egyptian team include three human skulls, two bone fragments, fragments of 21st/22nd-dynasty coffin(s), some remains of bead nets (dating to the Saitic-Persian Period or Roman Period), and Roman Period potsherds. Among the anthropological materials, there is mention of three mummies and three fragments of bone(s).

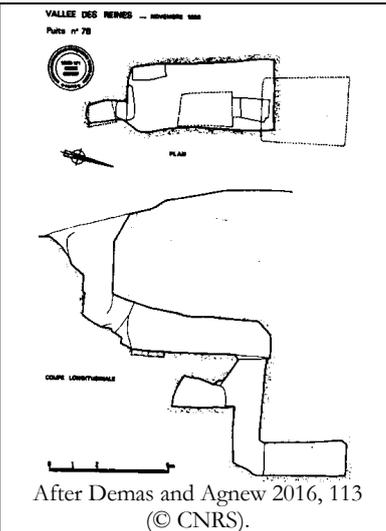
QV 77

<p style="text-align: center;">VALLEE DES REINES - NOUVEAUX TRAI</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Puits n° 77</p>  <p style="text-align: center;">After Demas and Agnes 2016, 111 (© CNRS).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty
	Reuse	21 st /22 nd Dynasties Roman Period
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , southern slope
	Geology	Cut into marl
	Traces of fire	No blackened walls but the fractures into the ceiling and the rear of the chamber suggest that a fire occurred within the tomb; in addition, some carbonised remains have been found within it
	Old designation	<i>MAI</i> = tomb M
	Tomb typology	Shaft tomb Leblanc's type A.1
Tomb walls	Undecorated	
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2016, 110-111. Lecuyot 1996, 155-157. Thomas 1966, 185, 188.	

The *Missione Archeologica Italiana* investigated the single-chambered tomb QV 77 in 1904. Thomas explored this tomb but provided little information about it. Afterwards, in 1986, tomb QV 77 was cleared by the Franco-Egyptian. The archaeological materials attest to its reuse during the Third Intermediate Period and the Roman Period: fragments of 21st/22nd wooden coffin(s), terracotta plates, carbonized bones and wooden fragments, a funerary mask made of terracotta, and a faience shabti.

In October 2008, bones, skulls, and potsherds were found by the CNRS and the SCA in the tomb. No trace of flooding has been detected. According the GCI assessment report, the fracture of the ceiling may suggest that a fire occurred within the tomb.

QV 78

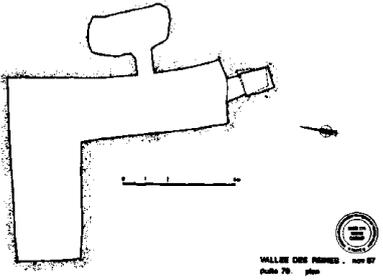
	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty
	Reuse	Third Intermediate Period/26 th Dynasty Roman Period Coptic Period?
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , northern slope
	Traces of fire	Blackened walls and ceilings of the original 18 th -dynasty burial chamber
	Old designation	<i>MAI</i> = tomb N
	Tomb typology	Tomb enlarged during the Third Intermediate Period Leblanc's type A.1
	Tomb walls	Undecorated
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2016, 112-113. Lecuyot 1996, 155-157. Lecuyot 1999, 39 (footnote n. 29). Lepsius 1900, 225. Macke <i>et al.</i> 2002, 29. Thomas 1966, 185, 188. Wagner <i>et al.</i> 1990, 368.	

The *Missione Archeologica Italiana* investigated tomb QV 78 in 1904 and found a Late Period offering table, fragments of damaged wooden coffin, potsherds, and fragments of shrouds within the upper burial chamber. The ceiling of this chamber is brownish/blackened, a clear clue to fire that occurred within it. Damaged mummies were found within the intermediary room, which has blackened walls. Finally, bones and fragments of vases were brought to light from the lowest chamber, which has blackened walls as well. Thomas explored tomb QV 78 and afterwards, in 1986-1987, the Franco-Egyptian team cleared it.

The original 18th-dynasty tomb plan consisted of a shaft leading to a single burial chamber. During the Third Intermediate Period, the tomb was enlarged by means of the cutting of a shaft, which led to two intrusive rooms. QV 78 was reused during the 25th/26th Dynasties and in the Roman and Coptic Periods.

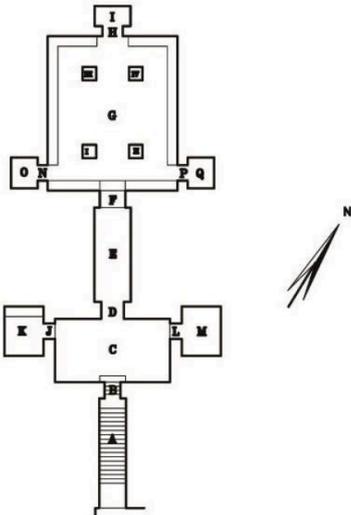
The archaeological remains found by the CNRS include fragments of a sarcophagus dating to the Roman Period, carbonized bones and wooden fragments, a mortar, about 250 shabtis made of terracotta, and a funerary cone. Among the anthropological remains, there are one mummy, fragments of skulls of both adults and children, 15 mandibles, and 20 skulls.

QV 79

 <p>From Demas and Agnew 2016, 115 (© CNRS).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty
	Reuse	Third Intermediate Period Roman Period Coptic period
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , northern slope
	Geology	Cut into marl
	Traces of fire	
	Old designation	-
	Tomb typology	Shaft tomb, L-shaped chamber Leblanc's type A.4
Tomb walls	Undecorated	
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2016, 114-115. Lecuyot 1996, 155-157, 159. Thomas 1966, 185-186, 188.	

Tomb QV 79 shows a peculiar plan: a shaft leads to the L-shaped chamber, from which it is possible to have access to a smaller side chamber, which was likely cut when the tomb was reused at a later stage. Thomas identified the shaft, but she could not investigate the tomb since the entrance was blocked. The Franco-Egyptian team partially cleared this tomb in 1987 and found fragments of 21st/22nd-dynasty wooden coffins, 40 human skulls, fragmentary bones, and pottery dating to the late Third Intermediate Period, to the Roman Period, and the Coptic Period. As reported by Demas and Agnew, the CNRS and the SCA re-cleared the tomb in 2008 and found bones, skulls, pottery, fragments of wood, and other materials.

QV 80

 <p style="text-align: center;">After Demas and Agnew 2016, 482 (© CNRS).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	Queen Mut-Tuy (<i>mw.t-tw</i>)
	Epithets/titles	<i>mw.t nsw</i> , king's mother <i>mw.t nsw wr.t</i> , great royal mother <i>nb.t t3.wj</i> , lady of the Two Lands <i>mw.t ntr</i> , god's mother
	Family relationship	Daughter of Raia (officer of the chariotry) and Ruia Wife of Sety I Mother of Ramses II
	Epoch of tomb construction	19 th Dynasty (reign of Ramses II)
	Reuse	Third Intermediate Period Roman Period Coptic Period
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , northern slope
	Geology	Cut into marl
	Traces of fire	Detected on walls and ceilings
	Old designation	Hay of Linplum = 3 rd eastern tomb Wilkinson = n. 8 Champollion = n. 10 Lepsius = n. 7 Thomas = tomb A
	Tomb typology	Stepped ramp, multi-chambered tomb Leblanc's type II
	Tomb walls	Painted raised relief
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2012, 60. Demas and Agnew 2016, 478-490. Desroches-Noblecourt 1982, 232-243. Dodson and Hilton 2004, 162 and 164. Elleithy and Leblanc 2016, 245-256. Grajetzki 2005, 65-66. Kitchen 1999, 554-555. Leblanc 2009, 174-183. Leblanc and Siliotti 1997, 191. Lecuyot 1996, 155-157. Lecuyot 1999, 33-34 (footnote n. 5). Lecuyot 2000, 45. Lepsius 1900, 229. Nelson and Leblanc 1976, 264-265. Porter and Moss 1964 (PM I ²), 769. Thomas 1966, 209, 213-214, 217-218, 225.	

Tomb QV 80 was investigated by the modern explorers but likely was under debris when the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* explored the Queens' Valley: indeed, both Ballerini and Schiaparelli did not mention it. Thomas indicated QV 80 as tomb A, since it had not been provided with a number yet. The tomb was cleared by the Franco-Egyptian team between 1972 and 1976.

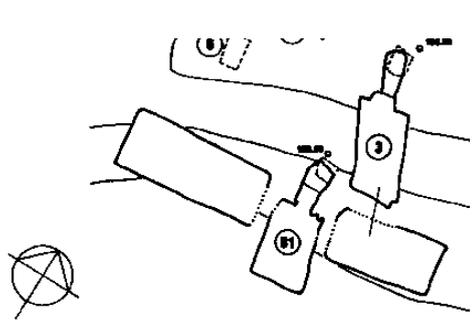
Queen Mut-Tuy was the consort of Sety I and mother of Rameses II and Henutmira. Her parents did not belong to the royal family: the father was Raia, an officer of the chariotry, and her mother's name was Ruia. She likely died during the regnal year 22 of Rameses II, as attested by a wine jar docket found inside her tomb: this may explain why she is not provided with the title of *hm.t nsw* within the decorative program of her tomb. She appears on several monuments in association with her son Ramses II. Whether she was the great king's wife or a minor wife of Sety I is not clear. According to Grajetzki, the title *hm.t nsw wr.t mry.t=f* may be posthumous; however, considering that no other wife

of Sety I is known with certainty, Mut-Tuy may have been the great king's consort. She had a funerary chapel built within the Ramesseum.

Her tomb, which develops throughout a straight axis, is in a bad state of preservation due to the massive reuse over time. A few remains of the painted raised relief are in place and are blackened due to fire. The tomb entrance consists of a stepped ramp, which leads to an anti-chamber provided with two side rooms. Then, a steep ramp leads to the pillared burial chamber, which is provided with two small side chambers. The four pillars were destroyed but they have been re-built by means of fired bricks by the members of the Franco-Egyptian team. A pit in the middle of the burial chamber served to host the stone sarcophagus.

When the tomb was cleared, several fragmented objects dating to the 19th Dynasty were found: fragments of the granite sarcophagus, a canopic jar lid (now on display at the Luxor Museum), fragments of the queen's canopic jars, 80 faience shabtis, pottery sherds (one fragment preserves the inscription mentioning the a grape harvest occurred in regnal year 22 of Ramses II, which provides a *terminus post quem* for the date of the queen's death), fragments of painted coffins, and fragments of other unspecified items. In addition, the Franco-Egyptian team found materials dating to later stages of use. In particular, it is worth mentioning the finding of an *ostrakon* dated to the reigns of Ptolemy III/Ptolemy IV and two pieces of coins of Augustus

QV 81

 <p>After Demas and Agnew 2016, 117 (© CNRS/Y. Laurent).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	Heka[...] (<i>hk3...</i>)
	Epithets/titles	
	Family relationship	
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty
	Reuse	?
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , southern slope
	Geology	Chambers cut into friable shale, ceiling consisting of a marl slab
	Traces of fire	Not detected
	Old designation	<i>MAI</i> = <i>ghimel</i> (λ) Thomas = tomb C
	Tomb typology	Shaft tomb Leblanc's type A.1
Tomb walls	Undecorated	
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2016, 116-117. Thomas 1966, 185-186.	

Tomb QV 81 consists of a shaft leading to a burial chamber, which is provided with two side chambers. The rooms are cut into poor-quality shale, this being the reason why it is currently in a bad state of preservation. The northern corner of the eastern chamber is connected with the rear of the burial chamber of tomb QV 3. The tomb was likely discovered by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* in 1904, explored by Thomas, and afterwards cleared by the Franco-Egyptian team in 1985-1986.

Nothing is known about the archaeological findings, however, part of the name of one of the tomb owners, Heka[...], has preserved. As reported by Demas and Agnew, the CNRS and the SCA cleared the tomb in 2010 and found potsherds, animal bones, and wooden fragments.

QV 82

Tomb plan not available	NK tomb owner(s)	Minemhat (<i>mnw-m-ḥ3t</i>) Amenhotep (<i>jmn-ḥtp</i>)
	Epithets/titles	<i>s3 nsw</i> , king's son (Minemhat)
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty (Thutmoside Period)
	Reuse	Roman Period
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , northern slope
	Geology	Cut into marl
	Traces of fire	Not detected
	Old designation	-
	Tomb typology	Shaft tomb Leblanc's type A.1
	Tomb walls	Undecorated
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2016, 118. Koenig 1988, 122, 129. Lecuyot 1992/a, 119 (footnote n. 4). Lecuyot 1996, 148, 150, 155-157. Macke <i>et al.</i> 2002, 29.	

When Thomas surveyed the Queens' Valley, the shaft of QV 82 was filled up with debris till the top and she was not able to identify the tomb. Likely, this tomb was not investigated by the Italian team. In 1986, it was cleared by the Franco-Egyptian. Among the findings, there are vases of different shapes and potsherds, some of which inscribed with the name of the tomb owners, Prince Minemhat and Amenhotep; in addition, four canopic jars with human-headed stoppers has been brought to light. The tomb was reused during the Roman Period, as the finding of pottery datable to that epoch clearly indicates.

With regard to the anthropological remains, the Franco-Egyptian team found 11 fragmented bones and the torso of a mummy.

QV 83

<p>After Demas and Agnew 2016, 119 (© TMP).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty
	Reuse	-
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , northern slope
	Geology	Cut into stable rock
	Traces of fire	-
	Old designation	Thomas = tomb B
	Tomb typology	Shaft entrance Commenced tomb
Tomb walls	Undecorated	
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2016, 119. Thomas 1966, 160, 188.	

QV 83 is a commenced tomb consisting of a shaft entrance and a chamber, the construction of which was not completed. The tomb was surveyed by the Theban Mapping Project in 1981 and was cleared by the Franco-Egyptian team in 1986. Archaeological findings have not been brought to light from there.

QV 84

<p>From Demas and Agnew 2016, 491 (© GCI).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	20 th Dynasty
	Reuse	-
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , western y-shaped junction of the two side branches
	Geology	-
	Traces of fire	-
	Old designation	-
Tomb typology	Commenced tomb	
Tomb walls	-	
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2016, 491.	

QV 84 is a commenced tomb that is located where the main *wadi* branches into the two western side valleys, not far from QV 49 and QV 50. The tomb consists of a ramp entrance only. Considering its position, the tomb construction likely started in the 20th Dynasty, but it was interrupted in the very early stages of the works.

QV 85

 <p>From Demas and Agnew 2016, 491 (© GCI).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	20 th Dynasty
	Reuse	-
	Location	Western sector of the main <i>wadi</i>
	Geology	Cut into marl
	Traces of fire	-
	Old designation	Thomas = tomb E
	Tomb typology	Commenced tomb
Tomb walls	-	
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2016, 491. Thomas 1966, 223.	

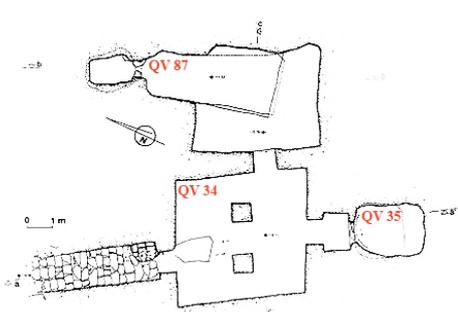
Tomb QV 85 is located between tombs QV 51 (Queen Isis) and QV 52 (Queen Tyti), on the western sector of the main *wadi*. It consists of a commenced sloping ramp entrance cut into the rock. The door entrance has not been cut. The reason why the construction of the tomb was interrupted does not seem to depend on the quality of the rock (which is a compact good-quality marl). Considering its position, it is likely that the tomb construction started during the 20th Dynasty.

QV 86

 <p>From Demas and Agnew 2016, 491 (© GCI).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	20 th Dynasty
	Reuse	-
	Location	Western sector of the main <i>wadi</i>
	Geology	Cut into marl rock
	Traces of fire	-
	Old designation	Thomas = tomb G/H?
	Tomb typology	Commenced tomb
Tomb walls	-	
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2016, 491.	

Considering the position of QV 86, its construction was likely started in the 20th Dynasty. As remarked by Demas and Agnew in their *Queens' Valley assessment*, the quality of the rock in this sector is bad and this may be the reason why the tomb was hardly commenced. In addition, even the close proximity to the ancient dam may have been the reason why its construction was interrupted: indeed, that position would be too dangerous in case of violent rainwaters.

QV 87

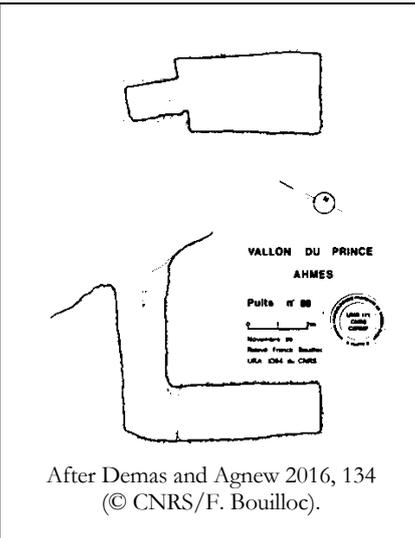
 <p style="text-align: center;">After Fekri and Loyrette 1998, 122 (© CNRS/F. Bouilloc). Tomb numbers in red added.</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty
	Reuse	Roman Period
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , southern slope
	Geology	Cut into shale and marl
	Traces of fire	Not detected
	Old designation	-
	Tomb typology	Shaft tomb Leblanc's type A.1
Tomb walls	Undecorated	
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2016, 120. Fekri and Loyrette 1998, 125-126. Gabler and Soliman 2018, 20-21 (endnote n. 80). Leblanc 1989/b, 43. Lecuyot 1996, 155-157.	

According to Leblanc, tomb QV 87 was discovered by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana*, however, the examination of the unpublished excavation diaries does not confirm it. In 1988, QV 87 was cleared by the Franco-Egyptian team. It consists of a shaft that leads to a single burial chamber. It has been cut mainly into the weak shale but the rear part of the chamber is cut into the lower layer of Member I.

This tomb was discovered, for the first time, in the beginning of the 19th Dynasty, when the workmen were cutting the north-eastern annex of QV 34 and ran into this 18th-dynasty tomb; QV 87 might have been emptied in that occasion.

The CNRS found only pottery within this burial. According to Gabler and Soliman, Some potsherds found in QV 34 bear identity marks of 18th-dynasty individuals: this would suggest that they were likely part of the original burial assemblage of QV 87. Conversely, Fekri and Loyrette date the identity marks to the 19th Dynasty.

QV 88

	NK tomb owner(s)	Prince Ahmose (<i>j^h-ms</i>)
	Epithets/titles	<i>s3 nsw</i> , king's son
	Family relationship	Son of Nebsu and of the mistress of the house Ian
	Epoch of tomb construction	Early 18 th Dynasty
	Reuse	Roman Period?
	Location	Valley of Prince Ahmose
	Geology	Cut into shale
	Traces of fire	-
	Old designation	Thomas = tomb B
	Tomb typology	Shaft entrance, single burial Leblanc's type A.1
Tomb walls	Undecorated	
Bibliographical references	Ballerini 1903, 32-33. Porter and Moss 1964 (PM I ²), 769. Caminos 1970, 122, footnote 1. Ronsecco 1996. Demas and Agnew 2012, 29. Schiaparelli 1904, <i>Relazione</i> . Demas and Agnew 2016, 11, 133-134. Schiaparelli 1924, 22-24, pl. IX. Donadoni Roveri 1988, 148. Thomas 1966, 184. Porter and Moss 1927, 49. Vandersleyen 1971, 214-215.	

The shaft of tomb QV 88 is cut into the shale, this being the reason why its surrounding edge is susceptible to erosion. The tomb consists of a single chamber and it is located in the southern lateral valley that has the same name of the tomb owner, *i.e.* Prince Ahmose. This prince was not the son of a king; indeed, his parents were Nebsu (unknown titles), and the mistress of the house Ian.

Following Ballerini's account in his *Notizia Sommaria*, QV 88 was discovered in 1903. However, within the unpublished report written for King Vittorio Emanuele III, Schiaparelli lists this tomb among the discoveries that occurred in 1904. According to Schiaparelli, Porter and Moss, and Ronsecco, Prince Ahmose was entombed in the late 17th Dynasty. Vandersleyen dated the prince's burial to the early 18th Dynasty, based on the paleographic analysis of the chapters of the Book of the Dead inscribed on the prince's linen shrouds.

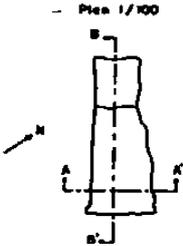
Among the findings attributable to Prince Ahmose (Turin ME S. 05125 to ME S. 05127) there are: an incomplete limestone shabti inscribed with the formula of chapter 6 of the Book of the Dead, which has been found outside the tomb; fragments of an alabaster canopic jar with three vertical lines of inscription; fragments of glass and alabaster small vases; fragments of a net used to carry vases; fragments of linen shroud bearing chapters of the Book of the Dead; remains of the prince's mummy, found both inside and outside his tomb.

QV 89 - QV 90 - QV 91

Tomb plans not available	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty
	Reuse	-
	Location	Valley of the Three Pits
	Geology	Shaft cut into marl
	Traces of fire	-
	Old designation	-
	Tomb typology	Shaft tomb
Tomb walls	Undecorated	
Bibliographical references	Bruyère 1952, 72-73. Demas and Agnew 2016, 135-136. Leblanc and Siliotti 1997, 26 and 193 (footnote n. 31).	

Contrary to Leblanc's hypothesis, the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* very likely did not investigate these three shaft tombs. These might be the three tombs that Bruyère explored between 1945 and 1947. The team of the Getty Conservation Institute was not able to investigate them.

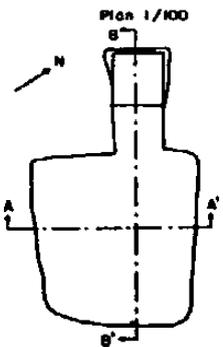
QV 92

 <p>After Demas and Agnew 2016, 130 (© CNRS/Kurz).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty
	Reuse	-
	Location	Valley of the Rope
	Geology	Shaft cut into marl
	Traces of fire	?
	Old designation	<i>MAI</i> = pozzo II/pozzo a
	Tomb typology	Shaft tomb Leblanc's type A.1
Tomb walls	Undecorated	
Bibliographical references	Ballerini 1903, 35. Demas and Agnew 2016, 129-130. Schiaparelli 1924, 42.	

The *Missione Archeologica Italiana* discovered shaft tomb QV 92 in 1903, as recorded within the excavation diaries. Ballerini prepared a sketch of the tomb plan, however, no information concerning the findings is provided within the unpublished documents. In their publications, Ballerini and Schiaparelli described the discovery of QV 92 and QV 93 without making any distinction between the two tombs. It is not possible to distinguish which tomb was found empty and which one contained some archaeological evidence, as remarked in the publications by the Italian Egyptologists. Furthermore, Ballerini and Schiaparelli mention different findings from the same tomb (QV 92 or QV 93): Ballerini talks about rectangular- or leaf-shaped blue glazes; on the contrary, Schiaparelli mentions two canopic jar lids.

QV 92 was explored by the Franco-Egyptian team, as evident from the tomb plan prepared by M. Kurz in 1972. The Getty Conservation Institute team was not able to enter this tomb because the shaft was filled up with debris and materials resulting from the erosion of the upslope.

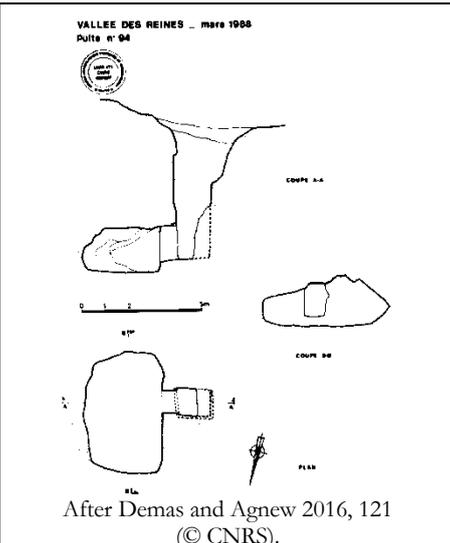
QV 93

 <p style="font-size: small;">After Demas and Agnew 2016, 130 (© CNRS/Kurz).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty
	Reuse	-
	Location	Valley of the Rope
	Geology	Shaft cut into marl
	Traces of fire	?
	Old designation	<i>MAI</i> = pozzo I/pozzo b
	Tomb typology	Shaft tomb Leblanc's type A.1
Tomb walls	Undecorated	
Bibliographical references	Ballerini 1903, 35. Demas and Agnew 2016, 129-130. Schiaparelli 1924, 42.	

The *Missione Archeologica Italiana* discovered shaft tomb QV 93 in 1903, as recorded within the excavation diaries. Ballerini prepared a sketch of the tomb plan, however, no information concerning the findings is provided in the unpublished documents. In their publications, Ballerini and Schiaparelli described the discovery of QV 93 and QV 92 without making any distinction between them. Therefore, it is not possible to know which tomb was found empty and which tomb contained some archaeological evidence. Furthermore, the two Italian Egyptologists mention different findings from the same tomb (QV 93 or QV 92): Ballerini talks about rectangular- or leaf-shaped blue glazes; on the contrary, Schiaparelli mentions two canopic jar lids.

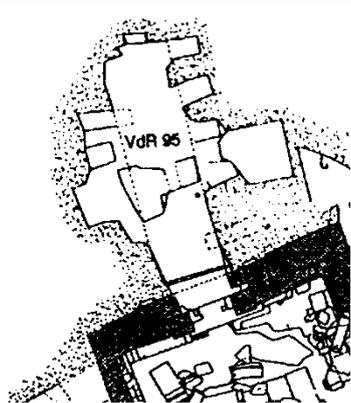
QV 93 was explored by the Franco-Egyptian team, as evident from the tomb plan prepared by M. Kurz in 1972. The Getty Conservation Institute team was not able to enter this tomb because the shaft was filled up with debris and materials resulting from the erosion of the upslope.

QV 94

 <p>VALLEE DES REINES - mars 1988 Puits n° 94</p> <p>COUPE A-A</p> <p>COUPE B-B</p> <p>PLAN</p> <p>After Demas and Agnew 2016, 121 (© CNRS).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty (reign of Amenhotep III)
	Reuse	No
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , northern slope
	Geology	Not specified
	Traces of fire	-
	Old designation	Thomas = tomb D
	Tomb typology	Shaft tomb Leblanc's type A.1
Tomb walls	Undecorated	
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2016, 121. Leblanc and Fekri 1993, 262. Lecuyot 1996, 146, 148, and 150. Thomas 1966, 188.	

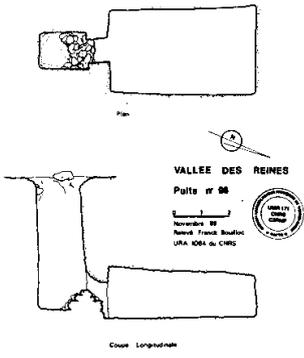
Tomb QV 94 consists of a shaft entrance leading to a single burial chamber. It is located close to the necropolis entrance, on the northern slope of the main *wadi*. This tomb has been plundered in ancient times but not reused, as the finding of materials datable only to the 18th Dynasty suggests. The Franco-Egyptian team cleared it in 1987 and found a consistent pottery assemblage. Some vases are decorated with red, blue, and black pigments, others show red and black bands; some have a painted floral freeze, other show a band of alternating *w3s* and *ḥ* hieroglyphs. In addition, some sherds bear pot marks. Among the anthropological materials, the CNRS found human remains belonging to children.

QV 95

 <p style="font-size: small;">After Lecuyot 1999, 49 (© CNRS/G. Lecuyot).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Dating	20 th Dynasty(?)
	Reuse	Late Period Roman Period Coptic Period
	Location	Behind Deir er-Rumi
	Geology	Cut into clay-rich marl beds and shale
	Traces of fire	Not detected
	Old designation	-
	Tomb typology	Commenced tomb Type III?
Tomb walls	Traces of <i>muna</i> likely belonging to the Coptic Period	
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2016, 492-496. Leblanc and Fekri 1993, 262. Lecuyot 1992/b, 383. Lecuyot 1989, 62-63. Lecuyot 1999, 34. Lecuyot and Gabolde 1998, 663. Schiaparelli 1924, 126 (footnote n. 1). Thomas 1966, 183.	

Not much information is available about this commenced tomb, which was likely investigated by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* during the exploration of the Coptic sanctuary of Deir er-Rumi, and afterwards, in 1988, by the Franco-Egyptian team. The Roman sanctuary, and then the Coptic monastery, reused this tomb as part of the sacred architecture, by changing its original function. This tomb consists of a corridor, the long walls of which, on both long sides, are provided with carved niches. The tomb plan seems to suggest the 20th Dynasty as a likely dating, although its location is far from the group of 20th-dynasty tombs, which are all situated within the main *wadi*. The location of QV 95 may mirror an experiment that failed: likely, this place may have been chosen for the construction of new tombs during the reign of Ramses III, or later, but then was abandoned because of the poor quality of the clay-rich rock. There is no wall decoration, however, there are somewhere traces of *muna* that has been likely applied during the Coptic Period. The findings (upper part of a wooden djed-pillar, two terracotta shabtis, a fragment of faience amulet, beads belonging to funerary nets, fragments of painted and varnished wooden coffins, and fragments of painted shrouds) suggest that this tomb was (re-)used during the Late Period and afterwards in the Roman Period.

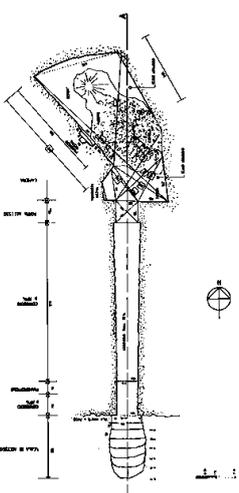
QV 96

 <p>From Demas and Agnew 2016, 123 (© CNRS/F. Bouilloc).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty
	Reuse	Roman Period
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , northern slope
	Geology	Cut into marl
	Traces of fire	Not detected
	Old designation	-
	Tomb typology	Shaft tomb Leblanc's type A.1
Tomb walls	Undecorated	
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2016, 19 (map), 122-123. Leblanc and Siliotti 1997, 16-17 (map). Lecuyot 1996, 155-157.	

Shaft tomb QV 96 was cleared by the Franco-Egyptian team in 1987. It is cut into marl and this explains why the walls are currently well preserved, although a fracture runs through the ceiling and one of the walls of the rectangular burial chamber. The map elaborated by the recent assessment of the Queens' Valley led by the Getty Conservation Institute correctly places tomb QV 96 on the northern slope of the main *wadi*, between tombs QV 70 and QV 72. However, this tomb is not indicated on some older maps, like that of Leblanc and Siliotti. Within his publication *Ta Set Neferou*, Leblanc located QV 96 between QV 67, 69, and 70.

Among the archaeological findings, there are a fragmented wooden scepter, elements made of faience which may have belonged to a piece of furniture, an ivory bead, and some remains of funerary offerings. In addition, other materials have been found by the CNRS and SCA in 2010 when the tomb was re-cleared: part of a human skull, some wooden fragments, and two fragmented pottery vessels.

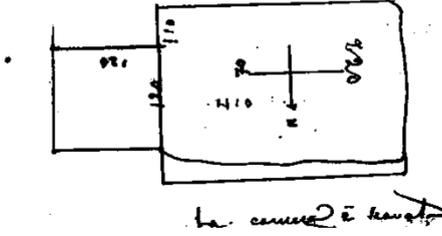
QV 97

 <p style="text-align: center;">After Côte <i>et al.</i> 1996, 149 (© E. Livio).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty
	Reuse	-
	Location	Valley of the Rope
	Geology	Friable shale outside the tomb; the corridor is cut into good quality marl; nothing is said about the rock of the burial chamber
	Traces of fire	Not detected
	Old designation	-
	Tomb typology	Staircase entryway, corridor, single burial chamber
Tomb walls	Undecorated	
Bibliographical references	Ballerini 1903, 35-37. Côte <i>et al.</i> 1996. Demas and Agnew 2016, 131-132. Leblanc 2012, 24. Schiaparelli 1924, 46-47.	

Tomb QV 97 is located at the bottom of a high cliff, within the right branch of the Valley of the Rope. It was discovered by Schiaparelli and Ballerini in 1903. It consists of a steep staircase entryway that leads to a long corridor, which opens onto an irregular rectangular chamber. Its tomb plan (staircase entryway, corridor, burial chamber) resembles that of other known 18th-dynasty tombs, *e.g.* tomb n. 37 in the Kings Valley and the tomb of Kha and Merit in Deir el-Medina.

Schiaparelli and Ballerini offered different opinions about this tomb. According to Schiaparelli, the tomb hosted the burial of a king or prince of the late 17th or 18th Dynasty; afterwards, due to the unstable ceiling, the tomb was emptied and the (non-existent) central pillar was destroyed. On the contrary, Ballerini was of a different opinion and he suggested that the tomb had never been used due to the instability of the rock. When Thomas surveyed the Queens' Valley, this tomb was hidden under debris and only in 1995, through a ground-penetrating radar survey, the tomb was rediscovered. No trace of any pillar was detected. The Franco-Egyptian team that examined this tomb was of the opinion that the tomb had been left unfinished (and thus unused) and that the debris, which was found inside, had been brought from the outside by the rainwaters. Concerning the archaeological findings, only a fragment of an alabaster vase (Turin ME S. 05146) was found in the debris, within the corridor.

QV 98

<p><i>Posso nella vallata tutech</i></p>  <p><i>La camera è scavata</i></p> <p>From Ballerini's unpublished excavation notes (from <i>Antichità Egizie, Missioni Archeologiche, marzo 3 - fascicolo 13</i>, p. 30. © Archivio di Stato, Torino).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	Anonymous prince Qenatum (<i>kn-tm</i>)
	Epithets/titles	<i>s3 nsw</i> (anonymous prince) <i>(j)m(y-r(3) htm.t</i> (Qenatum)
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty
	Reuse	-
	Location	Valley of Prince Ahmose
	Geology	Cut into shale
	Traces of fire	?
	Old designation	-
	Tomb typology	Shaft tomb Leblanc's type A.1
Tomb walls	Undecorated	
Bibliographical references		Demas and Agnew 2016, 133-134.

Little is known about tomb QV 98. No tomb plan is available and the one displayed here is a sketch made by Ballerini. QV 98 was discovered and investigated for the first time by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* in 1904. Among the findings related to this tomb and listed in the *Giornale d'Entrata*, there are a fragment of limestone canopic jar (Turin ME S. 05128), two inscribed pottery sherds (Turin ME S. 05129 and S. 05130), a seal impression (Turin ME S. 05131), a fragment of net (Turin ME S. 05132), and a mummy (Turin ME S. 05133). The tomb was cleared by the Franco-Egyptian team in 1988, but no information about it is available. At the time of the reassessment of the Queens' Valley led by the team of the Getty Conservation Institute, the shaft was filled up with debris and it was therefore not possible to investigate the tomb.

QV A

Tomb plan not available	NK tomb owner(s)	Min(-mes) (<i>mnw-ms</i>) Anonymous royal butler
	Epithets/titles	<i>wb3 n nsw</i> (anonymous)
	Family relationship	The royal butler is said to be the son of a <i>nb.t pr</i>
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty (reign of Thutmosis III)
	Reuse	-
	Location	Valley of the Three Pits
	Geology	Cut into friable shale
	Traces of fire	-
	Old designation	-
	Tomb typology	Shaft tomb
	Tomb walls	Undecorated
Bibliographical references	Daressy 1901. Demas and Agnew 2016, 137-140. Loyrette 1997, 180-184, pl. L/B.	

QV A is a shaft tomb with single burial chamber cut into the friable shale. It might be one of the about ten tombs identified by Daressy slightly before the beginning of the archaeological works of the Italian mission in the Queens' Valley. Demas and Agnew assert that the tombs cut in the Valley of the Three Pits are smaller in dimension, compared to those cut within the main *wadi*, and that are also more roughly carved. Among the findings brought to light by the Franco-Egyptian team in 1989-1990, there are: four fragmented clay impressions of the "seal of the necropolis"; a fragmented terracotta canopic jar belonged to Min(-mes); another fragmented terracotta canopic jar (painted in order to reproduce the effect of the alabaster surface, which belonged to an anonymous royal butler); a number of fragments of the sole of a pair of leather sandals made for a child; one piece of a game (a pawn made of bone) that may belong to the *senet*- or *tjau*-game.

QV B

Tomb plan not available	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty (reign of Thutmosis III)
	Reuse	-
	Location	Valley of the Three Pits
	Geology	Cut into friable shale
	Traces of fire	-
	Old designation	-
	Tomb typology	Shaft tomb
	Tomb walls	Undecorated
Bibliographical references	Daressy 1901. Demas and Agnew 2016, 137-140. Loyrette 1997, 180-182.	

Tomb QV B is located in the southern part of the Valley of the Three Pits. It is a shaft tomb with single burial chamber, the owner of which remains anonymous because of the fragmentary state and scarceness of the findings. It might be one of the about ten tombs identified by Daressy slightly before the beginning of the Italian mission in the Queens' Valley. Demas and Agnew assert that the tombs cut in the Valley of the Three Pits are smaller in dimension, compared to those cut into the main *wadi*, and that are also more roughly carved. Among the materials found by the Franco-Egyptian mission, there is a clay seal impression with the depiction of a winged uraeus protecting king Thutmosis III, who is represented as sphinx and wears the blue *hpr*^ꜥ-crown; near the sphinx, there is the cartouche with the name of coronation *mn-hpr-r*^ꜥ. According to Loyrette, the combination of uraeus, sphinx, and cartouche was in use only during the king's lifetime, thus providing a dating element for the tomb in question. Furthermore, a fragmented jar made of silty terracotta still contained the materials used during the mummification process.

QV C

Tomb plan not available	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty (reign of Thutmosis III)
	Reuse	-
	Location	Valley of the Three Pits
	Geology	Cut into friable shale
	Traces of fire	-
	Old designation	-
	Tomb typology	Shaft entrance, single burial chamber Leblanc's type?
	Tomb walls	Undecorated
Bibliographical references	Daressy 1901. Demas and Agnew 2016, 137-140. Loyrette 1997.	

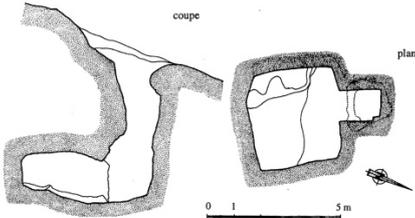
No information is available about tomb QV C. It might be one of the about ten tombs identified by Daressy slightly before the beginning of the Italian mission in the Queens' Valley. Like the other close-by tombs cut into the Valley of the Three Pits, it consists of a shaft with single burial chamber. Demas and Agnew state that the tombs cut in the Valley of the Three Pits are smaller in dimension, compared to those cut into the main *wadi*, and that they are also more roughly carved.

QV D

Tomb plan not available	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty (reign of Thutmosis III)
	Reuse	Third Intermediate Period?
	Location	Valley of the Three Pits
	Geology	Cut into friable shale
	Traces of fires	-
	Old designation	-
	Tomb typology	Shaft tomb
	Tomb walls	Undecorated
Bibliographical references	Daressy 1901. Demas and Agnew 2016, 137-140. Loyrette 1997, 180-182, pl. LI/D.	

QV D is a shaft tomb with single burial chamber. It might be one of the about ten tombs identified by Daressy slightly before the beginning of the Italian mission in the Queens' Valley. Demas and Agnew assert that the tombs cut in the Valley of the Three Pits are smaller in dimension, compared to those cut into the main *wadi*, and that they are also more roughly carved. Among the findings there are fragments of black coffins with yellow decoration, which belong to the first phase of use of the tomb, and fragments of polychrome-painted coffins belonging to a later reuse of the burial. Scattered among the excavated materials, the Franco-Egyptian team found many strands of hair provided with ringlets put together by means of beeswax. These strands, which should have been put into a basket (of which some remains have been found) were not part of a wig but they were rather ornamental hairpieces, since each strand shows well-defined extremities.

QV E

 <p>After Loyrette 1997, 179 (© CNRS/M. Kalos).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty (reign of Thutmosis III)
	Reuse	-
	Location	Valley of the Three Pits
	Geology	Cut into friable shale
	Traces of fire	-
	Old designation	-
	Tomb typology	Shaft entrance, single burial chamber Leblanc's type A.1
Tomb walls	Undecorated	
Bibliographical references	Daressy 1901. Demas and Agnew 2016, 137-140. Loyrette 1997, 180, 187, 189.	

Tomb QV E is located in the south-western part of the Valley of the Three Pits. It is a shaft tomb with single burial chamber, the owner of which remains anonymous because of the fragmentary state and scarceness of the findings. It might be one of the about ten tombs identified by Daressy slightly before the beginning of the Italian mission in the Queens' Valley. Demas and Agnew state that the tombs cut in the Valley of the Three Pits are smaller in dimension, compared to those cut into the main *wadi*, and that they are also more roughly carved. Among the excavated materials, the Franco-Egyptian team found filling of the nostrils (rolled up thin linen in form of cone), as well as small natron packages that had been used to fill the mummified body in order to absorb corporeal liquids. In addition, within this tomb there were two big dark-red terracotta amphoras. Among the ceremonial pottery, there are two handled vases made of red marly terracotta with grey core, one with red slip, the other one with white slip: their geometric decoration on the handles, body and rim is typical of the reign of Thutmosis III.

QV F

Tomb plan not available	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty (reign of Thutmosis III)
	Reuse	?
	Location	Valley of the Three Pits
	Geology	Cut into friable shale
	Traces of fire	-
	Old designation	-
	Tomb typology	Shaft tomb
	Tomb walls	Undecorated
	Bibliographical references	Daressy 1901. Demas and Agnew 2016, 137-140. Loyrette 1997, 182, 184.

The single-chambered tomb QV F might be one of the about ten tombs identified by Daressy slightly before the beginning of the Italian mission in the Queens' Valley. Within a layer of cemented debris, the Franco-Egyptian team found beads of different shapes (disc-shaped, tubular, and spherical), small amulets (*e.g.* a Bes-shaped one), beads made of cornelian, a lotus-shaped handle of a fan, and two fragments of a bracelet. The Franco-Egyptian mission was not able to clear completely the tomb because of the hardness of the cemented layer of debris.

QV G

Tomb plan not available	NK tomb owner(s)	Kari Anonymous individual
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty (reign of Thutmosis III)
	Reuse	-
	Location	Valley of the Three Pits
	Geology	Cut into friable shale
	Traces of fire	-
	Old designation	-
	Tomb typology	Shaft tomb
	Tomb walls	Undecorated
Bibliographical references	Daressy 1901. Demas and Agnew 2016, 137-140. Loyrette 1997, 180-181.	

Tomb QV G is located on the south-western part of the Valley of the Three Pits. It is a shaft tomb with single burial chamber, the owner of which remains anonymous because of the fragmentary state and scarceness of the findings. It might be one of the about ten tombs identified by Daressy slightly before the beginning of the Italian mission in the Queens' Valley. Demas and Agnew assert that the tombs cut in the Valley of the Three Pits are smaller in dimension, compared to those cut into the main *wadi*, and that they are also more roughly carved. Among the excavated materials, the Franco-Egyptian team found two fragmented canopic jars, one belonging to Kari, whose title has not preserved, and the other one belonging to another anonymous individual.

QV H

Tomb plan not available	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty
	Reuse	20 th Dynasty Third Intermediate Period
	Location	Valley of the Three Pits
	Geology	Cut into friable shale
	Traces of fire	-
	Old designation	-
	Tomb typology	Shaft tomb
	Tomb walls	Undecorated
Bibliographical references	Daressy 1901. Demas and Agnew 2016, 137-140. Loyrette 1997, 189, 191-192.	

Shaft tomb QV H consists of a single burial chamber, the owner of which remains anonymous because of the fragmentary state and scarceness of the findings. It might be one of the about ten tombs identified by Daressy slightly before the beginning of the Italian mission in the Queens' Valley. Demas and Agnew assert that the tombs cut in the Valley of the Three Pits are smaller in dimension, compared to those cut into the main *wadi*, and that they are also more roughly carved. The finding of two amphoras made of pinkish marly terracotta attests to a reuse of this tomb in the 20th Dynasty: such amphoras are very similar to some amphoras found in the tomb of Inherkhau at Deir el-Medina, which dates to the reign of Ramses III/Ramses IV. In addition, the finding of other jars attests to the reuse of this tomb even during the Third Intermediate Period.

QV I

Tomb plan not available	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty
	Reuse	20 th Dynasty Third Intermediate Period
	Location	Valley of the Three Pits
	Geology	Cut into friable shale
	Traces of fire	-
	Old designation	-
	Tomb typology	Shaft tomb
	Tomb walls	Undecorated
Bibliographical references	Daressy 1901. Demas and Agnew 2016, 137-140. Gabolde 1992, 112. Loyrette 1997, 191.	

Shaft tomb QV I consists of a single burial chamber, the owner of which remains anonymous because of the fragmentary state and scarceness of the findings. It might be one of the about ten tombs identified by Daressy slightly before the beginning of the Italian mission in the Queens' Valley. Demas and Agnew state that the tombs cut in the Valley of the Three Pits are smaller in dimension, compared to those cut into the main *wadi*, and that they are also more roughly carved.

The investigation led by the Franco-Egyptian team highlighted that this tomb had been heavily plundered. Among the findings, there are pottery sherds (pertinent to a large amphora, some bottles, bowls, and jars), along with wooden fragments pertinent to pieces of furniture and some human remains (belonging to more than one individual). There are no traces of canopic jars, nor remains of coffins. The majority of the pottery dates to the 18th Dynasty. However, a large amphora is very similar to those found in the tomb of Inherkhau at Deir el-Medina, thus suggesting that the tomb may have been reused during the 20th Dynasty. By examining the wear of some large sherds, Gabolde assumed that the modern tomb robbers may have broken the pots in order to use them as tools to excavate the filling of the tomb, in the search of valuable objects within the debris.

QV J

 <p>After Loyrette 1997, 191 (© CNRS/F. Bouilloe).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty (reign of Thutmose III)
	Reuse	No
	Location	Valley of the Three Pits
	Geology	Cut into friable shale
	Traces of fire	-
	Old designation	-
	Tomb typology	Shaft tomb, one burial chamber Leblanc's type A.1
Tomb walls	Undecorated	
Bibliographical references	Daressy 1901. Demas and Agnew 2016, 137-140. Gabolde 1992, 112. Kousoulis 2007. Loyrette 1997, 184, 189, pls. L/A and LI/B.	

QV J might be one of the about ten tombs identified by Daressy slightly before the beginning of the Italian mission in the Queens' Valley. The careful observation of the contour of the shaft mouth suggested that the tomb was not plundered in antiquity; the materials found within the cemented debris (composed of *tafflab* and limestone splinters) of the shaft confirmed that. Indeed, this blocking system hid another earlier blockage. Among the rubble, the Franco-Egyptian team found many fragments of a faience "balls", decorated by means of black segments. These balls are the glazed version of the leather balls associated with the *skr hm3* ritual, the first attestation of which dates to the joint reign of Hatshepsut/Thutmose III. According to Loyrette, the presence of such glazed balls within the Valley of the Three Pits may confirm the dating, suggested for this "private" necropolis, to the epoch of King Thutmose III. A fragmented disc-shaped lid and a small cylindrical container, found within this tomb, belong to the category of the unguent jars. Some nuts of black balanite were found within the debris as well. Several fragments of an imported typology of vase of foreign origin were found inside QV J, such as a "*bilbil*"-vase. In addition, the Franco-Egyptian team also found skeletal remains.

QV K

Tomb plan not available	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty
	Reuse	-
	Location	Valley of the Three Pits
	Geology	Cut into friable shale
	Traces of fire	-
	Old designation	-
	Tomb typology	Shaft tomb, one burial chamber
Tomb walls	Undecorated	
Bibliographical references	Daressy 1901. Demas and Agnew 2016, 137-140. Loyrette 1997.	

No information about this tomb is available. It might be one of the about ten tombs identified by Daressy slightly before the beginning of the Italian mission in the Queens' Valley. Demas and Agnew assert that the tombs cut in the Valley of the Three Pits are smaller in dimension, compared to those cut into the main *wadi*, and that they are also more roughly carved.

QV L

Tomb plan not available	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty
	Reuse	-
	Location	Valley of the Three Pits
	Geology	Cut into friable shale
	Traces of fire	-
	Old designation	-
	Tomb typology	Shaft tomb, one burial chamber
Tomb walls	Undecorated	
Bibliographical references	Daressy 1901. Demas and Agnew 2016, 137-140. Loyrette 1997.	

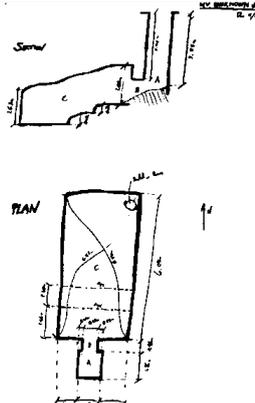
No information about this tomb is available. It might be one of the around ten tombs identified by Daressy slightly before the beginning of the Italian mission in the Queens' Valley. Demas and Agnew state that the tombs cut in the Valley of the Three Pits are smaller in dimension, compared to those cut into the main *wadi*, and that they are also more roughly carved.

QV U1

Tomb plan not available	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty
	Reuse	?
	Tomb location	Main <i>wadi</i> , northern slope
	Geology	Cut into marl
	Traces of fire	Not detected
	Old numbering	-
	Tomb typology	Shaft tomb
	Tomb walls	Undecorated
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2012, 15, 21. Demas and Agnew 2016, 124-125.	

Tomb QV U1 (U = unknown) is a shaft tomb with single burial chamber located on the northern slope of the main *wadi*. The tomb is cut into marl and is considered to be stable, although there are visible marks of fractures and detachment within the shaft. This tomb, along with tomb QV U2, shows up for the first time within the Getty Conservation Institute map published by Demas and Agnew in 2012. Nothing is known about its discovery and the archaeological findings. As remarked by Demas and Agnew, the archaeological assessment conducted by the GCI did not discover any object.

QV U2

 <p style="text-align: center;">After Demas and Agnew 2016, 127 (© W. Reynolds).</p>	NK tomb owner(s)	-
	Epithets/titles	-
	Family relationship	-
	Epoch of tomb construction	18 th Dynasty
	Reuse	-
	Location	Main <i>wadi</i> , northern slope
	Geology	Cut into marl
	Traces of fire	Not detected
	Old designation	<i>MAI</i> = tomb G?
	Tomb typology	Shaft tomb Leblanc's type A.1
Tomb walls	Undecorated	
Bibliographical references	Demas and Agnew 2012, 15, 21. Demas and Agnew 2016, 126-127.	

Tomb QV U2 (U = unknown) consists of a shaft that leads to a single burial chamber, through two steps cut in the rock. There are large stones still *in situ* that were likely used to seal the entrance to the burial chamber. It is unknown when this tomb was explored for the first time. It might have been investigated in 1904 by the *Missione Archeologica Italiana*, although the identification of QV U2 as Ballerini's tomb G is not certain (see *Volume I: Text*, pp. 117-118).

QV U2 is indicated on the map of the GCI publication for the first time. According to the assessment report of Demas and Agnew, the walls of the burial chamber are stable; on the contrary, the walls of the shaft are fractured. Concerning the archaeological materials, it is unknown what has been brought to light from this tomb. Demas and Agnew mention a "*basket with a few bones*": this indication is interesting since Ballerini, within the unpublished excavation diaries, accounts that some dispersed bones were found in tomb G, thus providing an element in support of the identification of QV U2 with *MAI*'s tomb G.

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